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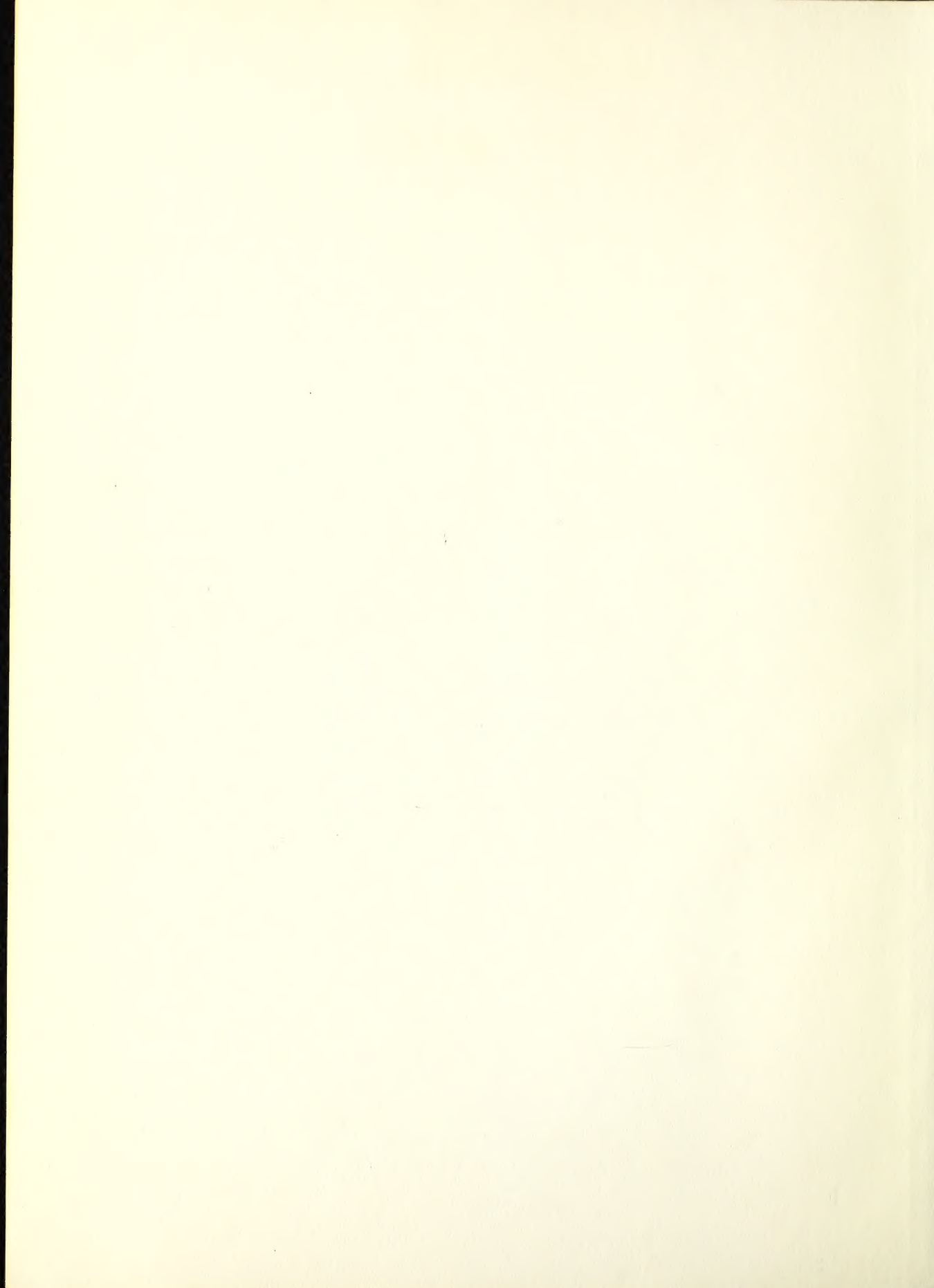
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THE
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES
OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON;
vol. 2
THE

CAPITAL OF MASSACHUSETTS AND METROPOLIS OF NEW ENGLAND.

FROM ITS SETTLEMENT IN 1630 TO THE YEAR 1670.

WITH NOTES, HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL.

ALSO,

AN INTRODUCTORY HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY AND
SETTLEMENT OF NEW ENGLAND.

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BY SAMUEL G. DRAKE.

BOSTON:
LUTHER STEVENS: 186 WASHINGTON STREET.
1854.

BRADLEY THE LION

CITY OF NEW YORK

IN SENATE, JANUARY 1, 1891.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE LAND OFFICE

WITH A MAP OF THE LANDS OF THE STATE

AS FAR AS THE SAME ARE OPEN TO THE PUBLIC
AND A LIST OF THE LANDS OF THE STATE

ALBANY: J. B. WILEY, COMMISSIONER OF THE LAND OFFICE.
1891.

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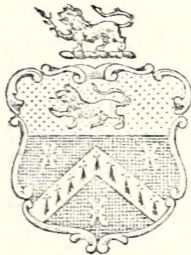
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CHAPTER XLV

Winter Excursions.—Sudbury attacked.—Lancaster burnt.—Medfield attacked.—Praying Indians accused.—Fearful Clamors.—Many Houses burnt at Groton.—Furious Attack on Northampton.—Praying Indians sent to the Islands in the Harbor.—Extensive Burnings at Marlborough, Simsbury, Rehoboth and Providence.—Praying Indians employed.—Defeat of Capt. Wadsworth.—Capt. William Turner.—Marches for the Connecticut Valley.—Saves Northampton.—Plans an Expedition against a large body at the Falls above Deerfield.—Surprises them with great Slaughter.—Is killed in his Retreat.—Fall of King Philip.—Executions.—Peter Jethro's Perfidy.—Sagamore John.—Execution of other Chiefs.—James the Printer.—Fate of Capt. Thomas Lake.—Suffering Condition of the Inhabitants.—Relief from Ireland and England.



TURNER.

EXCURSIONS by horse and foot were constantly made in various directions during the winter, and many small clans of the enemy were broken up, many captives taken, and many killed.* In these excursions, the Christian Indians bore a conspicuous part. However, there were enough of the enemy left to do much mischief, and they were found to be collecting in the Nipmuck country; a small party surprised

- Feb. 1. Sudbury, killing and carrying off ten persons, and on the tenth of February, Lancaster was chiefly laid in ashes, and about fifty people killed, and carried into captivity. Five days after, Captain Mosley was ordered to march with his company to that place. A few days later, Philip with a large company attacked Medfield, within about twenty-two miles of Boston, killing near twenty of its inhabitants, and doing mischief to the amount of about 2145 pounds, exclusive of buildings.
- Feb. 10.
- Feb. 15.
- Feb. 21.

Complaints continued against the Praying Indians, and clamors ran so high against them in Boston, that there were fears of serious tumults.

- Jan. 5. Thomas Jay was held for trial for "reproaching General Winslow, the authorities of the country, and other misdemeanors." And one Richard Scott was soon after imprisoned for threatening the lives of Captain Gookin and Mr. Thomas Danforth.

- Mar. 13. On the thirteenth of March about forty houses were consumed at Groton, and the next day Northampton came near being all destroyed; being attacked at three points at once, eleven people killed and wounded, and eleven buildings were set on fire. As the spring advanced, the Indians were able to proceed in their old mode of warfare; scattering themselves in small numbers, in all directions,

* Jan. 6th. At a meeting of the Council "It is ordered that the Secretary issue forth warrant to Commissary John Fayweather, forth with to impress and provide seven Colours, made of red sarcenet, each to be a yard square. One to be made with a blaze of white in it, the others to have each of them a figure of white in them, No. from 1 to 6. And four small drums, to be sent up to the army of Narraganset, for the use of the severall companies there belonging to this Colony." — *Original Minutes.*

1828662

CHAPTER XLV

Walter Thompson, a Quaker, attached to the British army, was sent to the West Indies in 1795, to assist in the suppression of the slave trade. He was accompanied by a number of Quakers, and they all remained in the West Indies for several years. Thompson was a very active and energetic man, and he did much to improve the condition of the slaves. He was also a very good writer, and he wrote many books and pamphlets on the subject of the slave trade. His most famous work is "The Slave Trade, as it exists in the West Indies, and as it is conducted by the British and Foreign Merchants." This book was published in 1807, and it was one of the most influential works on the subject of the slave trade. It was also one of the most popular, and it was read by many people in England and America. Thompson's work was very important, and it helped to bring about the abolition of the slave trade in 1807.



EXHIBITION of the various and interesting facts and circumstances connected with the slave trade, as it exists in the West Indies, and as it is conducted by the British and Foreign Merchants. This book was published in 1807, and it was one of the most influential works on the subject of the slave trade. It was also one of the most popular, and it was read by many people in England and America. Thompson's work was very important, and it helped to bring about the abolition of the slave trade in 1807.

On the 15th of March, 1807, the British Parliament passed an Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. This Act was a very important step towards the abolition of the slave trade, and it was a great victory for the Quakers and other abolitionists. The Act prohibited the importation of slaves into the British Empire, and it also prohibited the exportation of slaves from the British Empire. This Act was a very important step towards the abolition of the slave trade, and it was a great victory for the Quakers and other abolitionists.

shooting down the unsuspecting, killing their cattle and burning their buildings. Throughout March, April, May and June, a continued record of mischiefs is found. Many of the Praying Indians are taken from their residences and sent to the islands in the harbor, as no other means for their preservation seemed to be attainable.

Mar. 25. In a single day of March, several people are killed at Springfield, most of the houses burned in Marlborough, and Sinsbury in Connecticut is laid in ashes. Two days after, sixty-six buildings are burnt at Rehoboth, and on the following day, fifty-four houses are burnt in Providence. But the saddest event of that single day

Mar. 26. of March remains to be recorded. Capt. Michael Peirse, of Scituate, Brother of Captain Peirse, of London, was ambushed at Pawtucket, and slain with almost his whole force, consisting of fifty English and about twenty friendly Indians. This spread a cloud of the darkest gloom over the country. Still, the Government did not relax its exertions, while its soldiers were dearly purchasing wisdom, and learning to proceed with more caution against an enemy which many had held in too much contempt. Captain Gookin and others had all along urged the Government at Boston to employ and send out bands of the Praying Indians against the enemy, under discreet English officers; but their fidelity was so strongly suspected by the multitude, that their services were at this time nearly neglected. But it was, at this crisis of the war, decided to increase the opposing force by employing some of those Indians; and finally a company of them was put under the command of Capt. Samuel Hunting,* and others under officers from among themselves, and all of them rendered services fully equal to the expectations of their friends, and to the corresponding confusion of their enemies.

In the mean time, through the good offices of some of these Indians, a correspondence was opened between the authorities in Boston and the hostile party in the Nipmuck country, which eventually led to the redemption of several prisoners out of their hands; among whom was Mrs. Mary Rowlandson and her family, taken captive when Lancaster was destroyed. She was the wife of the Rev. Joseph Rowlandson, the minister of that town.†

Notwithstanding the severe losses in men which the country had sustained, great numbers were still ranging the woods in search of the enemy. Capt. Jonathan Poole, Capt. John Whipple, Capt. Samuel Hunting, Capt. John Cutler, Capt. John Jacob, Capt. Thomas Brattle,

* He was at this time of Charlestown. In many important expeditions the Praying Indians were led by him.

Samuel Hunting

† She was redeemed after a captivity of eleven weeks and five days. On the 3d of May she arrived in Boston, and in the narrative which

she afterwards published, she says, "The twenty pounds, the price of my redemption, was raised by some Boston gentlewomen, and Mr. Usher, whose bounty and charity I would not forget to make mention of."—INDIAN CAPTIVITIES, 56. Mrs. Rowlandson was a daughter of a Mr. John White, of Lancaster.—Willard, *Hist. Lancaster in Worcester Magazine*. Her *Narrative* was very popular, and has passed through many editions.



Capt. Richard Sutton, Capt. Joseph Sill, Capt. William Hathorne, Capt. Thomas Clarke, Capt. William Turner and Capt. Edward Cowell, Capt. Hugh Mason, Capt. Nathaniel Reynolds, and several others, were at different times upon expeditions into the Indian country. In defiance of all these, however, Philip was able to concentrate a body of about four hundred of his followers near Sudbury, and to ambush April 21. Capt. Samuel Wadsworth, and Capt. Samuel Brocklebank, with about seventy men, as they were upon a march from Boston to relieve Marlborough. A desperate fight ensued, in which both the commanders were slain, and above half of their men; "as brave soldiers as any ever employed in the present service." A party of the same Indians the same day fell in with Capt. Cowell, of Boston, with about eighteen men, attacked him, and killed several of his party.

Capt. William Turner, of Boston, an old soldier, offered his services to the Government, in the commencement of the war, but they were slighted and refused. It was not agreeable to the feelings of some in power, to take into their service one whom they had formerly almost ruined, because he could not conscientiously renounce his religion. Affairs were now in some degree changed, and Captain Turner was requested to raise a company and to take the field. He said the chances for his usefulness in the war, he feared, were past; for the men, who were then ready to follow him, were many of them gone from Boston, or were otherwise employed. Notwithstanding, like a true lover of his country, he consented to enter upon the service; and, with Mr. Edward Drinker for his lieutenant, and a company of about one hundred men,* he was soon ready to march.

* "A list of Capt. Wm. Turner's men, as they came from Boston, taken at Medfield, 1675-6; namely:—

"William Turner, *Capt.*; Edward Drinker, *Lieut.*; William Parsons, Ezekiel Guilman, *Sergeants*; Philip Squire, Thos. Elliot, Thos. Barnard, James Knott, *Corporals*; Jona. Orris, Wm. Turner, Jr., Ephra. Roper, John Sawey, Richd. Cheevers, Josiah Man, Elias Tyffe, Robert Seares, Saml. Rawlins, Thos. Brisantina, Josiah Tav. Roger Jones, Jas. Verin, Thos. Chard, Henry Dawson, Saml. Davis, Mark Wood, Robt. Miller, John Conneball, Richd. Staines, Joseph Gallop, John Roberts, Hee. Steward, James Burges, Matthias Smith, Saml. Gallop, Barthol. Whitwell, Saml. Judkins, Richd. Knight, Joseph Priest, Peaceful Clarke, Henry Kerby, Edward Wright, Phillip Jessop, Thos. Skinner, *Cler.*; John Newton, *cleared by Council at Medfield*; Nathl. Adams, *sick at Medfield*; Robert Briant, *wounded at Dedham*.

"A list of them cleared at Marlborough:— Henry Timberleggs [Timberlake], *Ensign*; Wm. Wade, Clement Hamblinge [Hamblen], Jacob Hanson, John Brackenbury, Nathl. Babcock, John Carthew, Thos. Condy, John Smith, Joseph Dindly, Amos [Indian], Henry Wright, Saml. Holmes, James Parker, Fearnot Shaw, Wm. Robbins, James Travis, John Jay.

"This is a true list of such as came out of Boston with me, as witness my hand, Feb. the 22d. 1675-6.

Will Turner

"Received these men whose names follow at Marlborough, from Captaine Wadsworth and from Capt. Reynolds:— Phillip Mettoons, *for whom I took in exchange*, John Thropp at [North] Hampton; John Newmam made *Corpl.* 17 March, 75-6. John Samfild, John Chapple, Henry Beresford, Thos. Wells, Jas. Burrell, John Walker, Joseph Lamson, Joseph Bickner, Wm. Clow, Wm. Twing, Joseph Lyon, Richd. Francis, Wm. Hartford, Solomon Lowd, Wm. Bosway, John Glide, Joshua Lane, James Hewes, Jonathan Dunge, William Jaques, Wm. Manly, George Riply, Phill. Sandy, Digory Serg[ean]t, John Broughton, John Rolstone, Wm. Jemison, Edwd. Sampson, John Avis, Joseph Griffin, Henry Finch, Saml. Chesy, Joseph Bateman, James Machrenell, *killed at [North] Hampton*, Mar. 14. *These men [following] were left at Quabaug the 4th of March, 1675-6:—* Henry Pellington, David Crentch, John Gromwell [Cromwell?], Richd. Sutton, David Jones, Tho. Brisanton, Tho. Stacy, Thos. Chapman, Augustine John, James Cullen



They were ordered to proceed to the Connecticut river valley, for the relief of Northampton and the other towns there, under the command of Major Savage. It was while Capt. Turner was at
 Mar. 14. Northampton, that the Indians so furiously beset that place, and it was owing to his exertions, and those in his company, that the town was saved from total ruin, and the Indians forced to retire.

Captain Turner continued in that region until the nineteenth of May following, having for some time sustained the chief command, with which Major Savage had invested him on his returning to Boston some time before. About the second week in April it was ascertained that a large body of the enemy were at the Great Falls in the Connecticut river, above Deerfield. They had taken up their quarters there to improve the fishing season, and from this point parties set out against the settlements of the English. Captain Turner determined to surprise them. He, therefore, planned a secret expedition, taking with
 May 19. him Capt. Samuel Holioke, of Springfield, and about one hundred and eighty men. The surprise was complete, and the destruction of the enemy was very great. But in the retreat the English were met by a fresh party of the enemy, who attacked them at disadvantage, as they were crossing Green River, killed Captain Turner, and about thirty of his men. Thus perished the "brave and resolute Captain Turner." Captain Holioke, though he survived the fight, died of a surfeit brought on by it, "in September following about Boston." He was twenty-nine years old, wanting four days.

The Fall Fight, as it was for a long time called, was the last great battle of the war; and, as a chronicler of the time said, "The enemy now went down the wind apace." Their great haunts and hiding-places were broken up. Philip retreated out of the Nipmuck country, and he and his great chiefs were hunted from place to place until, one after another, they fell into the hands of their pursuers. Philip
 Aug. 12. had many narrow escapes, but, on the twelfth of August, he was surprised at Mount Hope, near the very place where he had begun the war, about fourteen months before. He was not taken alive, nor did an Englishman kill him. One of his own men betrayed his hiding-place to the indefatigable Captain Church, who with a small number of trusty followers surrounded him at dawn of day, and before he was aware of the presence of his enemies. When Church had done this, the alarm was given, and Philip, in attempting to escape from the swamp in which he had taken refuge, came upon two of Church's sentinels, an Englishman and an Indian. The gun of the former missed fire, but that of the latter, charged with two bullets, was true to its mission; sending one directly through his heart, and the "other not above two inches from it." The chief "fell upon his face in the mud

Chas. Duckworth. The rest continued under Major Savage; some by order staying here my command till y^e 7th of Aprill, att which time 4 were left in Hadly by order of y^e Then follow lists of Hadley, Northampton Counsell, and part of the companie marched and Hatfield soldiers, who served under Capt. vnder the conduct of Lieut. Drinker, with Turner; of these, in all about 130 men.

WILLIAM TURNER."

and water, with his gun under him." Church ordered one of his Indians to behead and quarter him, which being done, his head was carried to Plymouth and set upon a gibbet, where it was to be seen for twenty years. His hands were cut off, and one of them was given to the Indian who shot him, and the other was carried in triumph to Boston, where it was for some time exhibited.

Aug. 17. Such was the joy caused by the news of Philip's death, that, in five days after, it was celebrated by a Thanksgiving. The "Grand Rebel" was now slain, and there was not much to be feared from such of his followers as remained. The horrors of war may now be said to have been past; but there were many captives in prison in Boston, and upon the islands in the harbor, and at Plymouth, whose fate was to be decided. While the war was raging, sanguinary and vindictive measures were to be expected, but after its dangers were ended, it would have been well had the shedding of blood by way of retaliation ceased. A pardon had been offered to those who would surrender themselves at Boston by a given day, but in the proclamation holding out the inducement to surrender, exceptions were made, and many were executed in cold blood. Yet a few of the cunning leaders had the address to escape; but they purchased their own lives at a cruel price,—no less than the betrayal of their own relatives into the hands of their enemies. A remarkable instance of this kind took place among the Nipmucks. A Chief, called by the English, "Old Jethro," lived near Sudbury when the war begun. His own family consisted of about twelve persons, and all of them belonged to the party of Praying Indians. Fearing Jethro and his party would join Philip, an attempt was made to bring him to Boston, but he escaped, and was afterwards suspected of being engaged in the war, and was charged with committing murders and depredations. He had a son Peter, who, to save his own life, and understanding the terms of the proclamation before spoken of, delivered his father into the hands of the English, who hanged him in Boston in September of this year. This depravity caused a writer of the time to exclaim, "That abominable Indian, Peter Jethro, betrayed his own father, and other Indians of his special acquaintance, unto death." He had been educated by the English, and had been employed to instruct his brethren.

July 27. Another of the Nipmuck Sachems, called "Sagamore John," influenced about one hundred and sixty Indians to surrender at Boston. One among them, old Matoonas, he brought in by force, being "bound with cords." He was immediately condemned to death; for, he was not only the father of him who was hung in Boston several years before, but he was charged with being the first to commit murder in Massachusetts Colony in this war. His betrayer, "Sagamore John," was desirous that he and his men might be the executioners; wherefore Matoonas was carried out into the Common, and being tied to a tree, they then shot him to death."

Another of those Chiefs was John Monoco. He was the leader at



the burning of Groton in March preceding, but Mr. Willard's, the Minister's house, and Captain Parker's house, being strongly garrisoned, he could not destroy them. He was a bold and insolent Indian, and to show his contempt of the English religion, after he had burnt the meeting-house, he called to Mr. Willard, saying, "What will you do for a house to pray to God in now?" Yet, at the same time, he talked to Captain Parker about making peace, "mixing with his discourse bitter sarcasms, with blasphemous scoffs." He boasted that he had burnt Medfield and Lancaster; that now he would burn Groton, and next Chelmsford, Concord, Watertown, Cambridge, Charlestown, Roxbury and Boston; adding, that he had four hundred and eighty men, and said, "What me will, me do." But, "within a few months after, and only with a few more bragadocios like himself, Sagamore Sam,* Old Jethro, and the Sagamore of Quabaog, were taken by the English, and was seen marching towards the gallows, through Boston streets, which he threatened to burn at his pleasure, with an halter about his neck, with which he was hanged at the town's end, September twenty-six, in this present year, 1676."

July 1. Another notorious Indian, who had the address to save his neck from the halter, was named James the Printer. He had rendered himself exceedingly obnoxious, but ventured to surrender, and came in to Boston on the strength of the proclamation. He had professed Christianity, could read and write well, and was also skilled in the art of printing. Soon after the war broke out he became a "notorious apostate," and, "like a false villain, ran away from his master." He had been the chief scribe to the hostile Indians, wrote the insulting proclamation stuck up at Medfield,† and several of their letters to the Government at Boston.‡ Notwithstanding, on his "promising for the future to venture personally against the common enemy," his life was spared. It was doubtless much in his favor, that he could work at printing; for Mr. Eliot said, afterwards, that he was "the only man able to compose the sheets and correct the press of the Indian Bible, with understanding." Hence, to that "notorious apostate," the world is under no small obligation for his agency in bringing into existence one of the most extraordinary editions of the Bible. He learned his trade of Mr. Samuel Green, of Cambridge, and probably followed the

* He was Sagamore of Nashaway, "a proud salvage," who, but little while before, "insulted over the English, and said if they would first beg peace of him, he would let them have peace, but he would never ask it of them." Tract in the OLD INDIAN CHRONICLE, p. 130. Sam was taken, or perhaps surrendered, at Pascataqua about the end of August, and with another Indian, was put on board Capt. Nath. Fox, at Portsmouth, who had Major Waldron's warrant to deliver them at Boston; dated, "y^e 21 Sept. 1676." ORIGINAL WARRANT, MS. Sam's Indian name was Shoshanim, which, in

the time of the war, was changed to Uskatuh-gun. He was nephew to Matthew, who was nephew to Sholan, the ancient Sachem, and possessor of Lancaster. — Harrington, *Century Sermon*, p. 16.

† It may be seen in THE BOOK OF INDIANS, p. 221. In one yet unpublished, they say to the Governor and Council, "All you fine houses you lost, and you squaws and you child, — you eyes much big with crying, and now on you backside stand." According to his own autograph, Printer's Indian name was Wowat's. ‡ *Ibid.*, 267, 231.

printing business until 1709. From Cambridge he came to Boston, and was for some time in partnership with Bartholomew Green, in the printing business. He was employed by the Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians as early as 1708, and resided at or near Mendon not long after. He died about 1714, but his widow was living in the end of the year 1717.*

The Indians were so successful, at first, that many of them seemed confident that they should bring the English to their own terms. They would mock their deliberations, by holding pretended General Courts, making sham prayers, and preaching like certain Ministers; and on one occasion they sent word to Boston that they were coming down to dine with the Governor and Council on the Election day, and tauntingly bid them "make good cheer."

April 21. In view of this, it may be, that, at a meeting of the Council, an order was passed "For the prevention of such mischiefs as may be designed by the common enemy, the securing of the several Plantations upon the day of public Election, now drawing near."

The war still continued to the eastward of the Pascataqua river; and though more remote from Boston than it had hitherto been, yet its calamities fell heavily upon it. The town was constantly entreated for relief in men, provisions and munitions, and several of its active officers were in continual service in that region. Among its losses, none was perhaps more deeply deplored than that of Capt. Thomas Lake. He was in the service early in the war, but, from the importunity of friends, probably, and having large possessions in Maine, he went there and kept a fort on Arowsick island. His fort was surprised early on the

Aug. 14. morning of the fourteenth of August, when, with several others, he was killed. He was joint owner of that island with Captain Thomas Clarke,† of Boston; and there was an arrangement between them, to reside there at alternate seasons. It was not his turn to be there at this time, but he was persuaded to go, probably to accommodate Captain Clarke. He was not killed in the fort, but with several others escaped from it, and passed to another island. Being pursued and overtaken by the Indians, he was shot down, and it was for many months unknown to his friends whether he were killed or carried into captivity. However, after a cruel and agonizing suspense of seven months, his body was discovered and brought away. It was interred at Copp's Hill, where a monument is still to be seen, with an appropriate inscription.

* MSS. of Judge Sewall. For many other facts concerning Printer, consult THE BOOK OF THE INDIANS. The copy of his Autograph accompanying, is taken from a deed of 1682,

of lands "on the south part of Mattachusetts Colony, beyond the great river called Kuttatuk, Nipmug or Providence." These Indians said they were all "natives and naturall descendants of the ancient proprietors of the Nipmug Country."—*Original Deed in possession of J. W. THORNTON, Esq.*

† Copies of the Autographs of both of these gentlemen have been given at pages 340 and 341, ante.

*James Printer
at Woburn*

which he and twenty-two other Indians gave,



Such was the end of the discreet and worthy Capt. Thomas Lake, of Boston; "That good man," says Mr. Hubbard, "who might emphatically be so termed, in distinction from them that may truly be called just men, and no more." He left a family residing in Boston, and Mr. John Lake,* also of Boston, was his brother. This brother, one month after the capture of Arowsick, thinking that possibly the Captain was still alive, and held in captivity among the Indians, petitioned the General Court in favor of the noted Indian chief, Sagamore Sam, then in jail under sentence of death. He requested that, instead of putting the Sachem to death, he might be held as a hostage for his brother; but the Court did not regard his prayer, and Sam was hanged "at the town's end," as has been before related.

Captain Lake belonged to the eminent family of Lake, of Erby, in the County of Lincoln, son of Richard Lake, Esquire, a younger brother of Sir Edward Lake,† who received sixteen wounds in sustaining the desperate cause of his master, under Prince Rupert, at Edge Hill.‡ Sir Bibye Lake, whose name occurs in the early history of Maine, was grandson of Capt. Thomas Lake, which accounts for his claims to lands in Maine. He was son of Thomas, who was born in Boston, but finally returned to England, and was a barrister of the Middle Temple, and died in 1734. Anne, sister of Thomas, married, first, John Cotton, of Hampton, and, secondly, the Rev. Increase Mather, of Boston. §

After the loss of the fort at Arowsick, the inhabitants at the eastward sent messengers to Boston, imploring assistance; but they soon returned and informed them that "it was in vain to expect any." About fifty-three people had been killed; their crops mostly destroyed, and there was no alternative for those who had escaped the fury of the merciless enemy, but to abandon the country, which they did soon after. Many came to Boston among their friends; some went to Pascataqua, and some to Salem. Many never returned to enjoy their lands. ||

* He was a Selectman several years. Those elected for the office, 15 Mar. 1674-5, stand in this order upon the Town Records:—"Mr. Thomas Brattle, John Joylife, Mr. John Lake, Capt. Thomas Lake, Capt. James Olliver, Mr. Hezekiah Vsher, Capt. William Davis." The Constables were "Mr. John Scarlet, Hopestill Foster, Mr. Richard Medlecot, Mr. John Pincheon, Thos. Walker, Mr. John Noyse; for Muddy River, Robt. Harris; Rumneymarsh, Jas. Bill, Jr.; Recorder, John Joylife; Treasurer, Thos. Brattle." The Selectmen were the same the two following years, excepting in 1676, Lieut. Daniel Turine stood in place of Capt. Davis; and in 1677, Deac. Henry Allen, Deac. Jacob Elliott, were in place of Captain Thomas Lake and Hezekiah Usher.

† His wife was Annie Bybie. Hence the name of Bybie was given to a grandson of Capt. Thomas Lake, who also inherited the title of Sir Edward; Sir Edward leaving no heir.

‡ So stated in his grant of Arms, to be seen in *The English Barons*, iii. 130-2. — Edition 1727, 4to. — "Where [at Edge Hill] he re-

ceived sixteen wounds, to the extreame hazard of his life, and his left arm being then disabled by a shot, he held his bridle in his teeth." Sir Edward died 1674.

§ Manuscripts in possession of J. W. THORNTON, Esq. Capt. Lake was 61 years of age at his death, as by original deposition appears in possession of the author. The pedigree of the family is traced to John Lake of Normanton, County of York, 1286.

|| On the 18th of October, the General Court voted, "That all those men that came from the deserted places at the eastward, fitt for the Countrey's service, be impressed and employed therein, and that Major Clarke and the committee of militia in Boston, doe accordingly presse and list them for the present expedition." [That of Hathorne and Sill, probably, as seen in Hubbard, Part ii., p. 53.] To this the Deputies consented, "Provided that other Counties as well as Suffolk, may have like powre to presse any fitt persons of those who have deserted their habitations at the Eastward." — *Original Paper*.

Such is a brief outline "of the most bloody years that New England had ever seen." People were driven from their lands, and obliged to seek safety in the towns on the coast; the most of whom were without provisions, and also without the means of procuring them; which were so scarce, that they were hardly to be had for money. Indeed, famine had followed close in the desolated path of war, and, as well observes Dr. Cotton Mather, it was "coming in like an armed man." In this extremity, Dr. Increase Mather "did, by his letters, procure a whole ship load of provisions, from the charity of his friends in Dublin, and a considerable sum of money, and much clothing, from the like charity of his friends in London," greatly to the relief of the poor people here.

Of the charities received from Ireland, a distribution was made in March, 1677, from which it is shown that Boston suffered nearly five times as much by the war as any other place. One hundred and sixteen families, or about 432 persons, were recipients of the donation. Many of them, however, were those who had been compelled to take refuge here, as has been before mentioned.*

It has been computed, by an able writer,† that about one eleventh of the able men of the Colonies were killed during the war, or were otherwise lost in its service; and by another,‡ that, "every person, almost, in the two Colonies had lost a relation or near friend;" so that almost every family in New England was in deep mourning.

A printing house was first set up in Boston this year. It was conducted by Mr. John Foster, a young man, a graduate of Harvard College in 1667. The General Court granted liberty for a printing establishment in the Town in May, 1674, and appointed two ministers, Mr. Thomas Thacher and Mr. Increase Mather, to be licensers. Mr. Foster was an excellent mathematician, and was for some years author of an almanac. He died in Dorchester in 1681, aged but thirty-three. He printed, besides other works, Mr. Hubbard's and Mr. Mather's histories of the Indian wars.

April 5. Mr. John Winthrop, of Connecticut, died in Boston, "whither he was occasionally called the last winter, to sit with the rest of the Commissioners of the United Colonies," in the seventy-third year of his age. He was the eldest son of John Winthrop, a former Governor of Massachusetts.

April 20. Dr. John Clarke died at Newport. He was one of those who had been driven from Boston by the intolerance of the times. For purity of life he has left a name unsurpassed. He was born in 1609, and was a physician in London; was thrice married, but left no children. The numerous posterity of the name of Clarke in Rhode Island, many of them, are descended from Mr. Joseph Clarke, a brother of Dr. John. §

* See *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Regr.*, ii. 245-250.

† Dr. Trumbull, in his *Hist. of Connecticut*, i. 350.

‡ Gov. Hutchinson, in his *Hist. Massachusetts*, i. 307.

§ See Backus, *Hist. N. Eng.*, i. 442-3, for much of interest respecting Dr. Clarke.

Major Simon Willard died at Charlestown, and was buried on April 24. the twenty-sixth of April, with military honors, performed by a company under Captain Henehuan, who went over from Boston for that purpose. He had rendered important service in the present war, as well as on former occasions.

At the General Election, Mr. Hubbard, of Ipswich, preached May 3. the sermon. It was dedicated to Governor Leverett, and printed the same year, by the above mentioned Mr. John Foster.

The greatest fire which had happened in Boston occurred this Nov. 27. year, which is thus mentioned by a writer at the time.* “After all the forementioned calamities and troubles, it pleased God to alarm the town of Boston, and in them the whole Country, by a sad fire, accidentally kindled by the carelessness of an apprentice that sat up too late over night,† as was conceived; which began an hour before day, continuing three or four, in which time it burned down to the ground forty-six dwelling-houses, besides other buildings, together with a meeting-house of considerable bigness. Some mercy was observed mixt with judgment; for if a great rain had not continued all the time (the roofs and walls of their ordinary buildings consisting of such combustible matter), that whole end of the town had at that time been consumed.” “It began about five in the morning, at one Wakefield’s house, by the Red Lion” [tavern]. “The wind was south-east when it begun, and blew hard; soon after, it veered south, and brought so much rain, as much prevented further mischief. Charlestown was endangered by the flakes of fire which were carried over the river.”‡

The “Meeting-house of considerable bigness” was the Second Church, “the Church of the Mathers,” some account of which has before been given.§ The Rev. Increase Mather had preached in it since 1664, who, according to his biographer, had, “in the year 1676, a strange impression on his mind, that a fire was coming, which would make a deplorable desolation;” and, that, only eight days before the fire happened, he preached a sort of warning sermon, which he “concluded with a strange prediction that a fire was coming.”||

By this fire Mr. Mather’s own dwelling was burned, “but not an hundred of his books from above a thousand” were lost, and “of those also he had an immediate recruit, by a generous offer which the honorable Mrs. Bridget Hoar made him, to take what he pleased from the library of her deceased husband.”

There does not appear to have been any Fire Engine as yet in the Town, although some order about one had been made. Hence the

* Hubbard, in his *Indian Wars*, p. 115.

† “Through the carelessness of a boy called up to work very early in the morning, who falling asleep, as was said, the candle set the house on fire.” — Hubbard, *Hist. New England*, 648-9.

‡ Hutchinson, i., 349, out of an *Interleaved Almanac*.

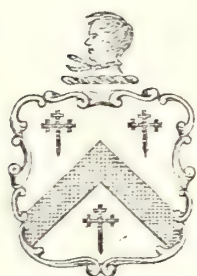
§ See *ante*, p. 310, 311.

|| *Remarkables in the Life of Dr. I. Mather*, 25, 78.

progress of the flames was not staid by artificial means,* and it swept over a district from what are now Richmond, Hanover, and Clark streets, to the water. Many of the old wooden buildings, now standing in and about that section, have every appearance of having been built immediately after the fire of 1676; which fire, for a considerable time following, was referred to as "the Great Fire."

CHAPTER XLVI.

I. Mather urged to complete a History of New England. — The Tradesmen of Boston petition for Protection against Intruders. — Cages ordered, in which to put Sabbath-breakers. — Tithingmen. — New Law against Quakers. — Case of Margaret Brewster. — She goes into the South Church with Sackcloth upon her Head, &c. — Many Quakers whipped. — Extension of the Post Office Arrangement. — Money raised for the Ransom of Prisoners in Canada. — Death of Gov. Leverett. — First Engine Company. — First Almanac printed in the Town. — An extensive Fire. — A Building yet standing erected the next year. — A Synod called. — First Baptist Meeting-house.



DAVENPORT.

AT the Election, this year, Mr. Increase Mather preached the sermon. It contained much historical reflection, which doubtless occasioned Mr. Whiting, of Lynn, to urge him to enter upon the labor of compiling a history of New England; "The rather," said that excellent man, "let me entreat this favor of you, because it hath not been hitherto done by any in a polite and scholar-like way." Another reason may have influenced Mr. Whiting to make this request. Mr. Mather had just issued his work, called, "A Relation of the Troubles which have happened in New England, by reason of the Indians there," which was among the earliest books printed in Boston, and which is, at this day, among the most difficult to be found.

At the May session of the General Court, the "Handycraftsmen, a very considerable part of the Town of Boston," to the number of one hundred and twenty-nine,† put in a petition, praying for protection in their several callings, "whose outward subsistence," they say, "doth depend upon God's blessing, and many of us not having

* The expedient of blowing up buildings with powder was resorted to, but with what success does not appear.

† The names follow. It might be difficult to find attached to any paper of that day, so large a number of names so well and plainly written as these appear in the original. Out of the whole number, but two made their marks, and those marks were made by persons, who, in an

earlier period of their lives, had, no doubt, learned to write; as the appearance of their marks very clearly indicates. Yet there are a few of them of so singular a chirography, that considerable doubt hangs over them, and I may have misinterpreted such. To distinguish them they are set in *italics*; and when very doubtful, an interrogation point is added. For convenience of examination, I have arranged them

estates any other way to advantage ourselves ; " that, " by the frequent intruding of strangers from all parts, especially of such as are not desirably qualified, find ourselves under great disadvantages, and prejudicial to the Towne ; and many times the stranger drawes away much of the custome from his neighbour, which hath been long settled, and in reality is much more the deserving man ; whereby it has already come to pass with many, that severall inhabitants that have lived comfortably upon their trades, and been able to bear publick charges in a considerable degree, now cannot subsist, which is very pernicious and prejudiciall to the Town ; and some that never served any time, or not considerably for the learning of a Trade, yet finding wayes to force themselves into the Town, and then sometimes by hireing or buying a servant, they doe set up a Trade," and thus draw away the custom of the Petitioners belonging to the Town, as above has been set forth. They, therefore, " conceiuing that the foresaid disadvantages do arise, either for want of power to make orders, or due execution of orders," ask " that power might be granted to the Selectmen," or others, " for a regular and effectuell execution of all such orders as are, or may be made, referring to the admission of inhabitants ; that Tradesmen shall fullfill a sufficient apprenticeship, and be proficient before they set up Trades," &c.

The Court appointed a Committee to take the matter into consideration, who were requested to report upon it at its next session, in October following. The Committee consisted of " Capt. Mason, Capt. June 1. Stilman, and Capt. Fisher," on the part of the Deputies, to

alphabetically. On the original, the first signer is *James Everett* [James Everell], the second, William English, &c. The last is John Mesinger. Such were the early manufacturers of Boston.

Alden, John	Dewer, Thomas	Lowle, Joseph	Piommer, Samuall
Andrewes, I A John	Doux, Francis	Marion, John, Senor	Pollard, Samuall
Atwood, John	Earle, Robert	Maryon, John, Junior	Powning, Henry
Baker, John, Junior	Elleott, Thomas	Maryon, Samuell	Pratt, Timothy
Baker, Joseph	Elliott, Asaph	Mason, Ralph	Raynall, Nathaniell
Baker, William	Ellis, Edward	Mason, Robert, Senior	Raynsford, Sollomon
Ballintine, John	Emons, Samuall	Mason, Robeart, Junior	Reade, Esdras
Barrell, James	Everell, James	Mason, Samuall	Ricks, John
Batt, Paul	Fowle, Jacob	Mery James	Sale, Ephraim
Batt, Timothy	Frery, Theophilus	Messinger, Henry, Senr	Sargent, Digory
Benk, Menasses	Gibson, William	Messinger, Henry, Junr	Scottow, John
Benit, John	Gilbert, William	Mesinger, John	Simson, Alexander
Bodman, Joseph	Green, James	Messinger, Simeon	Shew, Joseph
Bradford, Moses	Griffeth, William	Mirick [?], I M James	Shearar, Thomas
Bradford, Robert	Grigs, William	Moore, John	Shove, Samson, Senr
Bram, Beniaman	Harden, Richard	Morse, Ephraim	Shove, Samson, Jr
Burrill, George	Hill, James	Nash, John	Stanbridge, John
Burroughes, James	Hill, John	Needham, John	Tay, Isaiah
Callender, Ellis	Hill, John	Needom, William	Tay, John
Carter, Ralph	Homes, Joseph	Newton, John	Temple, John
Carthew, John	Howard, James	Norden, Samuall	Travis, Richard
Chaeever, Bartholomew	Hurd, Joseph	Odlin, Elisha	Turner, William
Childe, John	Indecott, John	Odlin, Peter	Wakfeld, Obediah
Clesbe, John	Inglish, William	Parsons, William	Walker, Isaac
Clough, John	Ingraham, William	Peacocke, Samuall	Walker, Thomas
Conney, John	Jacklen, Samuall	Pearse, Joseph	Way, Richard
Copp, David	Johnson, Samuell	Peck, Joseph	Weden, Joseph
Cottay, John	Jones, William	Peirse, Moses	Wheeler, Joseph
Cricke, Edward	Judd, Roger	Peirse, Nathaniell	White, John
Davis, John	Langdon, Benjamin	Penney, William	Whit : Jeams
Deane, [?] John	Lawson, Ch :	Perry, Seth	Winsor, Joshua
Dewer, Samson	Lowle, John	Phillips, Nichols	Woode, Isaack

whom the magistrates added "Mr. Edward Tyng." What their report was, if any, does not appear.

At the May term of the Court, it was ordered that cages should be erected, or "set up" in the Market-place in Boston, and in such other towns as the County Courts judged proper, to put violators of the Sabbath in. It also ordered constables to search out Quakers and to apprehend them, even at the violence of breaking open doors, and removing other obstructions. The Government had been reproached by the malignant part of the community for its too much lenity to that sect; and even charged the late Indian war to that lenity.* As though conscious of a culpable laxity in not doing its duty, the Court enacted a new law against Quakers. Among its provisions, one was, that if any were found holding meetings, they were to be sent to jail, or the house of correction, be compelled to labor, and be kept on bread and water for three days, or pay five pounds in money. Officers neglecting their duty were to be fined five pounds. There was, at the same time, a law made requiring all persons, as well inhabitants as strangers, to take the oath of fidelity to the country. As Quakers could not take an oath, they could not be protected in person or estate, by the laws; they could not, therefore, recover any debts which might be due to them.

At the same term of the General Court, an order was issued to the Selectmen of "Towns to chuse sundry persons, by the name of Tithingmen, to inspect the disorders in and by publick and private houses of entertainment, and prophanation of y^e Lord's day, and by the County Courts to bee impowered to prevent, and in their cappacity to reforme the same." Boston was divided into departments, and Tithingmen were appointed to each, and the houses specified which were to be under the supervision of individual Tithingmen. Those who were first appointed appear to have been dissatisfied, and had not acted when the Court came together at the October term. "William Bartholmew, Christopher Clarke, James Euerell, Bartholomew Cheever, John Philips, John Swete, John Search, George Healey, William Smith, Edward Alleyn, John Moore, and Richard Collacoatt," did, "in the name and by the order of the rest y^e are chosen for Boston," petition the Court, setting forth the reasons "they had yett acted nothing therein," and requesting several alterations in their organization, and asking for the same powers as Constables had, and for all to have a general inspection, and that particular Tithingmen should not be confined to certain streets and houses.† What action the Court took upon the petition, does not appear.

About this time, Margaret Brewster, with the consent of her husband,

* About November, 1675, Thomas Curwin and his wife, Alice, were taken out of a meeting in Boston, and sent to prison. On the third day after they were whipped, and then liberated. They went directly from the whipping-post to another meeting. This time they were not disturbed; "for the great tribulation

of that time, by reason of the wars with the Indians, and other calamities, made the inhabitants faint for fear, and weakened the hands of their persecutors from practising the severities they had not yet repented of." — Besse, *Sufferings of the Quakers*, ii. 259.

† Original paper.

came here from Barbadoes. She probably had claims on some of the inhabitants, for merchandise, from the collection of which she was debarred by the late laws. She therefore presented a "caution" against them; which *caution* she styled "A warning from the great God of Heaven and Earth to the Rulers and Magistrates of Boston, that they put not in practice that cruel law that they have made concerning swearing." She at the same time warned the people of a "grievous calamity" which was shortly to come upon them, "called the Black

July 8. Pox."* She performed the service of warning the Town, in a very summary manner, on the eighth of July. Taking with her Lydia Wright, of Long Island, Sarah Miles, of Black Point, Elizabeth Bowers, Junior, and John Easton, Junior (who took her riding-clothes and shoes), she went into the South Church in time of meeting, "in sackcloth, with ashes upon her head, barefoot, and her face blackened."†

Margaret and her attendants were pretty soon hurried off to prison. In his warrant for their apprehension, Mr. Bradstreet said their offence was "For making an horrible disturbance on the Lord's-day, and affrighting the people in the South Church, in Boston, in the time of the publick dispensing of the word, whereby several women, as I am informed, are in great danger of miscarrying." When Margaret came before the Court, the constable could not identify her, for, says he, "She was then in the shape of the devil;" but she owned herself to be the individual, and the cause proceeded. She was sentenced to be

Aug. 4. whipped "at a cart's tail, up and down the Town, with twenty lashes," which was executed upon her four days after.

The same day that Margaret Brewster and her companions were apprehended, the following named persons were taken up at the Quaker meeting: namely, Robert Edmunds, Edward Sheppey, John Soames, George Walker, Jeremy Deeble, George Dawson, Miles Foster, Thomas Scott, Humphry Hodges, William Neale, Bridget Phillips, Eliphal Stratton, Elizabeth Bowers, Sen., and Elizabeth Bowers, Jun. These were all whipped but Miles Foster and Thomas Scott; some persons having paid the fines of these two, though against their wishes. At the next meeting, these following were arrested and whipped also; — Robert Edmunds, Edward Sheppey, John Soames, Miles Foster, William Richardson, Humphry Hodges, Jeremy Deeble, Thomas Hilbourn, Robert Levy, Josiah Southick, George Danson, William Mumford, Bridget Phillips, Eliphal Stratton, and Anne Wilson. Three of these were strangers and masters of ships.

Notwithstanding these scourgings, the Quakers continued their meet-

* It is as true as it is remarkable, that soon after, the Small Pox was very mortal in the Town. — See *N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, vii. 343; by which it appears that a ship arrived at Nantasket with the infection, and that 800 people were carried off by it.

† It has been often alleged that Margaret Brewster went into Mr. Thacher's meeting

entirely naked. I have met with no evidence to support the allegation. It is no doubt false. She is not so charged in the warrant for her apprehension, nor does anything appear in the minutes of her trial, by which such an inference can be drawn. On the other hand, she is spoken of as having on "garments." Her "Examination" may be seen in *Besse*.

ings; and, the next meeting day after these last were whipped, there was such a formidable number of them assembled, that, according to the testimony of one of their writers, "fearfulness surprised the hypocrites," and they did not molest them.

Much difficulty had been experienced by delays of written correspondence. Letters were forwarded from Boston when it was convenient for the Postmaster to do so. Consequently, remote towns stood a poor chance of getting letters from the Capital, under the existing precarious circumstances. It appears to have been a custom to deposit letters at the Town-house, or Exchange, in a public room, to be taken and forwarded at the pleasure of those who visited the place. This way of sending letters out of the town being very uncertain, the Council

Dec. 28. appointed John Haywood "Postmaster for the whole Colony." The immediate cause of this appointment undoubtedly was the failure of people to send in their subscriptions for Harvard College. They had been notified to do so, but, upon investigation, it was found that the letters containing the notices, instead of having been taken from their place of deposit "on Exchange," and forwarded to their proper destination, were lost, or could not be found.*

At the last session of the General Court of last year, Agents were appointed to go to Canada to ransom certain captives taken by the Indians at Hatfield, on the nineteenth of September, 1677. At the May term of the Court, this year, the Governor and Magistrates reported that the Agents were arrived at Albany, with the captives; but "that great charges would arise for their redemption," and they therefore commended their case to the people of all the towns, and invited them to contribute for their relief. They at the same time appointed Mr. Anthony Stoddard, Mr. John Joyliffe, and Capt. John Richards, to be trustees to receive the contributions. There were raised 345 pounds, one shilling and four pence,† of which Boston gave 109 pounds, and a fraction. The next largest sum was given by Portsmouth, which was twenty pounds. Dover gave eleven, Charlestown fifteen, Cambridge thirteen.‡

* Yet, several years earlier than this, there were pretty complete postal arrangements in England. An old author wrote in 1672, that "the inhabitants of this Nation have of late years, by a general Post Office, an exceeding great conveniency in the conveyance of most letters to most parts of the Kingdom; and that at such easie rates, and with such quick dispatch, that in five days an answer may be received through 250 miles; and if but a single letter of a sheet of paper, for the expense of 2 pence, but if of a greater bulk, then after the rate of 8 pence per ounce, and if under 80 miles, then 2 pence for a single letter. If to Scotland, 5 pence, and to Ireland 6 pence, for single letters." — *Blome's Britannia*.

In 1674, The General Post Office in London employed 77 persons, and there were 82 Dep-

uty Post Masters in England and Scotland. In Dublin, there was a General Office for Ireland, employing 18 persons, and 45 Deputy Post Masters in various parts of the Island. There was also an arrangement for sending letters to all parts of Europe. See Chamberlayne's *Anglia Notitia; or Present State of England*, for 1674, i. 242-3.

† There were a few inland places not heard from when the Trustees handed in their account in August of this year.

‡ The Trustees printed their Report on one side of an ordinary sheet, of that day, but one copy of which has ever been heard of or seen by me; and, whether otherwise and elsewhere preserved, appears to me quite uncertain. There were 46 towns or places from which donations were received. It is worthy of

The Deputies to the General Court for 1678, were Capt. Thomas Savage, and Mr. Anthony Stoddard, the same as last year.

Mar. 16. John Leverett, Esquire, Governor of the Colony, died in Boston. He was buried on the twenty-fifth of the same month, and with more parade, probably, than had been ever before witnessed in the town upon a like occasion. There were appointed to march, at the four corners of the hearse, Banner Roll bearers; which were preceded by a helmet bearer, and others. He was universally beloved through life, and every one seemed willing to bear testimony of his worth at his death.

The Representatives or Deputies this year were Capt. John Richards and Mr. Anthony Stoddard.

Since the great fire of 1676, an engine for extinguishing fires had been imported into the town; and at the commencement of this year, "Thomas Atkins, carpenter," was desired to take charge of it. His office amounted to that of captain, and the following persons were approved to be his assistants; namely, "Obediah Gill, John Raynsford, John Barnard, Thomas Elbridge, Arthur Smith, John Mills, Caleb Rawlins, John Wakefield, Samuel Greenwood, Edward Martin, Thomas Barnard, and George Robinson." These constituted the first regular Engine Company of the town.

An Almanac is printed this year in Boston by Mr. John Foster, who was its author.

Aug. 7. A "terrible fire" broke out about the middle of the night of the seventh of August, and continued till near noon of the following day. "It began at one Gross' house, the sign of the Three Mariners, near the Dock. All the warehouses, and a great number of dwelling-houses, with the vessels then in the Dock, were consumed; the most woful desolation that Boston had ever seen."* The loss was supposed to have been 200,000 pounds. About eighty dwelling-houses and seventy warehouses were consumed. "Ah, Boston!" said Dr. Cotton Mather, in 1698, "thou hast seen the vanity of all worldly possessions. One fatal morning, which laid fourscore of thy dwelling-houses, and seventy of thy warehouses in a ruinous heap, not nineteen years ago, gave thee to read it in firey characters."†

This fire was declared to be the work of incendiaries; of "some wicked and malicious wretches, which half ruined the whole Colony."‡ So fierce were its ravages, that all land-marks were obliterated in several

remark, that the Isles of Shoals gave more than Salem, Kittery as much as Lynn, Ipswich more than Charlestown, Hull as much as Andover, or Gloucester, or Topsfield, or Salisbury.

* Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 349.

† *Magnalia*, i. 104, new edition. Bishop, in his *New England Judged*, p. 195, taunts Dr. Mather, by citing the above, and other passages from his work, as fulfilments of Quaker prophecies.

‡ Hubbard, *Hist. New Eng.*, 649. — In the *Colony Records*, we read, p. 242, "Oct. 18,

1679. Whereas, the persons hereafter named are under vehement suspicion of attempting to burn the Town of Boston, and some of their endeavors prevailed to the burning of one house, and only by God's providence prevented from further damage: the Court doth order that Edward Creeke, and Deborah, his wife, Hephzibah Codman, John Avis, John Easte, Samuel Doggett, Wm. Penny, Richard Heath, Sypron Jarman, and James Dennis, shall depart the Jurisdiction and never return, and be kept in prison until ready for their departure."—*Snow*.

places, and considerable trouble was experienced in fixing the bounds of estates. But rebuilding the burnt district went on with such rapidity, that lumber could not be had fast enough for the purpose, and an attempt was made to prohibit its exportation for a period. One of the buildings erected upon the ruins is standing at this day, at the corner of North* Street and Dock Square. It was erected in 1680, a view of which will be seen a few pages onward. Like most other buildings erected at that time, probably, it was plastered outside with a cement of the most durable character, said to have been composed in part of gravel, sand, and broken glass; two stories high, with very steep roof, about equal in height to two thirds of both stories. Although it is viewed at this day as a strange piece of antiquity, it was, in its day, among the elegant structures of the town. The timber used then, for sills, posts, and beams, was generally oak. In the gable end of the roof fronting the Square, the figures marking the date of its erection, 1680, are still to be seen in good preservation; nor are the ornamental crosses, and other figures wrought in the cement, entirely obliterated. It has long been the property of the Greenleaf family. It was once the residence of two respectable families, and then, as now, two stores occupied the lower story. One of these was the principal apothecary shop of the town for many years.

This fire and other evils were considered to have been a dispensation of Providence for the sins of the people.

Sept. 10. A Synod met at Boston, agreeably to the appointment of the General Court. It was called "upon a motion of Mr. Increase Mather, in conjunction with others excited by him for it, to consider, What are the evils that have provoked the Lord to bring his judgments on New England? And what is to be done, that so those evils may be reformed?"†

The same Court which called the Synod, kept a Fast on the twenty-eighth of May, for the sickness in many towns, which was very mortal; and because of "doubtful expectation as to great concernments." A law was passed against erecting meeting-houses without leave of the County Courts, under the penalty of forfeiture of house and land. This was specially intended as a warning to Baptists and Quakers. But the times had become so much changed, that such a law could not be very well enforced, and the Baptists proceeded in the erection of their meeting-house, though they had to do so, at first, under pretences that it was private property, and for other purposes than to preach in.‡ But, owing to the law above mentioned, they did not dare to meet in their house but a few times for several months after it was finished. How-

* Recently Ann Street. When will this changing of names of streets cease? It causes great confusion, and should not be done, for the gratification of idle innovation, as is sometimes evidently the case.

† *Remarkables in the life of Dr. I. Mather*, 84, 85.

‡ "Feb. 9th, the Church met, and purchased their Meeting-house with the land it was built upon, of Philip Squire, and Ellis Callender, for £60, and they met in it for worship the 15th." This being before the new law was made, was one cause of its being made. See *Backus*, i. 481.

ever, Charles Second wrote to the Authorities of Boston, requiring them not to molest people in their worship, who were of the Protestant faith, and directing that liberty of conscience should be extended to all such. This letter was dated on the twenty-fourth of July. It had some effect on the Rulers; but they had become so accustomed to what they called interference from England, and at the same time so successful in evading it, that to stop now seemed, to the majority of the people, as well as Rulers, not only cowardly, but an unworthy relinquishment of privileges which they had always enjoyed, and which they were at all times ready to assert were guaranteed to them in their Charter. To assert the latter was a very easy



FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH.*

thing, while it was a very hard thing, as they very well knew, for those opposed to their assumptions in England to settle any matter to be contested by the Charter, as all former experience proved. However, there was a point beyond which even Bostonians could not go. Charles II. sat quietly on the English throne, and doubtless knew little about New England, and cared less, until moved by those who could gain access to him.

After the destructive fire of 1679, the Town took great pains to prevent

* This view of the First Baptist Church represents the edifice as it appeared when it was used by that Society in its last years. Its site, being valuable for stores, was sold in 1853, and the old building is now (1854) being turned into places of trade, while the proceeds of its sale have enabled the Society to rear the most conspicuous spire in the city upon the east point of Beacon Hill, where it affords a view of the city and surrounding country, not surpassed, if equalled, by any other. To such an eminence has that Church attained, whose foundation was obliged to be clandestinely laid by its original founders. The present grand and lofty steeple will, it is hoped, long stand, not only an ornament to the city, but as a beacon for the intolerant. It should be stated that the first house was of wood, and stood very near where those which have succeeded it stood, now the corner of Hanover and Union streets. In 1771, the Society had so much increased that a larger house became necessary. The old (first) one was taken down, and a new one erected, 57 feet long by 53 feet wide. This was dedicated on the 22d of December of that year, Dr. Stillman officiating. In 1791, the house was enlarged, being now 57 by 77 feet.

Since the preceding part of my work was printed, I have had access, through the politeness of Mr. HAVEN, Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, to a MS. diary kept by Capt. John Hull. In that I find a few facts relating to the "Anabaptists," not elsewhere

noticed. He mentions the "publique disput" [April 14, 15, 1668] between 6 off' o' ministers and a company" of them "in Boston meetinghouse"; that they had been "severall tymes admonished by the Cor^t not to permit the administration of the seals, but charged to hear the word in some of the publique congregations; but they would not obey"; that, "in the publique dispute they behaved themselves exceeding obstinately, absurdly, and ignorantly"; that when, on May 4th, "Gould, Turner, and Farnham" were called before the Court, and "asked whether, after all paines taken to convince them of their evils, they would lay down their assemblings, and cease profaning the holy ordenances, the supper and baptism; but with greate obstinacy they professed themselves bound to continue in their way, and were ready to seal to it with their blood." Under date 1674, Mr. Hull writes, "This summer, the Anabaptists y^e were wont to meet at Noddle's Island met at Boston on y^e Lord's day. One Mr. Symond Lind letteth one of them an house which was formerly Mr. Ruck's." "Some of the Magistrates will not permit any punishment to be inflicted on hereticks as such." In another place, Mr. Hull deplores this lenity in the Government. He speaks of the death of Mr. "John Russell (21 Dec., 1681), a preacher to the Anabaptists, after a pamphlet of his, in excuse of y^e selves, accusing y^e ch^r heer of persecution." Of this pamphlet I have seen but one copy.

fires for the future. At a Town-meeting, ten days after the fire of the eighth of August, Capt. James Oliver was chosen Commissioner, and Mr. Nathaniel Barnes, Clerk of the Writs. A committee was appointed to join with the Select-men, to consider what might be done "for the safety of the Town and preventing fire." This committee consisted of Capt. John Richards, Dr. Elisha Cooke, Capt. John Walley, Capt. Daniel Henchman, Mr. James Whetcombe, and Mr. John Usher. Soon after, it was ordered that the eight foot companies should constitute the Watch of the Town, "each in their own quarters or wards." The number of men to be detailed from each company for the service was thus stated: — From Maj. Thomas Clarke's, six; from Maj. Thomas Savage's, six; Capt. James Oliver's, five; Capt. William Hudson's, six, "and two at the powder store;" Capt. Daniel Henchman's, five; Capt. John Richards', six; Capt. John Hull's, five, and one at the powder store; and of Capt. Humphrey Davis', five. It was at the same time ordered that the Town should be divided into four quarters, each to consist of two wards; that in each quarter four barrels of powder should be lodged, six hand engines, and two crooks in each ward. The care of the north quarter, containing Maj. Clarke's and Capt. Richards' companies, was committed to Maj. Clarke, Capt. Richards, Capt. Elisha Hutchinson, and Capt. Henchman. The Conduit quarter, containing Maj. Savage's and Capt. Henchman's company, to Mr. William Taylor, Lieut. Daniel Turill, Mr. Christopher Clarke, and Lieut. Anthony Checkley. The centre quarter, containing Capt. Oliver's and Capt. Davis' companies, to Maj. Thomas Savage, Mr. Anthony Stoddard, Capt. Thomas Brattle, and Mr. Elisha Cooke. The south quarter, containing Capt. Hudson's and Capt. Hull's companies, Mr. John Joyliffe, Capt. John Hull, Capt. John Faireweather, and Capt. John Walley.

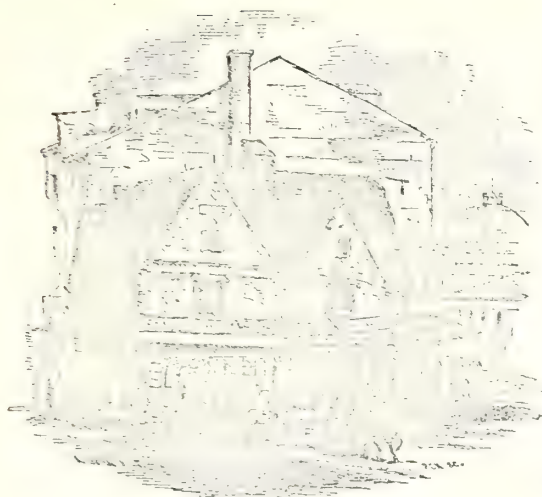
In case of fire, these persons, or any two of them, were empowered to blow up or pull down houses. "Mr. Isacke Addington and Mr. John Joyliffe to p^rvide and put the foregoing in a right methode fit for press, together with all former orders relating to fire."

Sept. 9. It was further ordered, that in every quarter of the Town there should be provided, at the Town's charge, twenty buckets, twenty swabs, two scoops, and six axes; that sixteen men, two out of each company, "doe ward in y^e Towne euery Sabbath day, one of w^{ch} is to be on y^e top of each meetinghouse, to look abroad for preuenting spreading of fire y^t may break out."

At the same time the Town took measures to be allowed to send Deputies to the General Court, on equal terms with the other towns. It justly complained that it was denied its proper representation.*

* Towns then having "above 10 freemen could send one deputy, and if 20 freemen, two," and no town to be allowed more. Hence it was argued that all the freemen except 20 had no representation; and that a town with but 20 freemen had as much weight in the

Government as "our greate Towne, y^e consists of neere 20 times 20 freemen"; who, though not represented, bore their full share of public charges. The Town succeeded in having one representative more, in 1681. This continued until the vacation of the Charter.



OLD STORE, DOCK SQUARE.

of the Dock, at ten shillings a year. Mr. John Woodmansey on the north, and Edward Shippen on the south.

Boston at this period contained about 400 freemen, though the taxable polls the next year were about 868. The estates were valued at about £23,877; each pound was rated at one penny, and the polls paid twenty pence each.

Francis Hudson was to pay eight pounds rent for the Ferry to "Wenese-met," and to transport the Magistrates free, "according to former custom."

Eliakim Hutchinson to have the reversion of part

CHAPTER XLVII.

Renewal of Complaints in England. — The King orders Agents to be sent to answer. — Agents appointed. — Fires. — Ships taken by the Algerines. — Bakers. — Severe Punishment. — Agents return without success. — Others ordered by the King. — The King's Arms set up in the Court House. — A Synod. — Philosophical Society of Boston. — Another Synod. — Purchase of Maine. — A Government established there. — Agency of Randolph. — A Case of Witchcraft. — Trial and Condemnation of Elizabeth Morse. — Arrival of Lord Culpeper. — Death of Mr. Rainsford. — Fire. — Another. — Curious Punishments. — Randolph leaves. — Charles II. — His want of Sagacity. — Randolph comes again. — His Authority thwarted. — The high Threat of the King against the Charter. — Town Affairs.



WHEELWRIGHT.*

THOSE who had considered themselves wronged by the proceedings of Massachusetts, would very naturally take the first opportunity which might offer to regain their rights. Of the number of those aggrieved, were Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. John Mason. The nature of their complaints has, at least that of Gorges (and that of Mason was similar), been explained in the previous part of this history. The time had now arrived for something more than a hearing of those complaints. The King sent a letter "To the Governor and Magistrates of the Town of Boston," dated March the tenth, 1675-6, "commanding that Agents should be

* This engraving of the arms of Wheelwright is copied from the tombstone of "John Wheelwright I take to be the same mentioned ante, Wheelwright, 1740," to be seen in the King's Chapel burying-ground. This John Wheelwright, a grandson of the Rev. John W., the

sent over to appear before him in six months after the receipt of his letter," to answer the charges against the Colony. Edward Randolph, Esquire, brought the King's letter to Boston about three months after its date. The Governor summoned a Court, which met on the ninth of August following, at which meeting it was resolved that "the most expedient way of making answer unto the complaints of Mr. Gorges and Mr. Mason, about the extent of their Patent line," was by Agents; "provided they were, with the utmost care and caution, qualified as to their instructions, by and according to which they may negotiate that affair with safety unto the Country, and with all duty and loyalty unto his Majesty, in the preservation of our Patent liberties."

Agreeably to this decision, Mr. William Stoughton and Mr. Peter Bulkley were appointed to proceed to England as Agents of the Colony, and they proceeded accordingly, in the end of the following October. Mr. Stoughton was son of Capt. Israel Stoughton, mentioned in the account of the war with the Pequots. Mr. Bulkley was son of the Rev. Peter Bulkley, the first minister of Concord, and was this year Speaker of the House of Deputies. It is sufficient here to observe, that the Agents were unsuccessful in opposing the claims of Gorges and Mason. After being detained in England three years, they arrived in Boston near the end of December, 1679, bringing with them a letter from the King, requiring other Agents to be sent over.*

The Town was often infested by incendiaries. A fire was discovered under Capt. Benjamin Gillum's warehouse in time to prevent its doing much mischief. About midnight of the next day the ale-house of Clement Grose was set on fire. This was also extinguished before it did material damage. The great fire of the eighth of August of this year has before been noticed.†

founder of Exeter. Concerning the death of the latter, I observe Mr. Hull in his Diary differs from others, recording it 22 Nov., 1679; and his age he gives, 85. — John Wheelwright, merchant of Boston, made his will 10 Aug., 1751. He died, as before noted, in 1760, a. 71. His will was proved 31 Oct., 1760. — "To son Jeremiah, land near Beacon Hill, which came to me by his mother; £700 to be held in trust by Joseph Green and Nicholas Boylston, both of Boston, merchants, the interest of which at 6 per cent. to be paid quarterly to son Jeremiah, and at his death to his children, if he leaves any, if not, then to sons Nathaniel and Joseph, and my grand-daughter, Mary Wheelwright; to the poor of the First Church of which I am a member, £14; to daughter-in-law Elizabeth Weeks, £66, 13s. 4d., with a handsome suit of mourning, in full satisfaction of certain Articles made before my marriage with her mother. Residue of estate, half to son Nathaniel, the other half to son Joseph and grand-daughter Mary; Joseph and

Mary not of age." — The Hon. John Wheelwright died at Wells, Me., 13 Aug., 1745, a. 81.

* The same letter required "That freedom and liberty of conscience be given to such persons as desire to serve God in the way of the Church of England, so as not to be thereby made obnoxious, or discountenanced from their sharing in the government, much less that they, or any other of his Majesty's subjects (not being Papists) who do not agree in the congregational way, be by law subjected to fines or forfeitures, or other incapacities." — Hutchinson, i. 326.

† Concerning that fire Capt. Hull says, "About midnight began a fyre in an alehouse, which by sunrise consumed the body of the trading part of the Towne; from the Mill-creek to Mr. Oliver's dock, not one house nor warehouse left; and vp from my warehouse to Mrs. Leveret's, thence to Mr. Hez. Usher's, thence to Mrs. Thacher's, thence to Thomas Fitch's." Another contemporary MS. account adds that the number of houses burnt was 77, and of

About a month after that extensive conflagration, the Town was greatly alarmed by the cry of fire, about ten o'clock on a Sept. 7. Sabbath morning, while most of the people were at meeting. It took in the garret of Lieut. Edward Creek's house, but fortunately no other house except that was destroyed.

Among other misfortunes of this year, news was received in December, that Mr. William Condry, in a ship bound from Boston to London, had been taken by the Algerines. Other captures of Boston ships by the corsairs of that nation are from time to time mentioned, the crews of which were carried into a cruel captivity. Some were ransomed at great expense, while many died in bondage.

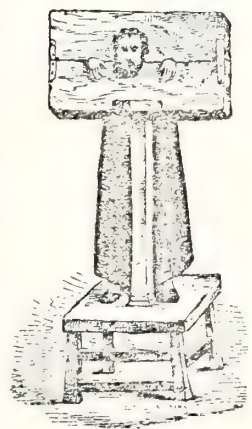
"The loaf bread bakers in Boston," at this time, were John Man, Thomas Skinner, William Hoar, and George Danson. "By reason of y^e defect of y^e assize given in y^e lawe," they petitioned the General Oct. 29. Court for relief from an "intollerable burden." They observe that their calling is a lawful one, to learn which they had "serued long and hard apprenticeships," and add, "wee conceeue we haue a just right to liue of it." The price of grain was regulated by law, and the price and weight of loaves of bread, also. If in times of scarcity the price of grain was enhanced without a corresponding rise of bread, it was a misfortune to bakers, if they were obliged to keep to their old prices.

Meanwhile the General Court took some measures to stand better in England than it had hitherto stood. Supplicating and submissive addresses were sent to the King; a law was passed making treason a capital offence, and the King's arms were put up in the court house. But the laws of England regulating trade were entirely disregarded; alleging as a reason, "that the acts of navigation were an invasion of the rights and privileges of the subjects of his Majesty's Colony, they not being represented in Parliament." This doctrine gained strength through the next hundred years, and was successfully maintained when hostilities commenced at Lexington and Bunker's Hill.

warehouses, 35. By another MS. record, it appears that, at the Court of Assistants, held on the 2d Sept. following, one Peter Lorphelin, a Frenchman, was accused of uttering "rash and insulting speeches in the time of the late conflagration, thereby rendering himself justly suspicious of having a hand therein, was seized and committed to the Goale in Boston: " his chest and writings were examined. In his chest were found two or three "crusables, a melting pan, a strong pair of shears to clip money, and severall clippings of the Massachusetts money, and some other instruments." He denied having ever made any use of these things, but said they were given him by a privateer. But, on being remanded to jail, he made up another story, by which he hoped to clear himself. All, however, to no purpose. He was "sentenced to stand two hours in the Pillory, have both ears cut

off, give bond of £500 (with two sureties), pay charges of prosecution, fees of Court, and to stand committed till the sentence be performed."

The annexed engraving represents an ordinary constructed Pillory of the time. Drawings of such implements were rarely made in New England in those days. — See Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, iii., 55.



PILLORY.

The same year, on a recommendation of the General Court, a May. Synod of all the churches in the Colony was convened in Boston, to see if, by its direction, the Country could be got out of its present difficulties. Accordingly, two very important questions were propounded to this body:—"First. What are the reasons that have provoked the Lord to bring his judgements upon New England? Second. What is to be done, that so these evils may be removed?"* This was called "the Reforming Synod, whereof Mr. Increase Mather," according to his son, "was esteemed a great part."†. And, in this connection, it may be mentioned, that, about this time, Mr. Mather formed a Philosophical Society in Boston, which consisted "of agreeable gentlemen, who met once a fortnight for a conference upon improvements in Philosophy and additions to the stores of Natural History. But the calamity of the times anon gave a fatal and a total interruption to this generous undertaking."‡

Another Synod was convened in May of the following year 1680. Its object was, doubtless, for effect in England. Some act was May 12. thought necessary, probably, by which an impression might be received there, that the church government in New England was tolerant, or in conformity to the English Church.§ Dr. Increase Mather presided at this Synod, "and he kept them so close to their business, that in two days they dispatch'd it." A Confession of Faith was agreed upon, which was issued with a preface by the Chairman of the Synod.|| If the action of this Synod was intended to produce an impression in England favorable to Boston, the movers of it were disappointed.

During these passages the King restored the Province of Maine to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and the Government of Massachusetts "silly"¶ purchased it of him immediately after, and continued its jurisdiction over it. This very much displeased the king, and he required its surrender; tendering the price paid for it, which was twelve hundred pounds. The king's displeasure was farther increased, because the General Court seemed not to assent to or even notice his demand. Charles' lawyers had told him that the Boston people had no right to exercise government over the purchased territory, because their purchase gave them no such right, in the first place; and, in the second

* Hutchinson, i. 324.

† *Remarkables of Dr. I. Mather*, 81.

‡ "One that had a share in that combination, and is now a Fellow of the ROYAL SOCIETY in London, and afterwards transmitted communications thither." The "one that had a share," was doubtless the writer, Dr. Cotton Mather. This ought to silence those who pretend that he was not a member of the Royal Society.—See *Remarkables*, 86.

§ My opinion here expressed is not inconsistent with a passage in a work written purposely to defend the conduct of the Bostonians. It is entitled *New England Justified*, and was

published in 1691. The passage is in these words:—"There are none in the world that do more fully concur with the doctrine of the Church of England contained in the Thirty-nine Articles, than do the Churches in New England, as is manifest from the Confession of their Faith, published in the year 1680."—Page 5.

¶ Grindal Rawson afterwards translated it into Indian, and published it for the use of the Natives in 1699.

¶ This is according to Chalmers, *Political Annals*, 397. Thus insinuating that a question as to honorable dealing might arise.

place, Sir Ferdinando Gorges could not sell or convey any right of government.

A deep game was to be played, and though the parties to it were widely separated, it was managed dexterously and with great skill on this side of the Atlantic, while a steady determination was apparent on the other side. Fully to cover its pretensions, the Government at Boston appointed a Governor and Deputy Governor for Maine. They sailed from Boston for Casco Bay in August, with a small armament, consisting of a ship and a sloop, with sixty soldiers, "to still the people there, and prevent Governor Andros' usurpations." * Thus a government was established in Maine, which was kept up until the Charter of Massachusetts was finally abrogated. This event was much hastened by the agency of Edward Randolph. He often passed from New England † to old England, in the employ of the government of the latter. This individual was placed in no enviable position. The people of Boston viewed him as a spy upon their actions, and, although he may not have gone much beyond the line of his duty, it would have been much better for his reputation had he possessed wisdom enough to have avoided such a duty. He had been appointed Collector, Surveyor and Searcher in New England. It is sufficient to observe that he could not execute his offices, owing to obstructions thrown in his way at every step by the people.

At the very time of the agitation occasioned by the interference of the Government in England with the affairs in Boston, there was a case of Witchcraft to be decided, which occupied the solemn attention of the highest tribunal.

* Hutchinson, i. 329; Chalmers, 397. Mr. Thomas Danforth was the Governor or President. The Deputy President belonged to Maine. The first was Brian Pendleton.—Williamson, *Hist. Maine*, i. 558.

† "He brought over a commission to divers persons, himself at the head of them, to administer an oath to the Governor, faithfully to execute the oath required by the act of trade." Mr. Leverett, then Governor, did not take the oath. The Commissioners were Edward Randolph, Thomas Savage, William Taylor, George Carwin the elder, Thomas Brattle, Thomas Deane, James Wnetcomb, Richard Wharton, John Richards, Humphrey Warren, Thomas Kellond, John Hubbard, Humphrey Davy, and Samuel Mosely, together with the members of the Council for the time being.—*Hutchinson*. Randolph came first to Boston in 1676, arriving only fourteen days before the war with the Indians broke out. He says himself that he sailed from the Downes on the 30th of March, and landed in Boston "after a tedious passage of 10 weeks." On landing, he says, "I went immediately to the Governor, John Leveret, and told him I had a letter from the King to the Magistrates. The Governor said there would be a meeting of the Council in the afternoon upon other business, and that then I should be sent for; as I was, by the

Marshall of their Court; there being 6 of the Magistrates and their Secretary; and there being a chaire placed purposely for me, I was desired by the Governor to sitt." On opening the King's letter, the Governor observed to the Magistrates that it was from his Majesty; "and on looking to the bottom of the letter, he read, '*by his Majesties command. HEN. COVENTRY.*' The Governor asked me 'Who that Mr. Coventry was?' I told him he was your Majesties principall Secretary of State. At the beginning of the reading of his Majesties letter the whole Council being uncovered, I put off my hat; whereupon three of the Magistrates tooke off their hats, but the Governor with the rest continued to keep their hats on."—*Report to the King in Hutchinson's Coll. O. Papers*, 503-4.

In some minutes which Randolph kept, he says, "17 Dec. 1681, I arrived againe att Boston, with his Majesty's Commission, appointing me Collector, &c., but that Commission is opposed, being looked upon as an incroachment on their Charter. A law revived by the Assembly to *trye me for my life, for acting by his Majesty's Commission, before it was allowed of by them.*" — *Hist. King's Chapel*, p. 13.—Something to the same purpose may be seen in *Hutchinson*, i. 336.

The person complained of was a resident of Newbury, named Elizabeth, wife of William Morse.* She and her husband were elderly people,† and, for anything that can now be adduced to the contrary, had lead irreproachable lives, and were remarkable for nothing but great simplicity of character. Complaint was made against her the preceding year, and she underwent a tedious examination before Mr. John Woodbridge, who returned his proceeding to the Court at Boston.

March 6. The Court, having considered the testimony, issued its warrant for her commitment to the jail in Ipswich, which was executed.‡ The time for her trial was fixed on the twentieth of May, and Secretary Rawson ordered the Constable of Newbury, "Joseph Pyke," to summon the witnesses to appear in Boston, at the time specified.§

May 26. The prisoner being brought to the bar, the Court considered the question, "Whether severall distinct single testimonies of preternatural and diabolicall actions by the prisoner at the barr, though not any two concurring to proove the same individuall act, is to be accounted legall evidence to convict of witchcraft. This was resolved on the affirmative by y^e Court."

The question being thus settled, the cause proceeded. She was convicted by a jury,|| and sentenced to be hanged. The magistrates, however, probably through the influence of Governor Bradstreet, voted a reprieve till the full term of the Court. This was not agreeable to the Deputies, but the reprieve was granted. Mrs. Morse¶ remained a

* Mr. Coffin, in his valuable History of Newbury, gave all he could discover relative to this case of Witchcraft. What I am about to detail are chiefly additional facts.

† In the testimony of William Morse and his wife about the "vehemently dashing of potts one against the other, hanging over the fire, the andiron leaping into the pott, dancing there, and then leaping out again" and divers other things equally strange, it is said, that, "together with his wife aged both about 65 yeeres."—Coffin, *Hist. Newbury*, 131.

‡ The original warrant, now before me, runs thus:—"To Joseph Pyke, Constable of Newbury. In his Maj^{ty} name, you are required to seaze on the person of Elisabeth Morse, the wife of William Morse, and hir forthwith safely convey and deliuer hir to the keeper of the prison at Ipswich, by him safely to be kept till the Court of Assistants, on its adjournment to the 20th of May next, who will give farther order, she being presented and left by the Grand Jury for tryall as to witchcraft, and hereof you are not to fail. Dated in Boston: from the 6th of March, 1679 [1679-80.] By the Court.

Edward Rawson, Secret^y."

By Pike's endorsement it appears that he delivered his prisoner to the jailer in Ipswich, April 24.

§ These are the names of the witnesses, as contained in the original warrant:—"Caleb

Moody (42), Wm. Chandler, John Glading, James Broune (32), Joanna Broune, Benjamin Richardson (21), Wm. Card, Joseph Bayly, Zackery Davis, Jonathan Hajnes, John Mihil (44), Joshua Richardson, Susanna Goodwin, John Chase, John Ordway, Wm. Fanning (36), Jonathan Woodman, Benjamin Lowle, Elisabeth Titcomb (50), Peniel Tytcome, Lyddia Tytecom, David Wheeler (55), Wm. Morse, and John Styles."—In the Constable's return, endorsed upon the back of the warrant, several of the above names are differently spelled; as Bayle, Haynes, Mighell, Stilse, and a few others. "An Ordway" was returned instead of John. All those summoned did not appear to testify, probably, and to several of their depositions no age is attached. The following appeared and testified, for whose presence I find no summons:—Mrs. Jane Sewall (54), Margett Mirack (56), Jno. March (22), Esther Willson (28), Susan Topan, and Robert Earle (45).

|| These were the jurors:—"Mr. Richard Middlecott, Mr. Jeremiah Cushin, Mr. John Wait, Left. Rich^d. Waye, and Mr. Thos. Harrod, Boston.—John Stone, Richard Child, Watertown.—Mr. Nathan Heyman, and Mr. John Knite, Charlestown.—Bro. John Green, and Rich^d. Robins, Cambridge.—Jacob Hyen and John Capen, Dorchester."

¶ Her humble station in life allowed only of her being called Gooddy, or Goodwife.

prisoner in a wretched jail in Boston, through the heat of summer, and perhaps the following winter, and finally escaped being put to death, as appears by records of the ensuing year.*

The testimony upon which Gooddy Morse was convicted, so far as appears from the depositions extant, was as worthless and puerile as can possibly be conceived of by the most fruitful imagination.† Such, in these days, could not come within the hearing of contempt, nor would similar evidence be of a pin's weight in an action for the recovery of a fraction of a dollar.

While Mrs. Morse lay in prison, in Boston, her husband petitioned several times in her favor; chiefly to explain away some of the charges upon which she was condemned, and, as might be expected, the explanations were about equal, in depth of understanding, to the charges.‡

There was one, however, of a different character. This June 4. prayed for an alleviation of her sufferings, and cannot be read without exciting emotions of pity, mixed with indignation.§

“Thomas Lord Culpeper, Baron of Thorsway, Governor of Virginia, arrived in Boston.” || It may not be out of place to state here, that, although that gentleman came to Boston apparently by accident, yet he made many close observations relative to the condition of the country, both regarding its government and wealth. Afterwards, when Mr. Randolph communicated his written report ¶ of

* For which see *Hist. of Newbury*.

† Thomas Knolton, the jailer at Ipswich, testified that when he brought the prisoner down to Boston, she told him “she was as clear of the accusation as God in heaven.” For this expression she was threatened with an action for blasphemy; and it may have influenced the jury, that as witchcraft and blasphemy were very nearly related, the latter was as bad as the former, and hence their verdict. Knolton further testified: — “As I brought goody Morse down, she owned to me that she stroakt goodwife Ordway's child over the head, when it was sick, and the child dyed.”

‡ For which see *Hist. of Newbury*.

§ As it is not contained in the *Hist. of Newbury*, and being brief, it is here presented: — “To the Honorable: Gov. and Council now sitting in Boston, June 4th. 1680. The petition of Wm. Morse Humbly sheweth: — That whereas his deare wife was by one jury found guilty of witchcraft, & by the honorable Court condemned to dye, yett since God hath beene pleased to move yo^r honor harts to grant her a reprieve untill October next, yo^r petition, humbly prays that yo^r hono^r will be pleasd to shew her so much pitty as to grant her liberty in the day time to walk in the prison yard, and to y^e prison house; and that in the night shee may haue the privilege of a chamber in the common goale, and be freed from the dungeon wh^{ch} is extreame close and hott in this season, and also liberty on the Sabbath to goe to meeting — he and his children giving security

for her safe imprisonment. — So shall he be ever obliged to pray as in duty bound. &c.

Wm. Mosse.”

This petition is in the beautiful chirography of Mr. Isaac Addington, and the signature of the petitioner is well executed. It shows how he spelled his name, at least at that time. Whether the requests in the petition were complied with or not, I have met with nothing to show.

|| Judge Sewall, *Interl. Almanack*. He was probably of the same family of the famous author of the *Herbal*, who was grandson of a Sir Thomas Culpeper. The *Herbalist* died in 1654. Our Lord Culpeper married Margaret, youngest dau. and coheir of Seign^r. Jean de Hesse, of the noble family of Hesse of Bergen. His dau. Catharine married Thomas, fifth Lord Fairfax. She heired the estates in Virginia.

¶ Printed in Hutchinson's *Col. of Orig. Papers*, 447-513. Hutchinson considers it full of exaggerations, but he does not doubt its authenticity, as might be inferred from what Chalmers, p. 438, says. The meaning of the latter unquestionably is, that Hutchinson only doubted the correctness of many of the statements. The Report, or “Narrative,” as it is termed, states that, “There are about 30 Merchants worth from £10 to £20,000.” That “there are no servants but upon hired wages, except some few who serve four years for the charge of being transported thither; and not above 200 slaves in the Colony, and those are brought from Guinea and Madagascar.” Hutchinson remarks nothing against the cor-

the state of the Country to the "Lords of the Committee of Colonies," they, owing to its extraordinary developments, were led to doubt its general accuracy; and, knowing that Lord Culpeper had visited Boston, they applied to him for his opinion upon the correctness of its statements. He answered, that he had perused Mr. Randolph's writings, and that, during his stay in Boston, he "did hear most of the matters of fact specified therein." He also added that the coinage of money here was very prejudicial to the King's subjects.

Thus, notwithstanding Lord Culpeper was treated with many attentions and much respect, he finally bore witness against the Country. Although it is said "he came privately into Boston," yet the next day he had a public dinner given him in the Townhouse, and the eight military companies were in attendance.* After a stay of about eight weeks, he sailed for England. Sir Edmund Andros came to town soon after, to see his Lordship, as was supposed, and was, of course, disappointed. He remained about a week, and, on leaving for New York, was escorted by the military of the town as far as Dedham.

Aug. 16. "Elder Edward Rainsford dyed; being old and full of dayes." He came early to Boston, was admitted a freeman in the beginning of the year 1637; was the first ruling elder of the Old South Church.† The noted island in the harbor bearing the name of Rainsford perpetuates his memory. He was always one of the substantial men of the Town, and is often mentioned in its history. He was a brother of Sir Richard Rainsford, who succeeded Sir Matthew Hale, as Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. In the religious controversy of 1637, he was on the side of Mrs. Hutchinson, and was one of those at that time disarmed.

Sept. 19. "About four a'clock in the after noon, being Sunday, a fyre was discovered in the top of the old Meetinghouse, in the uppermost private room wher the clock stood." The damage sustained is

Dec. 28. not mentioned. "About half an hour past 3 a'clock in the morning Mr. Samson Sheaff's house fell on fyre, by some neglect within. Some of them were forced to leape out of their chamber window, yet all their liues preserved.‡ Two other houses were burned with it, and one blown vp." The same morning, about half an hour later, "Mr. Nicholas Page, his ship lying at Capt. Benjamin Gillum's wharfe, fell on firre, and was not mastered without much damage to the ship and loading, and to said Gillum's warehouse." One person

rectness of this, but when he comes to the following:—"There are men able to bear armes, between 30 and 40,000; and in the town of Boston is computed about 4000," he notes, "This is an extravagant computation."

* Capt. John Hull's *MS. Diary*.

† Hull's *Diary* and *Hutch. Hist.* Mr. Rainsford lived on the north side of the Cove, which bounded him on the south. Garret Bourne's land joined him on the west, David Olley's on the east.—*Book of Possessions*. On 22: 12:

1657, he hired of the Town a piece of ground "behind his garden by y^e water side, adjoyning his new dwelling house, being 36 foote at y^e end of his fence, 45 foote by Wm. Lane's fence, and towards y^e Marsh 16 foote."—*Town Records*.

‡ Nov. 28th, 1681, Goodman Dosset was allowed £50, "in rate pay, for blowinge vp his house when Mr. Sheafe's house was burnt."—*Town Records*. Perhaps the same John Dosset, who, in 1610, had lands "at the Mount."

"Jerinni [?] Mather was blowen into a cellar, and had his thigh broken and his head bruised."

At this period certain crimes were punished by fines, imprisonment, whipping, and standing in the broad aisle of the meeting-house upon a high stool, on a lecture day, having an inscription upon their heads, with their offence written upon it in large letters.*

Mr. Randolph returned to England in the beginning of the year, and reported the state of affairs in Boston. He saw that his powers, however ample upon paper, availed him nothing, while physically he had no power at all. He was deprecated and stigmatized as one of the worst of men,† while his offences seem to have been only to perform a duty which he had unluckily undertaken. The people of Boston were determined to have things their own way as long as they could. They had hitherto succeeded in baffling the authority of the English government, sometimes by stratagem, and sometimes by the aid of fortunate accidents; and they still hoped the same course of things would continue.‡

It may seem a little strange that an armed force had not been sent over sufficient to put down opposition, and to have enabled the officers of the Crown to execute the laws. But this precaution was neglected

* Mr. Felt records a case of this kind in his *Annals of Salem*, p. 270, from "Q. Ct. R." Perhaps there is nothing in those Records further explaining the case than he has given, by which the crime committed appears to have been incest by two females!

† Dr. Cotton Mather is very bitter against him,—accuses him of forging a letter and signing his father's name to it, which letter was full of treasonable expressions; and that it was laid before the King, that the pretended author might suffer for it. "But," says the Doctor, "Randolph missed of his bloody purpose. Wretch! I shall have further occasion to mention thee."—*Remarkables*, 95.

‡ Mr. Randolph did not sail for England before 25 Dec., 1680, though Chalmers and Hutchinson state that he left towards the close of that year. A paper in his autograph, handed into Court, endorsed "Mr. Randolph's motion agt. Mr. Brock," is dated 25 Dec., 1680. In another paper, addressed "To the Hon^{ble} Gov^t and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New Eng^d", his Ma^{ty}'s Leiftn^t and Lord Proprietor of the Province of Maine," a specimen of his vexations is fully set forth. It is headed, "The Appeal of Edward Randolph, Esq^r, Collector, Surveyor, and Searcher of his Ma^{ty}'s Customs in New Eng^d, in behalf of his said Maj^{ty}'s, said Lord Proprietor, and said Edw^d Randolph." This gives a better idea than can be otherwise obtained, of the authority which Mr. Randolph had, or considered he had. The

following paragraph or two will show the nature of his business. They are from the same paper [addressed to the Gov^t and C^o, &c.]:—

"In answer to a letter from y^r Hon^d M^r Danforth, President of y^r said Province, directed to Major Pendleton and Maj. Davis, a Court was held at York, in y^r said Province, vpon y^e 4th Novemb^r, 1680, for tryall of a cause arising vpon seizure of y^r Bark called the Guift of God, of Jarsey (as pretended), Eli Nichols [?], master, made by the said appellant whereat y^r s^d tryall:

1. An entry with Mr. Hook, of Kittery (not empowered to take entrys), was allowed valid;
2. A testimony of two saylers belonging to y^r s^d Bark taken before the said Mr. Hook many days after said pretended entry was made, was by the Court allowed and equivalent to such Certificate as is required by y^r act made in y^e 15th year of the King for encouragement of trade to be produced by all masters coming into any of his Ma^{ty}'s said Plantations from Eng^d;
3. That witnesses and evidence for his Maj^{ty}'s were not permitted to be examined in open Court, but privately taken and conveyed to y^r jury without notice of said Court, or said Appellant. And that other testimony for his Maj^{ty}'s was rejected because the deponent had not taken the oath of allegiance in New England, but affirmed he had taken that oath in England; by which illegal practices the said Appellant was cast," &c. He further complains that "when he appealed to his Maj^{ty}, his appeal was rejected."

A copy of Mr. Randolph's signature to the above paper is here subjoined.

E. A. Randolph. 1680.

till it was too late. The great sagacity of King Charles the Second is spoken of by many writers; but, however much he possessed of that important ingredient of character, it cannot be pretended that he discovered much of it in managing the affairs of New England. Year after year a determined opposition to his government was apparent; his Commissioners, one after another, had been thwarted, insulted, and obliged to return home in disgrace. Still, remonstrances only were sent over.

Dec. 17. In the end of the same year, Mr. Randolph returned again to Boston. What encouragement he had to incline him to suppose he should meet with better success than before, does not plainly appear. However, on laying his Commission before the General Court, while that body did not deny its validity, their manner was sufficiently indicative of a contempt for its bearer, which also betrayed their own embarrassment. He requested that the Government would second him in executing his Commission, but his request was unheeded. He then posted up an advertisement in the Town House notifying all persons of the establishment of his office. This was soon torn down by the Marshal, who acted under the direction of some influential members of the General Court. Well might the historian exclaim, as one actually did, on reviewing these transactions, "To what a state of degradation was a King of England reduced!" And, "How weak are the declarations of positive law when attempted to be exercised in opposition to the spirit of the people!"

What was the Country to expect when this renewed contempt of authority should be laid before the King? A fleet of men of war to bring it to its duty? Perhaps some expected this, but there came nothing but a letter of remonstrance, — a sharp one, it is true.* It embodied a long catalogue of "crimes and misdemeanors" of which New England in general, and Boston in particular, had been guilty. In his letter, the King, or his lawyers for him, refers to the treatment his Commissioners of 1665 received. Speaking in the first person plural, as is yet the custom of Kings, and addressing himself to the Government in Boston, he says, "No thing could prevail with you to let those Commissioners hear and determine those particular causes which we had commanded them to take care of. And in opposition to our authority, it was then proclaimed, by sound of trumpet, within our Town of Boston, that the General Court was the supreme judicature in that Province; and that the Commissioners pretending to hear appeals was a breach of your Charter; and a paper was also published by order of Court, to deter all persons from making any complaints and appeals unto them; and many of our subjects were also imprisoned for applying to our Commissioners." They were also reminded of having put people to death for conscience sake; that, instead of sending over Agents to give satisfaction, they had sent letters only, containing "some frivolous excuses" for not complying; that, instead of aiding Officers

* Dated October 21st, 1681.



of the Crown in doing their duty, they had allowed "attachments to be issued against them for doing their duty, thereby giving opportunity to irregular traders of compassing their frauds. That the said Officers, prosecuting offenders, have been forced to deposit money before any trial at law could be obtained, and have been obliged to pay costs after such trials." This was exactly the experience of Mr. Randolph, who, according to his own statement, suffered great losses by the obstructions thrown in his way by the people of Boston.

For "these and many other irregularities, crimes, and misdemeanors," the letter proceeds, "we are fully resolved, in Trinity term next ensuing, to direct our Attorney-general to bring a Quo Warranto in our court of King's bench, whereby our Charter granted unto you, with all the powers thereof, may be legally evicted and made void. And so we bid you farewell."

It must not be supposed that the whole country was for opposing the King. There were two parties then, similar to those which existed just previous to the Revolution of 1775. One party was rather violent, while the other was more moderate, and deemed it unwise to conduct so harshly in opposing the home government, and thought it claimed more under the Charter than that instrument authorized. All, however, agreed in the importance of their privileges under that instrument, while they differed as to their extent, and the means of defending them.

Deputy Governor Danforth, now President of Maine, was at the head of the first party, and the aged Governor Bradstreet was the leader of the more moderate party.*

* The question as to the expediency of choosing nine Select-men was considered at the Town-meeting, March 14th, 1680-1, and was postponed to the next meeting. Nathaniel Greenwood and John Meriam, Sen., were among the Select-men this year. Constables chosen were "Thomas Baker, Jr., Mr. Paul Dudley, Mr. Steeph. Burton, Mr. Edward Raynsford, Mr. Addam Winthrop, Mr. John Hebert, Mr. Giles Dyer, Mr. Joseph Pincheon." Mr. Dudley and Mr. "Hobert" paid a fine of £10 each. Mr. Winthrop refused to serve, and Mr. Pincheon "desired time to consider

of it, if he could not acquit himself by law." Whether the office was getting into disrepute, or why those gentlemen declined the service, does not appear. However, "Mr. John Ha-wood, Joseph Homes, and Joseph Pearce, tayl," were elected in their stead, and Joseph White for Muddy River, John Flood for Rumney Marsh. "John Skarlet and Rowland Storey, Water Bayliffes. — March 16th, Elisha Cooke, Mr. Isack Addington, and Mr. Sam^l Seywell" [Sewall] were appointed a committee in aid of a certain Petition to be presented to the General Court by the Freemen.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Agents again sent to England. — Do not succeed. — Quo Warranto threatened. — A Custom-house. — Cranfield in Boston. — Agents return in Disgrace. — Quo Warranto brought over. — Town Meeting upon it. — Speech of Mr. I. Mather. — Charter vacated. — Great Fire. — Death of Thomas Brattle — of John Hull. — Militia divided into four Companies. — Charles Second proclaimed. — Number of Ships arrive in a year. — New order about Freeman. — Serious Accident. — Death of Mr. Freake and others. — Death of Thomas Clarke. — Scotch Charitable Society. — Indian Deed of Boston. — Death of the King. — James Second reluctantly proclaimed. — Kirk appointed Governor.



BRADSTREET.*

THE threatening letter of Charles was brought to Boston by Mr. Randolph late in 1681. A Court was called, and, the letter being read, it appeared

Feb. to the members generally, that they had gone quite as far as they could go against the King's commands. There was much opposition to the proposal, on the part of the Deputies, to send special messengers to England to endeavor still to avert the royal vengeance, but it was finally agreed that other Agents should be sent, and Mr. Stoughton and Mr. Dudley were chosen. Mr. Stoughton, however, would not accept the appointment, and Mr. Richards, a wealthy merchant and one of the Assistants, was chosen in his stead, and they embarked upon their unwelcome mission, on the last day of May.

The Agents found themselves in a very unpleasant situation on their arrival in England. They had been instructed not to do anything that might violate or infringe the liberties and privileges which the Charter granted, or that the Government had established under it. It soon became apparent to them that this standing to chartered rights would no longer avail them, for they would soon have no Charter to stand by, inasmuch as Charles was determined to take it from them. Every step in the proceeding tended to confirm them that such would be the event. Sir Lionel Jenkins, Secretary of State, examined their instructions, and they were informed, through Lord Radnor, that the Council had agreed to report to the King, that unless they speedily obtained powers sufficient to satisfy in all points, a Quo Warranto

* Taken from the seal attached to the will of Gov. Bradstreet, on file in the Probate office, Boston. The accompanying Autograph of the Governor is from an official paper of 1681, and that of his talented lady has been furnished me by Mr. JOHN DEAN, of Boston.

Simon Bradstreet Govr
A Bradstreet

should proceed. Randolph gloried in the Agents' confusion, and said that "he would now make the whole faction tremble." *

1682. In the mean time, to make a favorable impression upon their opposers, a partial compliance with some of the King's requirements was made by the General Court. They repealed the law against the observance of Christmas, and established a Custom-house, or, as it was then called, a Naval Office. However, circumstances conspired against the Bostonians. Randolph had been able to defeat the intentions of their Agents in England, whom he had followed there, and at the same time the wise men of Boston had been ensnared in a plot too shallow almost to deserve the name. Cranfield, Governor of New

1683. Hampshire, came to Boston, and, pretending friendship, was shown the letters of the Agents in England, which disclosed their embarrassed situation. With feigned kindness he advised the Authorities to offer the King, through Lord Hyde, two thousand guineas for his Majesty's private use. Thus indirectly to bribe the King! Strange as it may now seem, the Authorities were caught in this transparent net, and authorized their Agents to make the offer. Ridicule was now added to their confusion, and their business was at an end. Cranfield, then in England, at the same time represented the people here as rogues and rebels.

Oct. 23. Chagrined and disgraced, the Agents returned to New England. In the course of the same week arrived also the evil genius of the Colony, Edward Randolph, bringing with him the dreaded Quo Warranto. His consequence and importance was much increased by the unbounded success which had attended his efforts to humble the people of Boston; and, to give his consequence more weight, a frigate conveyed him, and lay before the town, the object of which there was no mistaking.

Randolph brought also a declaration from the King, purporting, "that if, before prosecution of the Quo Warranto, the Colony would make full submission, and entire resignation to his pleasure, he would regulate their Charter for his service and their good."

Hence, the Charter was to be surrendered, or certain consequences suffered; which consequences were not at all doubtful. It was now for the General Court to decide whether the country should be crushed with or without its Charter. Such was the dilemma to which it was reduced. The General Court might indeed choose, but of what value was the

* This he wrote in a letter to the Earl of Clarendon, 14 July, 1682. He declared that the Articles he had now exhibited against Massachusetts, for "high misdemeanors" would "make the whole faction tremble." As leaders in the "high misdemeanors," he designated "Thomas Danforth, Samuel Nowell, a late fanatic preacher, and now a Magistrate, Daniel Fisher, and Elisha Cooke, Deputies." These, he urged, should be sent for to answer in England. — See Hutchinson, i. 336. Randolph

elsewhere gives these names as among his chief opposers: — "Daniel Gookin, Nathaniel Saltonstall, Richards, Davy, Gedney, Appleton, Brattle, Stoddard, Bathurst, Hathorn, Wait, Johnson, Hutchinson, Sprague, Oakes, Holbrook, Cushing, Hammond and Pike." These he said constituted the "faction of the General Court."

Josh. Saltonstall

choice? The people of Boston, influenced by their ministers, were boiling with indignation, and, if there were any who desired Mr. Randolph's situation, their choice was not to be envied.

Nov. 15. Seeing that affairs were desperate, the Governor and Assistants voted to send an humble Address to his Majesty, stating that they would not contend, but would "humbly lay themselves at his feet." Notwithstanding this act of the upper House, when it came before the Deputies they entered their dissent upon it,* and it never became a law. But, as affairs turned, it made no difference in the end, and the fact is now useful only as showing how inflexible the majority of the General Court was upon a principle, which eventually achieved American Independence.



INCREASE MATHER.

The inhabitants of the town, with great unanimity, sustained the Deputies. A Town-meeting was called, in which the King's Declaration was discussed. The 1682-1. Rev. Increase Mather was present, Jan. 21. and made a speech against the surrender of the Charter, and his arguments were completely conclusive with the people, and the proposal was rejected, *nemine contradicente*, as expressed upon the records of that day. Among other things Mr. Mather said, "I verily believe, we shall sin against the God of Heaven, if we vote an affirmative unto it. The Scripture teacheth us otherwise. 'That which the Lord our God has given us, shall we not possess it?' If we make a submission, we fall into the hands of men immediately; but if we do not, we still keep ourselves in the hands of God. The loyal citizens of London would not surrender their Charter, lest their posterity should curse them for it. Shall we then do such a thing?"† It was also said, "It was better to die by the hands of others than by their own."

* This dissent on their part, could the surrender have been tested legally. Hutchinson decides, would have saved the Charter. But when any instrument has been declared null and void in the proper court of law, it is not easy to see how such instrument can be of force. As long as judgment was not entered, and the Charter remained in the hands of the Colony, so long the Charter was good. Had it been voluntarily surrendered, the case, regarding the Colony, would have been the same. Rhode Island and Connecticut never surrendered their Charters, but judgment was not entered against them; hence their Charters remained good, though for a time *dormiens*. The whole quarrel was with Massachusetts, or in fact Boston, and the matter of a judgment against the other Charters slumbered also. To be sure, Sir Edmund Andros attempted in person to take away that of Connecticut, but failed, owing to one of those little stratagems which will not soon be forgotten.

† *Remarkables* of Dr. I. Mather, p. 90-2. In the beginning of the year 1681, Mr. Mather preached a sermon at the "Lecture of Boston," which he soon after printed, entitling it *Heaven's Alarm to the World*, &c. This, although it apparently had reference only to comets and earthquakes, had a political bearing also. Many apt Scripture quotations were brought in, and it is not difficult to discover that he wished the people to understand that God would overcome and thwart the designs of their enemies, the enemies of his Church in New England; that he had thus far preserved them, and it must not be doubted that he would still continue his protection; and in closing he said, "When troubles come let them find us watching."

Preaching Mather

An attempt was made, however, to prevent judgment being rendered on the return of the writ of Quo Warranto, by the employment of an Attorney to appear in England and answer for the Country. Addresses, very humble ones, were forwarded to appease the royal indignation; but all to no purpose. "Judgment was rendered up,"* and thus ended the first Charter of Massachusetts.†

The next day after the arrival of Mr. Randolph, a "terrible fire happened in Boston, in the richest part of the Town."‡ Its ravages were about the Dock, to the south of Drawbridge street.§ There were those who insinuated that Randolph had procured the fire to be set; but this is extremely improbable, and the propagators of the report no doubt fabricated it to inflame the inhabitants against him.

April 5. Capt. Thomas Brattle died this year, in the early part of April. He was Moderator of the Town-meeting on the twelfth of March, to which office he had been elected in 1681, and in 1682 also; he had served many years as a Select-man, and was an active and efficient officer in the late Indian war. In May, 1676, he surprised a company of Indians near Rehoboth, "busie in fishing in a river therabouts," and killed eleven or twelve of them, losing but one of his own men. He commanded a party of horsemen, and not long after, with Mosley's company, and few others, he captured one hundred and fifty more.

April 16. At a Town-meeting, only eleven days after his decease, Mr. Timothy Prout was chosen a Select-man in his place, and Capt. William Gerrish was elected Moderator. He was interred in the Johnson burying-ground, now called King's Chapel, and from his tombstone, yet remaining, it appears that his age was sixty. He is styled Major on the same stone. His wife, Mrs. Elizabeth Brattle, died on the preceding November, at the age of forty-four. His name is attached to many public documents of the time.||

Oct. 1. The active, enterprising and useful Capt. John Hull died, aged fifty-nine years, wanting one month and about eighteen days, leaving a very large estate, acquired by his own industry and good calculations.¶ He was born, as himself says, "in Market Hare-

* Some further particulars may be seen in Hutchinson, i. 340. The judgment was rendered at Trinity-term [June 18th], 1684, but an official copy of it was not received in Boston till July 2d, 1685.

† See Neal, *Hist. N. Eng.* (2d Ed.) ii. 42. Chalmers, 415.

‡ Hutchinson, i. 338. — Chalmers, 414.

§ Pemberton.

|| A copy of his autograph has been given in page 388, and the family Arms on page 369.

¶ The date of Mr. Hull's death is derived from the sermon preached upon the occasion by Mr. Willard, namely, Oct. 1st, 1683. Judge Sewall, his son-in-law, who procured the sermon to be printed, entered the death in an Almanack, Sept. 30. This discrepance of

a day is easily explained, supposing Mr. Hull to have died in the night of Sept. 30. The date in the sermon is, doubtless, right.

Robert, the father of Capt. John Hull, m. 1st, Elizabeth Storer, widow. She d. 3 May 1646, leaving a son Richard Storer (the brother, probably, mentioned by Mr. John Hull who assisted him). He m. 2dly, Judith Paine, wid. of Moses Paine, also wid. of Edmund Quiney. She d. 5 Mar., 1654, having had by Edmund Quiney, Edmund, b. 1627, d. 7 Jan., 1698, a. 70, and Judith. This Edmund m. 1st, Joanna Hoar, who d. 16 May, 1680; 2d, Elizabeth, wid. of Rev. John Eliot, jr., and dau. of Hon. Daniel Gookin, 8 Dec. 1680. She d. 30 Nov. 1700. He had by the first wife, Mary, Daniel, John, Joanna, Judith,

borough," in the County of Leicester, on the eighteenth of December, 1624. When he was about ten years of age, his father, Robert Hull, a smith, removed with his family to New England. They sailed from Bristol in the ship *George*, Nicholas Shapley master, on the 28th of September, 1635, and arrived in Boston on the seventh of the following November. Although they had a fair passage, they came very near being wrecked on Cape Sable sands. The ship struck thirty times, "to the amazement of Master and mariners, and hope of safety being taken away, the saylers would have hoysed out the long boate, but the alknowing God would not suffer them, with all their power (and also the help of many passingers) to get out the boates, but it hung by the fluke of the anchor; and God soe ordered it that after long beating there, he turned the shipp off againe into the sea," with but slight damage.

Mr. Hull's father settled in Boston, where, says the son, "after a little keeping at scoole, I was taken to help my father plant corne, which I attended for seven yeares together. I then fell to learning by the help of my brother, and to practising the trade of a goldsmith, and was able to get my living by it."

Elizabeth, the mother of Mr. Hull, died in 1646. The following year he records his marriage in these words:—"The ^{1646.} ^{May 3.} eleventh of the third month, Mr. John Winthrop married me and my wife Judith, in my own house, being the third day of the weeke." He kept a diary, in which these facts are recorded, but at what time he commenced it does not appear.

Although Mr. Hull was one of the true Puritans, he thus notices the death of the King in 1648:—"Great Charles the first was beheaded upon Tuesday [January thirtieth, 1649] about two aclock. A very solemn and strange act." By applying the word great to the king, the author probably had reference to his station only. When he records the death of Cromwell, his language is not equivocal. He writes, "Wee ^{1658-9.} ^{Feb. 25.} received the sad news of the death of the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell, a man of excellent worth, who died September third, 1658. The Lord give sutable affections to bewaile the loss of such choyce ones. He was one that sought the good of New England, though he seemed to be much wanting in a thorough testimonie against the blasphemors of our dayes." *

Elizabeth, and Edmund who d. young; by the second, Edmund and Mary. Edmund Quincy's (first named) dau. Judith, m. Mr. John Hull, 3 Jan. 1646-7, as in the text. Besides John, Robert Hull had a son Edward, who m. Eleanor Newman, 20 Jan. 1652-3. All of Capt. John Hull's children d. young, except Hannah, wife of Judge Sewall, as elsewhere mentioned. She was b. 14 Feb. 1657. From the Quincy family here noticed, are descended the families of Boston and Quincy (anciently Braintree); the venerable patriarch of which, the Hon. Josiah Quincy, now above 80 years

of age, is a living monument among nature's noblemen; and may he long live to elevate the character of a city which he has so much advanced in all its excellences.

The conjectural and closing sentences of the note on page 329, *ante*, are wrong. When that note was written I had not seen Capt. Hull's Diary.

* Cromwell did not approve of the severe proceedings of the people here against those who differed from them in matters of religious belief. This occasioned the closing remark of Mr. Hull.

Mr. Hull's intolerance is often observable in his diary. He records the sentence of death against three Quakers, and then adds — "well they deserved it. Most of the Godly have cause to rejoyce and bless the Lord that strengthens our Magistrates and Deputies to bear witness against such blasphemers."

When, in 1652, the militia of Boston were divided into four companies, Mr. Hull was appointed a Sergeant. In regular order he advanced in office till he became Captain of the Artillery Company in 1671. He was largely engaged in navigation, and although his losses by captures, wrecks and other casualties, were, from year to year, large, yet upon the whole his interest was advanced. In 1657 he was chosen by the Town "to be one of the seven men to looke after the Townes affaires."

The proclaiming of Charles the Second in Boston is thus described by Mr. Hull:— "Eighth of the sixth, 1661, being the 5th day of the weeke, after our ordinary lecture, the soldiers being all in armes, viz. our four companies and the country troop, the Magistrates mounted on horseback, the Ministers being present, and a multitude of people, King Charles the Second was proclaimed by Mr. Edward Rawson, Secretary of State, all standing bare, and ended with, God save the King, and a shout, sundry vollies of shot from the soldiery, all the gunns in the Castle, Fort and Town and ships. All the chieff officers feasted that night at the charge of the Country."



CHARLES II.

In 1660-1 Mr. Hull was chosen Town Treasurer. In 1662 he accompanied the Agents, Mr. Bradstreet and Mr. Norton, to England. While in that country he visited the native place of his wife, and took the date of her birth out of the register.* After about a month's stay in London, he "went down into the country, and visited his kindred and towne, and went as farr as Hull to see his Cozzen Hoar." He brought over with him "several children, all in health," save one, Sam. Gaylor, who, having been placed with Mr. Clark, fell overboard and was lost.†

In 1666 Mr. Hull's father died.‡ When the Third Church was

* But what her maiden name was, or the name of the place where she was born, he does not inform us. He speaks of the death of his wife's mother, 29. 1. 1654, but mentions not her name.

† These may have been of that class of children previously spoken of in this history. He arrived at his own house in Boston, Sept. 3d, 1662, on his wife's birth-day, 1626. He sailed on the 10th of Feb. preceding.

‡ He thus records his death. "July 28. About 4 in ye after the Lord tryed me, by calling for my honor^d father Robert Hull,

home to himself; being two days before taken with a flux, and then with violent cramp in his leggs, and burning att his heart, yet bore all with sweet patience and thankfulness." He does not state his age, nor anything else concerning him. He is even more brief regarding his mother's death,—"7. 3. 1646, at 5 a'clock in the afternoone, being the 5th day of the weeke, my Mother, Elizabeth Hull, was taken away by death." Her maiden name has not been discovered. She was a widow Storer, as before mentioned.

formed, John Hull and his wife Judith were among those that formed it.* In 1663 Mr. Hull notes, — "This year it was said by such as took account of the number of shippes that came in, that there came into Boston harbor sixty shippes and barkes, beside ketches, &c." The next year he says, as if of his own knowledge, — "Hear hath come near one hundred sail of shippes; our own and strangers, and all laden home." In 1668 he was left out of the list of Select-men, but the town of Wenham chose him their Deputy to the General Court; and in 1671, 1672, and 1673, he was chosen to the same office by the town of Westfield. In 1675 he was appointed by the Council to be of the "Committee of War," and also "Treasurer for the War;" † and afterwards, the same year, he was chosen "Treasurer of the Countrey," which office he held until 1680. He was then chosen one of the Assistants, which office he held till his death.

Mr. Hull had an uncle living in London, named Pariss, who transacted much business for him, and who he heard had died of the Plague. ‡ He was much rejoiced to learn, in 1666, that he was living, and with his family was well. He visited him in 1669-70, "and was

* Mr. Hull in his Diary says very little about the difficulties between the First and Third Churches. (See *ante*, p. 383-6.) He notes the proceedings in person. Dr. Owen, thus: "15. 6. 1663. The Ch. had a meeting, and joyntly agreed to write letters by the first opportunity vnto England for Dr. Jno. Owen. 21. 6. The letters by the persons deputed to draw them were read to the Ch., which they accepted; only Mr. Edward Hutchinson and Mr. Houghlin showed dissent, and desired the Ch. might at that tyme express their intention, or rather resolution, to choose Mr. James Allen. Mr. Thos. Goodwin, Mr. Carill, and Mr. Greenhill were also written vnto to promote the Ch's desire; and in case it should see fall out y^e Doctor could not come, to think of who might bee meet for vs." The hope of obtaining Dr. Owen's services was kept up more than two years. In Dec. following he was written to again by the Church, and also in its behalf by the General Court. "1664. 10. 3. Mr. Pierce arrived from London, but bro't not Dr. Owen, nor any certain enformation of his resolution to come." Even as late as 9 June, 1666, by an arrival from England, it was learned "off his likely coming hither." Mr. Hull's Autograph, from the first leaf of his Diary, is here copied:

John Hull

† The book kept by the Treasurer during Philip's war, a large folio in vellum, is in the library of the N. Eng. Hist. Genealogical Soc., beautifully indexed by Mr. ISAAC CHILD, a member of the Society.

‡ The plague of 1665, which broke out in London towards the close of April of that

year. The General Court ordered a Fast to be kept on the 22 Nov. of the same year, "for our dear native land, in respect of the raging pestilence." The Plague, and the Great Fire which succeeded it were very detrimental to the commerce of Boston; but in June, 1666, the Town was rejoiced to learn, by the arrival of Mr. Clarke's ship, that the Plague had ceased. The news of a war with France, and the progress of that with Holland, was very alarming. Soon after (12 June), 200 poor people arrived in Boston, whom the French had driven from St. Christopher's, which had fallen into their hands. Many of them, being entirely destitute, were relieved by the inhabitants, and the Government made provision for such of them as desired to go to Barbadoes. At the same time French and Dutch cruisers infested the coast. The people here were not passive sufferers, however; Capt. Goose brought in a French ship, as a prize, the 15th of August. He was in the service of Sir Thomas Temple. And on Sept. 10th, he brought in another. Four days after, Capt. Benj. Gillum (a) brought in two others. But in July the Dutch had taken four vessels on the coast. The news of the Great Fire in London was brought to Boston, 6 Mar. 1667, "in Capt. Martin." It broke out Sept. 2d, and raged four days; destroying 89 churches, "a vast number of other statlie edifices," and 13,000 dwelling-houses. It extended over a space of 436 acres, including 400 streets. — See *God's Terrible Voice in the City*, by Rev. T. Vincent, in Brayley's London, i. 413, &c.

(a) 22 : 12 : 57. "Ben. Gillam hath 5s. abated of his fine for heating a pitch pott on y^e wharfe." — *Town Records*. 29. 1. 58. "Mr. Peter Olliver hath liberty to make a cart bridge ouer y^e Creeke y^e goes to Ben. Gillams." — *ib.*

received and entertained, during his stay in London, with much love and courtesy." He made this voyage, he says, "to settle all former accounts with my uncle and all persons." During his stay in London he became acquainted with Dr. Owen, heard him preach, and "found very much love and respect from him."*

Mar. 13. Early this year the Town lost Major Thomas Clarke, who died on the thirteenth of March. He was made a freeman of the Colony in 1638. In 1651 he was chosen Captain of the Artillery Company; was also Major of the Suffolk regiment; a Deputy to the General Court for eighteen years; Speaker of that body for 1662, 1665, 1669, 1670 and 1672; Assistant, 1673 to 1677. Major Clarke and Maj. John Pynchon were appointed, in 1664, to meet the King's Commissioners before New York, and to confer with them relative to

* Under "2. 3. 1668," Mr. Hull notes the arrival of Mr. Davenport to take charge of the First Church:—"At 3 or 4 in the afternoon came Mr. Jno. Davenport to town, with his wife, son and son's family; was met by many of the Towne. A great shower of extraordinary dropps of raine fell as they entred the end of the Towne, but Mr. Davenport and his wife were sheltered in a coach of Mrs. Searls, who went to meet them."

Respecting Gov. Endicott, he says, "he dyed poor, as most of our Rulers doe, having more attended the publique than his own private interests. It is our shame; though we are a poor people, yet might better maintain our Rulers than we doe. However, they have a good God to reward them. He was a man of pious and zealous spirit, who had very faithfully endeavoured the suppression of a pestilent generation; the troublers of our peace, civill and ecclesiastick, called Quakers."

"23. 2. 1668. The Revd. Mr. Richard Mather, Teacher of the Church of Dorchester, dyed. The Church of Boston would not let him into their doors, when he with sundry others waited with a letter from the Council to y^m, but y^e Lord soon opened his way into the Church triumphant."

"May 1st, 1665. Coll. Richard Nicholls came in heer from New York, that see all the king's Honour^d Comissions being together, might communicate their instructions fro his Maj^{ty} unto our Gen^l Co^{rt}. Third of May being election day, they were pleased to be a while present in Co^{rt}, and see our order in election; showing civility and courtesy. And at night gave to the souldery that were that day on the ground, five 20^s pe^{ce} of gold. The 1st day of the Co^{rt} there were about 70 freemen admitted, sundry whereof were not members of any p^{ar}tic^{ul} Church, which had been the generall rule of admission hitherto. The Honour^d Comis^s seem to be elaborit in turning every stone to find the faults of this Collonie and Government, and to manage them to our disadvantage."

Frequent fasts were kept in the different

churches to divert the mischiefs which seemed to be too certainly plotting by the enemies of the Country. In connection with which Mr. Hull mentions "one thing remarkable"; which was the fate of the papers which had been prepared here by the Commissioners, designed, as the people believed, to compass their ruin.—See ante, p. 372-3. Cartwright went with these papers in a mast ship, which sailed from Pascataqua in the summer of 1665, one Mr. Harrison, master. Their loss has been noticed in the page just indicated. The Government intended to have sent their counter statements by the same ship, but she had sailed before the messenger arrived at her place of departure. This messenger was Capt. Pierce. The desired ship was still in sight, and Capt. Pierce used his utmost efforts, in a boat with six oars to overtake her, but could not succeed. The same gentleman afterwards delivered the same papers safely in England. This preservation of documents which were considered of the greatest consequence, and the loss of the others to their enemies, was viewed as a remarkable providence by the whole Country.

August 7th, 1666, Mr. Hull notes "the arrival of Mr. Peirce with severall shippes for masts for the King." That "Mr. Maverick had a significavit under the hand of Sec^y Morris (but not superscribed nor sealed), that his Maj^{ty}'s command was, that 4 or 5 off cheeff [men of note] should be sent to ans^r in the Country's behalf; of which Gov. Belingham and Maj. Hawthorn were to be two vpon their allegiance." At the Gen. Court in the following September, the "significavit" was considered. "They concluded to write and send a present, two brave masts, but sent no persons to ans^r in our behalf."

May 4th. This morning a ship belonging to Lynn, arrived from Virginia, when a very serious accident occurred, involving the loss of several valuable lives. The "great cabin was blown up, instantly killing Mr. John Frecke. Mr. Smith y^e merchant dyed the same day, Capt. Samuel Searlet the next day; and sundry wounded sorely."

the forces* ordered to be raised by Massachusetts, to be employed in reducing that place.† They proceeded to New Haven, and there met Governor Winthrop, who was upon the same service for Connecticut. The capitulation of the Dutch, just twelve days after this, as has before been mentioned,‡ rendered further proceedings unnecessary. From New Haven they wrote§ home that they could hear nothing of the Commissioners; that they learned by a person who had been at New York five days before, that nothing was known about them at that place. They supposed Colonel Nichols was at Long Island, and proposed to proceed there immediately. They said they could not “understand that either Connecticut or New Haven had any orders to raise souldiers;” and, before sealing their letter, they added a postscript, saying, “A report here is of many greate guns were heard to goe off at y^e western end of Long Island yesterday, but y^e truth is questionable.”

When the severe laws were enacted against Quakers in 1656, Mr. Clarke and Mr. Edward Hutchinson appear to have been the only members of the Court who opposed them.||

He was associated with Capt. Thomas Lake in settling lands in the Kennebeck country, and, at the close of Philip's war, he was commissioned to treat with the eastern Indians, and sailed from Boston with an armament of three vessels for that purpose.¶

A society was revived at this time, which was instituted in 1657. It was called the Scots' Charitable Society,** and, although it had had some vitality at different periods, between its formation and 1684, it was not incorporated until 1786. Members were admitted on the payment of twelve pence. That was the smallest sum which would admit a member, and they were to pay six pence quarterly afterwards. This regulation was adopted at the first meeting of the Society. It was agreed at the same time, that, “for the relief of themselves and others, to make a box, into which every one might deposite such contribution, as God should move their hearts.” Nothing was to be taken out of the box for seven years; “the box being yet in its

* The 200 soldiers to be raised by Massachusetts for the Dutch expedition, were to be under Capt. Hugh Mason and Capt. William Hudson.

† “They were sent with speed to meet the King's Commissioners at the Manatos, and iff they desired the assistance of o^r soldiery, to send speedy notice.” This record, made at the time, and by one essentially opposed to the Commissioners, fully proved the inference to be

entirely wrong, that Massachusetts was very backward in raising the men required by the Commissioners, as has been noticed, *ante*, p. 363.

‡ *Ante*, p. 369.

§ Their letter, now before me, is dated “New Haven, August 15th, 1664,” and though in the autograph of Major Pinchon. Major Clarke's name was signed first.

|| See p. 345, *ante*.

¶ He sailed on the 25th of June, 1677. The residence of a Captain Thomas Clark was in what is now Summer street, in 1708. — *Town R.*

** The facts concerning this Society are taken from its publication, printed in 1841.

Edo: Clarke
John Lynchon

minority." The keeper of the box was to be "one of good report, fearing God and hating covetousness;" such an one was Robert Porteous; he being the first box-keeper of the society. Exclusive of him, there were twenty-six members the first year.* The next year but one admission is recorded;† in 1659, but five,‡ and then none till 1665, and that year but one. From this year to 1684, there is no account of any meeting of the Society upon its records. At the resuscitation in the latter year, forty persons appeared and subscribed a new or additional constitution. Of these, thirteen are denominated "strangers."§ Among those forty names, several were of considerable note afterwards. In 1684, seventeen new members were admitted.|| Original places of residence, or places whence the members came, are given in but very few cases.¶ From 1684 to 1700, there were added to the Society about fifteen members a year, upon an average; nor is the average much different thence to 1774. Meetings were suspended during the Revolution, and most of the resident members left the country and went to Halifax, carrying off the records of the Society.

In 1696 the Society ordered "that the overseers of the poor's box be annually chosen, the first Monday in May; namely, a president and an assistant, a box-master and two key-keepers." Under this organization, James Ingles was chosen president, John Borland assistant, John Campbell, treasurer, and Thomas Hill, key-keeper.**

On the revival of the Society in 1786, there appear to have been but eleven persons interested.††

* Their names were William Cosser, *Alexr. Simson*, Geo. Thompson, James Moore, James Grant, Thomas Dower, *Wm. Gibson*, *Alexr. Grant*, Andrew Jameson, *Wm. Ballantyre*, *Wm. Speed*, *James English*, John Clark, Peter Grant, John Kneeland, Thos. Palsous, *Wm. Anderson*, *James Webster*, Thos. Shearer, John McDonald, Geo. Trumble, *Alexr. Boyle*, John Bennet, James Adams, Malcolm Makallome, John Mason.

† His name was Alistair McDougall.

‡ Their names were Hercules Cosser, Andrew Neil, John Livingston, *Alexr. Mackcowmes* and *Alexr. Ramsay*. But one person admitted in 1665; his name was John Johnson.

§ They were *Wm. Brown*, Archibald Ferguson, James Maxwell, James Fowle, *Alexr. Simson*, *Wm. Gibson*, James Smith, John Borland, John Melvin, *Alexr. Logan*, Andrew Cunningham, Joseph Simson, *James Webster*, Duncan Campbell, Hugh Mulligan, *Wm. Hailton*, Francis Borland, David Johnson, David Kimbead, *Wm. Cochran*, John Givan, James Stewart, Arthur Hoil, *Wm. Jamieson*, *Wm. Doane*, John Ballantyre, *James Ingles*. The 13 strangers were John Crawford, Donald Goban, *Wm. Jairdon*, Patrick Bryce, John Campbell, John Crawford, Jr., John Allardy, John Sprat, Robt. French, John Ballantyre, 1686; *Alexr. McCulloch*, Thos. McCulloch, Andrew Malcom. The four italicized names show the same names in 1657.

|| They were Mungo Crawford, Adam Johnston, James Grant, John Melvin, Robt. Melvin, Peter Barbour, Widow Neal, Archibald Asvin, John Anderson, *Wm. Arbuckle*, Andrew Wilson, John Smith, Thos. Moodie, *Alexr. Cole*, Robt. Alexander, *Wm. Stewart*, Sturgis McDowall.

¶ At quite a late period they are often given.

** From 1686 to 1736, the Presidents of the Society were as follows: William Brown, 1686 to 1695; James Ingles to 1703; John Borland to 1717; John Meinzies, to 1724; John Borland, to 1727; John Campbell, to 1728; Capt. Thomas Steele, to 1736; Dr. Wm. Douglass, 1736. From this time to the incorporation, no list of presidents appear. Under the charter they are John Scollay, 1788; John Thompson, 1798; Maj. Thos. Melville, 1799; Andrew Ritchie, 1800; Andrew Leach, 1801; Andrew Ritchie, 1802; Wm. Clouston, 1810; James Kelt, 1829; Alexr. Meldrum, 1836; Wm. H. Wilson, 1838; John L. Miller, 1841; Wm. H. Wilson, 1843.

†† That is, there are but eleven named in the Charter. Those were John Scollay, James Thompson, James Swan, Wm. McKeen, Wm. Kennedy, Capt. John Young, James Graham, Wm. Dall, David Bruce, Andrew Drummond, John Looring. The same year (1786) Wm. Erving and Maj. Thomas Melville were admitted members. A few admissions of a late date

A claim to some part of Boston by the Massachusetts Indians was renewed this year. At what time it had been previously urged, does not appear, nor does it seem to have been very definite. In fact it is pretty clear that, for many years anterior to this, they had thought nothing about any ownership in the Peninsula; and what had influenced them to pretend one at this time, is not certain. However, the Town Authorities acted magnanimously towards the claimants, and in Town-meeting instructed Mr. Symon Linde to purchase whatever claim they had, either "legal or pretended," to "Deare Island, the Necke of Bostone or any pte thereof."*

In pursuance of his instructions, Mr. Linde, with some other principal inhabitants of the Town, met the Chief of the Indians, Wampatuck by name, but usually called Charles Josias, or Josias Wampatuck, and his Counsellors, and amicably purchased their interest, taking a deed of the same. Wampatuck was the grandson of Chichatabut, who, "upon the first coming of the English, for encouragement thereof, did grant, sell, alienate and confirm unto them and their assigns forever, all that Neck of land, in order to their settling and building a Town there, now known by the name of Boston, as it is environed by the Sea, and by the line of Roxbury, and the island called Deer Island, about two leagues easterly from Boston, between Pudding Point Gut and the Broad Sound, containing 160 or 200 acres; which have been quietly possessed by the said English for the space of about fifty and five years last past. Wherefore, I, Charles Josias, alias Josias Wampatuck, Sachem, and William Hahaton,† Robert Momen-tauge, and Ahawton, Senior, my Counsellors, by and with the advice of William Stoughton and Joseph Dudley, Esquires, my near friends and guardians,—as well as for a valuable sum of money, paid by Elisha Cook, Elisha Hutchinson, Esquires; Samuel Shrimpton, John Joyliffe, Simon Lynde, John Saffin, Edward Willis, Daniel Turell,

follow: 1829, Gen. John P. Boyd; 1832, Wm. Creighton, Alexr. Roy, Thos. Jordan, John Copp; 1833, Thos. Leighton, James Anderson, James Grant; 1834, Alexr. McLellan, Thos. Pollock; 1836, James Schooler, Alexr. Wright; 1839, G. S. Kelt, Robert Schooler, Wm. Schooler, T. C. Grattan, hon.; 1841, Robert Waterston, life member.

* It was said by some that this purchase was "got up" to give the owners of estates a better title to them than they then had; or that such title would serve them, instead of that they held under the Charter, now that they felt sure that that instrument would be taken from them, or declared void by the proper tribunal in England. I do not contend that such was not the object of the Indian deed of Boston at this time; but this I do say, that if the Fathers of Boston supposed an Indian deed would weigh anything under such circumstances, against any determination of the King, they understood very little of a policy, of which they might be expected to know much.

There will appear hereafter, during the "Usurpation of Andros," some reason for the statement, that this purchase of the Indians was made, on which to found a claim; for when Andros asserted that the country had reverted to the King, the Indian title was adduced, as above, as paramount to that of the Crown. To this Sir Edmund replied sneeringly, that, "the signature of Indians to deeds of land was of no more consequence than the scratch of a bear's paw."

† Ahaton, Ahawton, and Hahaton, are the same surname, as likewise that of Nahaton. William Hahaton, mentioned in the text, is the same met with in a note to page 387, *ante*. The family of Hahatons were Christians. Several of them were educated. This William wrote a fair signature in 1710. He was one of those sent to Deer Island in Philip's war, to prevent his joining the enemy.—*Gookin*. He died 21 July, 1717. Punkapog was their seat. Amos Ahaton was living there in 1733. Judge Swall's MSS., and *Gen. Court Journals*.

Senior; Henry Allen, John Fairweather, Timothy Prout, Senior, and Theophilus Frarye of Boston, in behalf of themselves and the rest of the proprietated inhabitants of the town of Boston," do warrant, confirm and defend the above said lands to them and their heirs forever.*

This deed Wampatuck and his Counsellors signed by their marks in presence of William Williams and Edward Lyde. The same day they acknowledged it before James Russell, Assistant. Wm. Stoughton and Joseph Dudley approved the same. At that time, an Indian, called David, son and heir of Winnepoykin, or Sagamore George, as he was usually called, made a claim to Deer Island. This was also extinguished, David acknowledging a "just consideration."† His father was Sachem of Chelsea and Lynn. Hence the claim of David. It is not probable that any Indians have since made a serious claim to the peninsula of Mushawwomuk, or Shawmut.‡

Dr. Increase Mather was chosen President of Harvard College. He had had much to do with the College since 1681, making weekly visits there, "which found a general acceptance; and the Commencements he also managed as became a decent orator and a learned moderator. His Church refusing to relinquish the right they had in him, he declined for a while, to do the part of a President, and got another chosen; § upon whose death, in the year 1684, the Overseers with the Fellows of the College again devolved his former care upon him." He was the first native-born President, and the College flourished under his presidency beyond former example. It was through his exertions that valuable donations were procured for it in England. Among others, he enlisted as a benefactor, Mr. Thomas Hollis, who, until long after the time of President Mather, "was the greatest benefactor the College ever had in the world." || Mr. Mather also procured a new Charter for the Institution, with new powers and privileges. That of conferring degrees was one.

There came in a ship from Newcastle, which brought the news of the death of the King, and also that James the Second was proclaimed. ¶ Charles the Second died on the sixth of February, of apoplexy, with which he was seized four days before. He was succeeded by James Second, only surviving son of Charles First, by Henrietta-Maria of France.

* A copy of the deed of Boston is upon record in the Suffolk Registry, under date 1708. Vol. xxiv. p. 101. It is printed in Appendix to Snow's *Hist. Boston*, but modernized.

† Samuel Shrimpton had leased Deer Island of the Town. May 25th, 1685, the lease was renewed to him for 18 years, from 1st March, 1693-4, at £14 per annum, "to the use of the Free Schoole; also is consideration of £19 paid by him in behalfe of the Towne unto Josiah Sachem and other Indians for the ratification of their predecessors grant of all the lands within the Necke of Bostone, and other out lands within the precincts thereof." — *Town Records*.

‡ Mr. Grindal Rawson, who understood the

Indian language very perfectly, wrote the name of this place Mushawwomuk. In 1699, he printed the "Confessions of Faith" of 1680, in English and Indian, and in the imprint of his Indian title-page, it stands in place of Boston. Shawmut is merely an abbreviation. The meaning of the name is probably free country, free land, or land unclaimed. I have been led to this conclusion by a comparison of certain Indian phrases with their corresponding English. The notion that the name signified a spring of fresh water appears to be entirely conjectural.

§ Mr. John Rogers. He died 2 July 1684.

|| Remarkables, 169-70.

¶ Sewall, in *Gen. Regr.*, viii. 18.

As soon as James Second was settled upon his throne, he issued proclamations to be published in New England. These were brought to Boston by a London ship, which also brought letters to several gentlemen of distinction from those high in authority, but none to the Governor as such. In one to him, however, from Mr. William Blathwait, he was insultingly told that he was not written to as Governor, forasmuch as that he now had no Government, its Charter being vacated.

These events threw the people of Boston into considerable uncertainty, as to what they were in future to expect from England. Orders had been received to proclaim the new King, which was done April 20. "with sorrowful and affected pomp" at the Townhouse. The ceremony was performed in presence of the eight military companies of the Town, and "three vollics of cannon" were discharged.

The people of Boston had, indeed, much to apprehend. Their Charter was gone forever, and what kind of a government was to be set over them they could not tell, but they seemed to be quite sure it would be a bad one. A Governor had been appointed, — one Col. Percy Kirke,* — for whom the utmost abhorrence prevailed. He had been employed to quell the rebellion, as it was called, under the Duke of Monmouth, in which he proved himself a monster, possessing more cruelty, if possible, than Jeffreys himself.

The death of the King prevented Kirk from taking up his abode in Boston. This was a great relief to the inhabitants, though their fears of future ills by no means subsided.†

* It is said, in the history of those times, that after Monmouth's defeat, "he caused 90 wounded men to be hanged at Taunton; that, at another town he invited his officers to dinner near the place where some of the condemned rebels were to be executed, and ordered ten of them to be turned off with a health to the King, ten in a health to the Queen, and ten more in a health to Lord Jeffreys." — *Life of James II. in Kennet*, iii. 438. He was afterwards a Major General in Ireland, in the service of William and Mary. — *Ib.* 541. He was living in 1699, in June of which year he killed a son of Lord Seymour in a duel, and is supposed to have died soon after. Should any one desire to read the details of the most wanton barbarities which can be conceived of, attributed to this governor of New England, he may be satisfied with what Hume, in his *England*, has published; but Hume's authority — or what I presume to be his authority — must more than suffice. This authority is entitled "The Western Martyrology; or, Bloody Asizes;" collected, if I do not misjudge, by the well-known John Dunton, and published in 1705, and now of rare occurrence.

Kirk married the Lady Mary Howard, eldest daughter of George, fourth Earl of Suffolk. — *Toulmin's Hist. Taunton*, 548. He commanded a regiment of foot at Tangier, and had been a captain there under the Earl of Middleton. Middleton was dead in 1674. In June, 1682, I find him styled "His Excellency, Colonel Piercy Kirke," who, by the same Patent under the Great Seal, is also constituted "Vice Admiral of the Coasts there." — See Chamberlaine's *Present State of England for 1674 and 1682*.

† One afterwards, at a safe distance from a power he had so much dreaded, thus characterizes it: "To execute the tragedies which were intended for New England, that cruel and horrid and hideous Tiger, whose barbarous cruelties have rendered him famous to all succeeding ages, had a commission for it, and was coming over with a regiment of Myrmidons, in quality of Governor. Had this Kirke arrived, what barbarities must this people have expected!" — *Remarkables of Dr. I. Mather*, 97. "The religion of the Country was enough to render it obnoxious to the rage of such a generation as then carried all before them." — *Ibid.*

CHAPTER XLIX.

John Dunton's Visit to Boston. — Notice of Him. — His Notice of Others. — Mr. Burroughs. — Mr. Wilkins. — Capt. Hutchinson. — Mr. I. Mather. — Mr. C. Mather. — Mr. Willard. — Mr. Allen. — Mr. Moody. — Mr. John and Mr. T. Bailly. — Mr. John Usher. — Mr. Phillips. — Mr. Brunning. — Mr. Campbell. — Mr. Thorncomb. — Mr. Willy. — Mr. White. — Mr. Green. — Mr. Gerrish. — Geo. Moak. — Capt. Townsend. — Mr. Jollyff. — Mr. Mortimer. — Mr. King. — Mr. York. — Mr. Heath. — Mr. Watson. — Mr. Mason. — Mr. Malinson. — Dr. Oakes. — Dr. Bullivant. — Mr. Gouge. — Mr. Tryon. — Mrs. Breck. — Describes a Training. — Harvard College. — Visit to Mr. Elliot. — Natiek. — Mr. Morton. — Dr. Morton. — Mrs. Hicks. — Visit to Ipswich. — Mr. Hubbard. — Episcopals. — They take possession of the South Meeting-house. — Build a Chapel. — Rebuild it. — The Society broken up by the Revolution of 1776.



CHECKLEY. ‡

JOHN DUNTON was about a year a bookseller in Boston. He was son of the Rev. John Dunton, minister at one period at Little Missenden, Buckinghamshire, where his grandfather and great grandfather, also named John, had been ministers. John the bookseller became very eminent in his business, in the course of which he found time to compose a great number of works, most of which he printed, and they were very popular in their time.* He was born in 1659, and was intended by his father† for the Church; but he was altogether too wild a youth to assume a gravity that would be a constant lie on his countenance, and he was at length apprenticed to the since well-known bookseller, Mr. Thomas Parkhurst, of London.

* That by which he is best known, is entitled his "*Life and Errors*," first printed in 1705, 12mo, again in 1818, in 2 vols. 8vo.

† John Dunton's father was twice married, 1st to Lydia Carter, who was the mother of our John, and died the same year he was born. His 2d wife was Mary Lake, by whom he had 4 children. John was an only child by the first wife. He was likewise twice married, but died, without issue, at the age of 73.

‡ This engraving of the Arms of Checkley is copied from that engraved upon the tombstone of Robert Checkley, in the Granary burying-ground. The Checkleys of Boston were immediately from Preston Capes in Northamptonshire. John and William were brothers. John came to Boston in or before 1648; was a merchant, and agent for Robert Taynter of London, 1659. He married Anne, daughter

of Simon Eyres, or Fires, a surgeon, 5 Mar., 1652, and died 1 Jan., 1684-5, a. 76, leaving issue. She died 14 Nov., 1714, and was buried in Scituate. William was living at Preston Capes in 1636. By Elizabeth — he was the father of Anthony, bapt. at Preston C., 31 July, 1636. Anthony came to Boston in or before 1659, was in the employ of his uncle, John Checkley, before named, and was the first Attorney General of Massachusetts, under the new Charter. He died 18 Oct., 1708, a. 72. He married Hannah, daughter of Rev. John Wheelwright, by whom he had several children. His daughter Hannah married Capt. John Adams of Boston, grandson of Henry A., of Braintree. Samuel Checkley, bapt. at Preston Capes, 18 Nov., 1653, was half brother to Anthony, being son of William by a 2d wife, Rebecca —. This Samuel was the father of the Rev. Samuel C., of the New South Church, Boston. — *From English Records procured by my friend, SAMUEL AMES, Esq., of Providence, R. I., and other sources.* See also *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, ii. 349. The name Checkley, as a surname, is believed to be extinct in New England.

John: Checkley

At the age of twenty-three he married a most amiable lady, Miss Elizabeth Annesley,* daughter of the well-known dissenting Divine, Dr. Samuel Annesley.

His book-selling establishment in London was for a long time at the Black Raven, in Princes-street, and here on his marriage he commenced housekeeping. In 1685, Mr. Dunton determined on a voyage to New England, his reasons for which will be best expressed in his own words. He says:—

“When I was thus seated to the best advantage at the Black Raven, and as happy in my marriage as I could wish, there came an universal damp upon trade, occasioned by the defeat of Monmouth in the West; and at this time, having £500 owing me in New England, I began to think it worth my while to make a voyage of it thither.”†

At Gravesend he found “a fleet bound for New England,” in which many had taken passage who had been engaged in Monmouth’s cause.‡ Mr. Dunton had shipped a large amount of books for Boston, and that he might divide his risk, or, as he expresses it, “that Neptune might have two throws at him,” he put his “venture” into two ships. He was then “in great suspense,” he says, in which ship to trust himself. However, he went in the *Susannah* and *Thomas*, Thomas Jenner, master,§ with thirty passengers and sixteen sailors. They had been at sea but a short time, when “the heavens grew black and lowering, and every minute one would have thought the very Alps had driven over” their heads. In that storm, one of the ships, containing part of his goods, of £500 value, was cast away and lost. The master’s name was Moulton.

They sailed from the Downes on the second of November, and had a tedious passage to New England of about four months. The narrative continues: “When we came within ken of Boston, we were all overjoyed, being just upon the point of starving; we put off to land in the long-boat, and came ashore near the Castle, which stands about a mile from Boston. The country appeared, at first, like a barren waste; but we found humanity enough when we came amongst the inhabitants. We lodged, the first night, at the Castle, and next morning we found the way to Boston lay over the ice, which was but cold comfort. The first person that welcomed me to Boston was Mr. Burroughs, || formerly a hearer of my Reverend Father-in-law, Dr. Annesley. He heaped more civilities upon me than I can reckon up,—

* Mr. Samuel Wesley married another daughter, and was father of the eminently distinguished John, and the well-known Charles Wesley.

† *Life and Errors*, i. 79–80.

‡ Doubtless there are many at this day in New England who need not look to an earlier period than 1685 for the emigration of their ancestors.

§ “A rough, covetous Tarpaulin; but he

understood his business well enough, and had some smatterings of Divinity in his head. He went to prayers very constantly, and took upon him to expound the Scriptures, which gave offence to several of the passengers. The Mate and the Boatswain were good sailors, and made it their only study to dispute with tempests.” — *Life and Errors*, i. 88.

|| Mr. Francis Burroughs. — *Life, &c.*, i. 135.

offered to lend me moneys, and made me his bed-fellow till I had provided lodgings.

"As I was rambling through Boston, I met with lodgings and a warehouse at Mr. Richard Wilkins',* whose family deserves as well of me as any in New England.† Being thus fixed, I delivered the letters of recommendation I had brought with me from England. I had one from the Rev. Mr. Richard Stretton, to Mr. Staughton, the Deputy Governor; and Mr. Morton, of Newington Green, sent another to Major Dudley, afterwards President, which, with other letters to the Magistrates, had the good effect that I was made Freeman of Boston,‡ though very much obliged for it to the friendship of Mr. Burroughs. Immediately upon this, Captain Hutchinson gave me an invitation to dine with the Governor and the Magistrates in the Town-hall. The entertainment was very rich and noble, and the Governor, Deputy Governor, Major Dudley, and the other Magistrates, gave me a very friendly welcome to Boston, and kindly wished me success in my undertaking."§

He visited Mr. Increase Mather, to promote the sale of his books, and speaks of him as the "great metropolitan Clergyman of the Country, and a master of a great stock of learning, and a very eminent Divine." Of his son, Mr. Cotton Mather, Mr. Dunton says, "he was then upon finishing his *Magnalia Christi Americana*. There is abundance of freedom and familiarity in the humor of this gentleman. His conversation and his writings are living evidences that he has read much; but there are many that will not allow him the prudence to make a seasonable use of it. His library is very large and numerous; but had his books been fewer when he wrote his 'History,' it would have pleased us better."

He next waited on Mr. Willard, "of the South Meeting," who, he remarks, "is well furnished with learning and solid notions,—has a natural fluency of speech, and can say what he pleases."

"Afterwards I went to visit the Rev. Mr. Allen. He is very humble and very rich, and can be generous enough when the humor is upon him. His son was an eminent minister in England, and deceased at Northampton. Mr. Moody was assistant to Mr. Allen, and well known by his practical writings.

"Leaving Mr. Allen's house, I went next to visit Mr. John and Mr.

* "His person is tall, his aspect sweet and smiling, and, though but fifty years old, his hair is white as snow. He was formerly a bookseller in Limerick, and fled hither on account of conscience. He is a member of Mr. Willard's church."—*Ibid.*, i. 136.

† The Author has an amusing story of some "mischief" in which he was engaged, into which he was led by Mr. Wilkins' daughter, Comfort, at whose suggestion, John says, "I turned fortune-teller," for the benefit of "Madam Whitmore, a young lady almost run distracted with love."—*Life and Errors*, i. 113.

‡ I do not find his name recorded among the Freeman of that year; the regular mode of admitting them being then suspended. How he was qualified does not appear. In 1691, a John Dunton was made a Freeman.—See *N. E. H. and Gen. Reg.*, iii. 352. It is not probable that he was the bookseller.

§ Dunton says a few words about the laws; mentions "an English woman, who, admitting some unlawful freedoms from an Indian, was forced twelve months to wear upon her right arm an Indian cut in red cloth."—*Life and Errors*, i. 94.

Thomas Bailey.* These two are popular preachers, and very generous to strangers. I heard Mr. John upon these words, 'Looking unto Jesus'; and I thought he spake like an Angel. They express a more than ordinary kindness for Mr. Wilkins, my landlord, and (being persecuted in Limerick for their Nonconformity) came over with him from Ireland. Reader, I might be large in their character; but when I tell you they are true pictures of Dr. Annesley (whom they count a second St. Paul), it is as high as I need go."

Mr. Dunton next turned his attention to the booksellers. Mr. John Usher was at the head of the book trade, or, according to his visitant, "he made the best figure in Boston; was very rich, adventured much at sea; had got his estate by book-selling." He proposed to buy Mr. Dunton's stock, but they could not agree upon terms.

"Sam Philips," as Dunton familiarly writes, "was the most beautiful man in Boston, — was young and witty; very thriving; and, if I may trust my eyes, is blest with a pretty, obliging wife." He called him, his "old correspondent"; and says, "I will say that for Sam, he is very just."

Brunning, a Dutch bookseller, next received a visit from Dunton, who calls him "Minheer from Holland," and says, "he is scrupulously just, plain in his clothes, versed in the knowledge of all sorts of books, and may well be stiled a complete bookseller. I found him a man of that great interest, that I made him my partner in printing 'Mr. Mather's Sermon, preached at the Execution of Morgan,' who was the only person executed in that country for near seven years."

Duncan Campbel, a Scotchman, was the next in order in the trade, of Mr. Dunton's calls, whom he found very industrious; "dresses a'-la-mode, and I am told a young lady of a great fortune is fallen in love with him." These, he remarks, were all the booksellers; but in his next page he mentions "Andrew Thorncomb, bookseller from London." This person's company he says "was coveted by the best gentlemen in Boston; nor is he less acceptable to the fair sex, for he has something in him so extremely charming, as makes them very fond of his company. However, he is a very virtuous person."

After thus summarily dispatching the booksellers, he says, "I will next give an account of what acquaintance I had in Boston." He begins with "Mr. Willy, brother-in-law to the Rev. Mr. Baily." Mr. Willy "fled thither on account of conscience; a man of a large heart. This, Monmouth's forlorn fugitives experienced often."

Of "Mr. White" he says, he is "a merchant, who, by trading, has clasped islands to the continent, and tacked one country to another. His knowledge of men and things is universal."

He then proceeds to "Mr. Green, the printer. I contracted a great

* These brothers were born near Blackburn, in Lancashire; Thomas, on Feb. 24th, 1643, who died in Boston, Jan. 21st, 1689. John was one year younger. He died on the 12th of Dec., 1697. They came to Boston about 1675. Having been imprisoned in England for their religion, they went over to Ireland, and thence to Boston; not, however, until they had suffered a long imprisonment in that country also.—*Funeral Sermons*, by I. Mather.

friendship with this man. To name his trade will convince the world he was a man of good sense and understanding. He was so facetious and obliging in his conversation, that I took a great delight in his company, and made use of his house to while away my melancholy hours.*

"Another of my acquaintances was Captain Gery,† a man as eminent for his love to his country as Junius Brutus, and the famous Scævola among the Romans.

"Another of them was George Monk, a person so remarkable, that, had I not been acquainted with him, it would be a hard matter to make any New England man believe that I had been in Boston. There was no house in Boston more noted than George Monk's, or where a man might meet with better entertainment.‡

"Another was Captain Townsend, a gentleman very courteous and affable in his conversation. I might here ramble to Mr. Jollyff, Justice Lines, Macarty, and some others, but will take such of my countrymen that have rambled into this country as well as myself, as I have come acquainted with.

"And first, Mr. Mortimer,§ who came from Ireland. He was an accomplished Merchant, a person of great modesty, and could answer the most abstruse points in algebra, navigation, dialling, &c.

"The next to these was Mr. King. Love was the cause of this gentleman's long ramble hither. Sure his mistress was made of stone, for King had a voice that would have charmed the spheres. He sang 'All Hail to the Myrtle Shade' with a matchless grace, and might be called an accomplished person.

"Another was Mr. York. He was very industrious, but when he unbent the bow, he treated the fair sex with so much courtship and address, as if loving had been all his trade.

"Another was Mr. Heath. Were I to write the character of a pious merchant, I would as soon take Heath for an exemplar as any man I know. He never warrants any ware for good but what is so indeed, and makes no advantage of his chapman's ignorance. This person was my daily visitor, and brought me acquainted with one Gove, of New York, with whom I traded considerable.

* A tribute of unbounded admiration is paid to Mrs. Green by our Traveller. "She well knew that the great duty of a wife is Love. Love was the reason she married Mr. Green; for she knew, where love is wanting, it is but the carcase of a marriage. She very well knew how fatal Jealousy had been to many; and therefore, as she took care never to harbor it in her own breast, so she was nicely careful never to give her husband the least umbrage for it."—*Life and Errors*, i. 104. "I one day told her that 'I believed she was an extraordinary wife; but Mr. Green was so good a man, she could not well be otherwise.' She replied, 'had her husband been a bad man, her duty would have been the same.'"—*Ibid.*, 106.

† This name should be *Gerrish*, no doubt. A stranger might easily mistake it for *Gery*, as it might have been thus pronounced in common discourse. The author mentions the name in another part of his work, where he says he visited "Mr. Gery," the minister of Wenham. Now we know Mr. *Joseph Gerrish* was then minister at that place.

‡ There was a Mr. James Monk, merchant, whose warehouse was "on the Town Dock" in 1743. Monk's Corner was a noted place in those days. "Jolliff's Lane" was the S. part of Pudding Lane. "Macarty's Corner" was the corner of King street and Leverett's lane.

§ Christian name probably Edward. Edward Mortimer is found among the tax-payers of 1695.

"Mr. Watson shall be the next; formerly a merchant in London, but not thriving there, he left the Exchange for Westminster-hall; and in Boston is become as dextrous at splitting causes as if he had been bred to it. He is full of fancy, and knows the quirks of the law; but, to do him justice, he proves as *honest* as the best lawyer of them all." Of a Mr. C——k, "a young beau," he says, "he boasts of more villainy than ever he committed."*

"Another acquaintance is Mr. Mason,† a blunt, honest Christian; will speak his mind, take it how you please."—"Mr. Malinson is a stiff Independent,—was one of those unfortunate gentlemen that engaged with Monmouth," against James Second; "and I am told this day, at the Royal Exchange, he now teaches young gentlemen to fence in Boston." "I now descend to my particular friends;" "yet a pair of true friends are seldomer to be found than a club of knaves." "I will begin with

"Dr. Oakes, a religious man, and an eminent Physician. He was a great Dissenter whilst he lived in London, and in New England retains the piety of the first Planters. I was recommended to him by Mr. Gillon, as also by a relation of his in Ratcliff; and I must own the Doctor gave me a generous welcome to Boston.

"I pass to my good friend, Dr. Bullivant, formerly my fellow-citizen in London. I must consider him both as a gentleman and a physician. As a gentleman, he came of a noble family; but his good qualities exceeded his birth. He is a great master of the English tongue, and the Northampton people find him a universal scholar. His knowledge of the laws fitted him for the office of Attorney-General, which was conferred upon him on the Revolution in Boston. It is true he sought it not; but New England knew his worth, and even forced him to accept of it. While he held the office, he was so far from pushing things to that extremity as some hot spirits would have had him, that he was for accommodating things, and making peace. His eloquence is admirable; he never speaks but it is a sentence; and no man ever clothed his thoughts in better words. His skill in pharmacy was such as had no equal in Boston.‡

"Mr. Gouge, a linen draper from London, was a son to the charitable Divine of that name.§ He is owner of a deal of wit; his brain

* The black mark set upon this almost nameless individual may have served as a caution to many young men who take great pleasure in boasting of their depravity, by relating their criminal amorous successes. The Author doubtless introduces C——k into his book for two reasons: one, to let him know his stories were not credited; and the other, because he was a large purchaser of his books.

† Arthur Mason, I conclude. See *Ante*, p. 374.

‡ Upon this, and considerable more upon Dr. Bullivant, the author says he could enlarge, but forbore because the Dr. was his friend,

and he did not wish to offend his modesty! — *Life and Errors*, i. 106. He was one of those imprisoned with Andros, as will be seen.

§ The Rev. Thomas Gouge, who died in 1681. Dr. Tillotson preached the sermon at his funeral, and the Rev. Timothy Rogers wrote a Preface which accompanied his "Works," printed in 1706. — Edward Gouge, one of the Wardens of King's Chapel, was probably the son referred to by Mr. Dunton. Dr. I. Mather says Mr. Thomas Gouge was a son of "famous Dr. Gouge, and in exemplary piety was not inferior to his father." — *Fun. Ser. on John Baily*, p. 36.

is a quiver of smart jests. He pretends to live a bachelor, but is no enemy to a pretty woman. He is High Church, yet so great a lover of his father's 'Christian Directions,' that he bought two hundred of me to give away, that he might, as he used to say, 'make the Bostonians godly.'

"I must not forget Mr. Tryon, a man of a sweet temper, an excellent husband, and very sincere in his dealings;" nor "Mr. Barnes, who was a clerk to the Government, a matchless accomptant, a great musician, bookish to a proverb, and very generous to strangers."

Mr. Dunton next speaks of his female friends in Boston: — "Mrs. Green, a wife; Madam Brick [Breck], a widow; and Mrs. Foy, party per pale, as the *Heralds* say, half wife, and half widow, her husband, a captain, being now at sea."

Among others, mention is made of a "Mrs. Brick,* a widow, the very flower of Boston; but can I forget Mrs. Foy? She is another of my friends, and one that I am proud of having so. She has the bashfulness and modesty of the damsel, the love and fidelity of Mrs. Green, the wife, and the piety and sweetness of the widow Brick."†

From the Ladies, the author turns to Arms, to give an account of a military muster in Boston. Being a Freeman, he was of course liable to do military duty; "for," he says, "it is their custom here for all that can bear arms to go out on a Training day. I thought a pike was best for a young soldier, and so I carried a pike. This was the first time I ever was in arms, and I knew not how to shoot off a gun, and was as unacquainted with the terms of military discipline as a wild Irishman. Being come into the field, the Captain called us all into close order, in order to go to prayer, and then prayed himself. And when our exercise [training] was done, the Captain likewise concluded with prayer. Solemn prayer in the field, upon a Training, I never knew but in New England."

Some time after, he visited Harvard College; mentions some of its endowments, and Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir John Maynerd, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Joseph Hill, and the Rev. Mr. Theophilus Gale, as its benefactors.

* Perhaps Joannah, widow of Mr. Robert Breck. If so, her husband had been dead about two years. Concerning this lady our Traveller has some attempts at wit in rather bad taste. "I have chosen," he says, "my friend the widow Brick" [this spelling is in accordance with the then pronunciation, which is the same with many at this day] "as an exemplar, to show you what a widow is. The widow Brick is a gentlewoman whose head (*i. e.*, her husband) has been cut off, and yet she lives and walks. But do not be frighted; for she is flesh and blood still, and perhaps some of the *finest* that you ever saw." — *Errors*, i. 107. — "To conclude her character: the beauty of

her person, the sweetness and affability of her temper, the gravity of her carriage, and her exalted piety, gave me so just a value for her, that Mrs. Green would often say, "Should Iris die," [the name he gave his wife] "which Heaven forbid, there is none fit to succeed her but Madam Brick." — *Ibid.*, 108. In another place he gives an account of a journey to Natick, to the annual Indian Lecture. "When we were setting forth," he says, "I was forced, out of civility and gratitude, to take Madam Brick behind me on horseback. It is true she was the Flower of Boston, but, in this case, proved no more than a *beautiful sort of luggage* to me." — *Ibid.*, 115.

† "Is she a maid?" "What man can answer that?"

"Or widow?" "No." "What then?" "I know not what."

Saint-like she looks; a Syren, if she sing:

Her eyes are stars; her mind is everything. . . . *Ibid.*, 108.

"My next ramble," he continues, "was to Roxbury, in order to visit the Rev. Mr. Elliot, the great apostle of the Indians. He was pleased to receive me with abundance of respect; and inquired very kindly after Dr. Annesley, my Father-in-law; and then broke out with a word of seeming satisfaction, 'Is my brother Annesley yet alive? Blessed be God for this information before I die!' He presented me with twelve Indian Bibles, and desired me to bring one of them over to Dr. Annesley; as also with twelve 'speeches of converted Indians,' which himself had published."

Mr. Dunton next relates his journey to Natick, where he heard "Mr. Gookins preach," and mentions two of his companions, "Mr. Cook, with Madam Middleton [Middlecot?] behind him;" also some adventures in their return to Boston, in the account of which he does not forget Mrs. Breck, "who had more charms than ever Calypso wore, when she kept Ulysses prisoner in the chains of love." "Upon my coming to Boston," he continues, "I heard that the Rev. Mr. Morton, so much celebrated in England for his piety and learning, was just arrived from England, and with him his kinsman, Dr. Morton, the physician. Mr. Morton did me the honor to declare he was very glad to see me; and I am sure I was glad to see him; not only as he brought me letters from Iris, but for his own personal worth."*

"In the same ship with Mr. Morton came over one Mrs. Hicks, with the valuable venture of her beautiful person, which went off at an extraordinary rate; she marrying a merchant in Salem worth thirty thousand pounds. She was truly virtuous, and a perfect beauty."†

After this, Mr. Dunton visited Haverhill, Wenham and Ipswich. He journeyed on horseback. "Mrs. Comfort, his landlord's daughter, accompanying him," who, it seems had an Uncle Steward residing at the latter place. They both rode on the same horse, in the usual style of that time. The next day, after his arrival, Mr. Hubbard, the Historian, called upon him, "hearing he had brought to Boston a great *venture of learning*, and afterwards took Mr. Dunton and Miss Wilkins to his house, and gave them a very handsome entertainment."‡

* The author gives Mr. Morton a splendid character, which he says everybody will allow; "but Sam Wesley," he says, "has fowled his nest in hope of a Bishoprick." He also adds, "Mr. Charles Morton (late of Newington Green) was that pious and learned man, by whose instructions my Reverend and worthy Uncle, Mr. Obadiah Marriat, was so well qualified for the work of the ministry. To this instance I might add, that Mr. John Shower and other eminent preachers owe that fame they have in the world to his great skill, in their education."—*Life and Errors*, i. 124. "Sam Wesley" was Dunton's brother-in-law, before mentioned, between whom there existed a feud.

† The Traveller visited Salem at the suggestion of "Mr. Sewal, one of the Magistrates," who kindly offered to assist him in the sale of his books." So, deciding to go, "I trudged

on foot," he says, "like a mere Coryat." By which comparison he refers to Thomas Coryate, who published his *Travels* under the singular title of "Crudities hastily gobbled up," &c. He stopped at Capt. Marshal's, about half way to Salem. "The Captain, a hearty old gentleman, formerly one of Oliver's soldiers, upon which he very much valued himself."—*Life*, &c., i. 126. Dunton had a "servant," or "apprentice," who did most of his business for him in Boston. His name was Samuel Palmer. He had been one of the "Monmouth boys," and remained in Boston when his master returned to England, not daring then to venture himself there. But he finally did return, got a place in the army, and was drowned, before 1705.

‡ Mr. Dunton at once appreciated the character of Mr. Hubbard. "He freely com-

Mr. Danton was now winding up his affairs, and, after a variety of tributes to his friends, expressed in all the warmth of real affection, he says, "Having taken a final leave of my American friends, my stay from Iris and my native country grew now very tedious to me; so, putting three hundred pounds (that was yet unpaid me) in Mr. Wilkins' hands, I committed myself once more to the mercy of the ocean; and, to make short of it, I agreed with Mr. Samuel Leg for my passage to England. The ship was burthen one hundred and fifty tons. There were only two passengers (Mr. Mortimer and Mr. King) besides myself. When the ship was ready to sail, I was attended on board by Dr. Bullevant, Mr. Wilkins, Mr. York, Mr. Gouge, Mr. Heath, Mr. Tryon, Mr. Green, and some other of my Boston friends. The captain entertained them with wine, beer, cyder, and neats-tongues. So soon as ever our friends were gone off to shore, our Captain ordered all his guns to fire, which were accompanied with Huzza's and shouts, and shaking of hats, till we had lost all sight of our friends."*

The Episcopalians became permanently established in Boston in 1686. There were indeed Episcopalians, or persons supposed to be such, seated in Mushauwomuk, and in its neighborhood, earlier than any other sects, as will have been already seen by the reader of this History. They had been more than once forced out of the country, and it was not until 1664 that the Church Service was performed in Boston without molestation. Even then, though protected by the King's Commissioners, who had a Chaplain of that faith with them, no permanent footing was established, nor was there any Church edifice for persons of that sect in the Town. Hence, that the novelty of the services should excite great curiosity, especially among the younger portion of the community, who had never before witnessed anything of the kind, is very natural. A conspicuous example of that curiosity will be found noticed in the relation of the interment of the Lady Anne Andros.

On the return of Mr. Randolph to Boston, as is elsewhere mentioned, there came with him Mr. Robert Ratcliffe, an Episcopalian clergyman. The old Government being the next day superseded, all persons residing in Boston, friendly to the English Church, came forward, and thus a society of Episcopalians had its beginning in the place.†

municates his learning to all who have the happiness to share in his converse. In a word, he is learned without ostentation and vanity, and gives all his productions such a delicate turn and grace (as is seen in his printed Sermons and 'History of the Indian Wars'), that the features and lineaments of the child make a clear discovery and distinction of the father; yet he is a man of singular modesty, of strict morals, and has done as much for the conversion of the Indians, as most men in New England."—*Ibid.*, i. 134.

* To this parting from Boston, he adds:

"Kind Boston, adieu: part we must, though 't is a pity;
But I'm made for mankind, and all the world is my city.
Look how on the shore they hoop and they hollow,
Not for joy I am gone, but for grief they can't follow."
Life and Errors, i. 137.

† Most writers place the arrival of the frigate *Kingfisher*, which brought over Mr. Ratcliffe, on the day that the new Government went into operation. Mr. Greenwood is among them.—See *Hist. King's Chapel*, 13. The error is small, but is easily avoided.

‡ According to a statement of Randolph, there were now near 400 Episcopalians in Boston. Perhaps he included some of those whose

Aug. 21. At first their meetings were in private houses. At length application was made to the officers of the South Church to be allowed to hold their meetings in the Meeting-house of that Society; proposing to accommodate their times of worship to the other society. This was anything but agreeable to the South Society. In the mean time, Mr. William Harrison died, and was "buried with the Common Prayer Book," which is the first time any one had been so interred in the place.* The deceased was "a boddice maker," and was a friend of Mr. Randolph, whose landlord he had been when Randolph formerly resided in the Town.

Finding he was not likely to be allowed a privilege in one of the Meeting-houses, Randolph next proposed that contributions might be raised among the Churches to enable the Episcopalians to erect a House for themselves. With his friend, Mr. Benjamin Bullivant, the apothecary, Mr. Randolph waited upon Mr. Samuel Sewall, one of the principal members of the South Church, and introduced his proposal for a contribution in that society; but, as Judge Sewall relates, the gentlemen "seemed to goe away displeased, because he spake not up to it."†

Dec. 19, 20. Such were the affairs of the Episcopalians on the arrival of the frigate *Kingsfisher*, which brought over Sir Edmund Andros, who, the next day after his arrival, applied for one of the Meeting-houses, in which to perform religious services. A Society had, in the mean while,

June 15. been regularly organized, as its records show, by the following persons who were present: "Mr. Ratcliffe, the minister, Edward Randolph, Esq., Captain Lydgett, Mr. Luscomb, Mr. White, Mr. Maccartie, Mr. Ravenscroft, Doctor Clerke, Mr. Turfery, Mr. Bankes and Doctor Bullivant." These agreed that "a publique collection" should be made every Sunday, "and to be continued untill some publique and settled provision be made for the Minister." Dr. Bullivant and Mr. Richard Bankes were elected Churchwardens, and Mr. Randolph, Capt. Lidgett, Mr. Luscomb and Dr. Bullivant with Mr. Ratcliffe, were appointed "to wayte on the President and Councell to treat about the Church affaires."‡ In pursuance of this the Committee waited upon

May 20. "y^e Council. Mr. Mason and Mr. Randolph propose y^t he [Mr. Ratcliffe] may have one of y^e three Houses to preach in. That is denyed; and he is granted the east end of y^e Town-house, where y^e Deputies used to meet, until those who desire his ministry shall provide a fitter place."§ This room contained a library.

Hence it appears that the first regular meeting-place of the Episco-

curiosity was strongly enough excited to cause their attendance at the meetings several times.

* Sewall's *Diary* in Holmes, i. 421.

† *Ibid.*

‡ At the same time, "Agreed that Mr. Smith the joyner do make 12 formes for the service of the Church, for each of which he

shall be paid 4s. 8d." Also to pay him "20s. quarterlie for cleaneing, placing and removing y^e Pulpit, Formes, Table, &c., and dooing all other things which shall be convenient and necessary in our place of publique assembling." — *Greenwood*, 24.

§ Sewall in *Wisner*, 93.

July 4. pal Society was in the Town-house. Their second meeting was on the since memorable Fourth of July, when it was agreed to pay Mr. Ratcliffe fifty pounds per annum, salary, besides what the Council might think fit to settle on him. It was also agreed that, if Mr. Buckley, the Chaplain of the Rose Frigate, was disposed to assist him,* he should have twenty shillings a week.†

From the manner of Gov. Andros, on being waited upon and remonstrated with, it was hoped, and perhaps expected, that he would not press the demand to occupy one of the Churches.‡ But in this they were disappointed.† Randolph, in the mean time, had no small share, it is presumed, in the Governor's determination; for in the following March he sent this very obnoxious individual to demand the key of the South Church, "that they may say prayers there." Before a compliance with the demand, however, a committee waited on his Excellency to remonstrate, consisting of "Mr. Elliot, Frarye, Oliver, Savage, Davis and Sewall." They stated to him that they could not "part with their house for any such use;" that the House and the land were theirs, producing extracts from Mrs. Norton's deed, showing, "how 't was built by particular persons, as Hull, Oliver, one hundred pounds apiece, &c."

This remonstrance availed nothing, and two days after the Episcopali-
 Mar. 25. ans performed their services in the South Church.§ They continued to occupy it from this time till the Revolution in 1689, as often as they had occasion. It may be, that the reason the people surrendered their House so quietly, was an implied condition that they should not be disturbed in their own religious privileges.||

* At the same time he had an assistant named Clark, or Clarke, about whose Christian name there is some uncertainty. Mr. Greenwood thinks it was Josiah, which is probably correct. Judge Sewall speaks of one of Mr. Clarke's long sermons thus: "March 27, Gov. and his retinue met in our meeting at 11; broke off past 2, because of y^e Sacrament and Mr. Clarke's long sermon, though we were appointed to come half hour past one; so 'twas a sad sight to see how full y^e street was with people gazing and moving to and fro, bec. had not entranc into y^e house." — *Diary in Wisner*, 94.

† *Records of King's Chapel* in Greenwood. These persons are named as being present at the second meeting, besides those who attended the first: "Mr. Proctour, Mr. Stephen Westundunke, Mr. Thomas Brindley, and Mr. Mallett." — *Ibid.* 25. At this meeting it was "Agreed that the prayers of the Church be said every Wednesday and Friday in the yeare (for the present, in the Library chamber in the Town-house in Boston), and in the summer season to beginne at 7 of the clock in the morning, and in the winter at nine of the clock in the forenoon." — *Ibid.* 26.

‡ After the application or proposal of Ran-

dolph to make use of one of the three Meeting-houses, Judge Sewall entered as follows in his Journal: "Tuesday, Dec. 21. There is a meeting at Mr. Allen's of y^e Ministers and four of each Congregation, to consider what answer to give to y^e Governor; and 'twas agreed y^e could not with a good conscience consent y^e our Meeting-houses should be made use of for y^e Common prayer worship. Dec. 22. In y^e evening Mr. Mather and Mr. Willard thoroughly discoursed his Excellency about y^e Meeting-houses, in great plainness, shewing they could not consent. This was at his lodging, at Madame Taylor's."

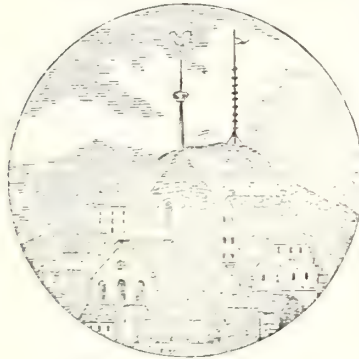
§ "Friday, March 25 [New-year's day then], the Govr. has service in y^e South Meeting-house. Goodman Needham, tho' had resolved to the contrary, was prevailed upon to ring y^e bell and open y^e door at y^e Governor's command; one Smith and Hill, joiner and shoemaker, being very busy about it. Mr. Jno. Usher was there, whether at y^e very beginning or no I can't tell." — *Sewall*.

|| Upon the proceedings of Andros, in thus infringing the rights of the people of the South Church, Mr. Greenwood remarks: "In looking back on this event, we are obliged to consider it, though not of itself of great politica-

The Episcopalians kept constantly in view the erection of a Church for themselves. Judge Sewall was several times applied to to sell a piece of land at Cotton Hill,* to be improved for that purpose; but his consent could not be obtained; because, he said, "he would not set up that which the people came from England to avoid; and, besides, the land was entailed." However, a site was obtained, and a Church erected before the forcible ejection of Andros and his satellites from Boston.†

The first Church was built by contributions throughout the country; the Government being first applied to for "liberty and authority," for persons authorized to receive donations, "to pass through the whole territory of his Majesty in New England."‡ The business of raising money being thus approbated, it was no doubt prosecuted with energy, though almost two years elapsed before a house was so far finished as to accommodate the Society. Then it was recorded, that £256 had been contributed by ninety-six individuals. The house had then

1689. been built, at a cost of about £284. Whether this account in-
July 4. cluded thirty-five shillings, paid to Mr. William Smith for "benching" of it, it is not clearly stated. How the Society obtained the land on which the Church stood, has not been discovered, but it is



FIRST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.§

not at all improbable that it was taken by order of Governor Andros out of the common burial-place, which was given to the Town by Mr. Isaac Johnson. It was of wood, and stood upon part of the ground now occupied by the present edifice, at the north-east corner of Tremont and School streets. The Revolution was a sensible check upon the prosperity of the Society, and their House had no pews up to 1693; in that year the officers of Sir Francis Wheler's fleet which put into Boston to recruit, made up a donation for the Church

importance, as one of the most arbitrary acts ever perpetrated in this country, while it remained under the English government. No excuse is to be rendered for it. It was such a deliberate outrage on the common rights of property, to say nothing of conscience and liberty, that we may only wonder that Andros and his abettors suffered no personal violence from the people." — *Hist. King's Chapel*, 39.

* Cotton Hill was an eminence near the southerly termination of Pemberton Square, and nearly opposite the gate of King's Chapel Burying-ground. The Rev. John Cotton resided near it, and hence its name.

† Francis Nicholson, Lieut. Governor of N.

York, in a letter to Andros, dated New York, Nov. 15th, 1688, says, "My humble service to all our friends and acquaintance, and I hope the little Church and its Parson are both well. You have taken away all the old Acts, bookes of Council, and bookes of Pattens; see people coming to have coppies from these bookes, they not being here, you loose by it." — W. B. Trask from Mass. Archives.

‡ Greenwood, 25. The application to the Government was ordered at the second organized meeting, July 4th, 1686.

§ From an old view of Boston, published in 1720; giving also a good view of Beacon Hill, then very nearly in its primitive state.

of fifty-six pounds. The next year pews were built at an expense of eighty-five pounds.*

Between 1710 and 1713, the old Church was rebuilt and enlarged to twice its original size. Mr. Thomas Brattle gave an organ † when it was finished. A clock was given in 1714.

No account of the dedication of the first Church has been found, but 1687. the first meeting in it is fixed upon the last day of June, which June 30. was Sunday. The second building stood until 1753, when, on the second day of April, it was begun to be taken down. Another was completed on the same site, and opened for divine service on the twenty-first of August, 1754. The amount expended in its erection and embellishment, up to June, 1758, was £7405, sterling. It has not since undergone any essential alteration in its exterior appearance.‡

Upon the great American Revolution in 1776, the Episcopal Society was broken up. Many of its most important supporters were royalists, who fled from Boston, and with them their minister, the Rev. Dr. Caner, and their house was shut up. Here was a period in the history of this Society of singular interest. It commenced its career by forcibly taking possession of the South Meeting-house; and it was now compelled to abandon its own. The King's troops had desecrated and spoiled that house, as has been related heretofore; that Society were now accommodated in the King's Chapel, and continued to be for near five years. Its name was changed to Stone Chapel, in conformity with other changes, which grew out of a hatred to kingly authority. It has continued to be so called to this day, by a majority of the old inhabitants and their immediate descendants. The name of King's Chapel is, however, applied to it by many. On the accession of Queen Ann, some called it Queen's Chapel. If it is to be named

* The first house was provided with a bell in 1689, as appears by the following entry in the Records: "July 23. By cash paid for our Church Bell to Mr. John Butler, by Mr. Foxcroft, £13, 5s."

The wardens for the first few years were

Benjamin Bullivant and Richard Banks, 1686-7.
Francis Foxcroft and Samuel Ravenscroft, 1689.
Benjamin Mountfort and Giles Dyer, 1690.
Savill Simpson and Harry Clark, 1691.
Nicholas Tippet and Edward Gouge, 1692.
William Hobby and George Turfrey, 1693.
Thaddeus Maccarty and Thomas Foxcroft, 1694-5.
Giles Dyer and Benjamin Mountfort, 1696.
Giles Dyer and Shubal Simpson, 1697.
George Turfrey and John Indicott, 1698.
John Indicott and William Hobby, 1699.
William Hobby and East Apthorp, 1700.
East Apthorp and Edward Lyde, 1701.
Edward Lyde and Samuel Checkley, 1702-3.

The officers of the Society were increased, in 1699, by the appointment of Vestry men. The first were "Francis Foxcroft, Thaddeus Maccarty, Thomas Newton, Giles Dyer, Benj. Mountfort, John Cooke, Savill Simpson, Edward Lyde and Edward Turfrey."

† This was, no doubt, the first organ in Boston. A Mr. Price was the first Organist, and a Mr. Edward Eastone was the second. He came from London in 1714, at which time he was "living next door to Mr. Masters' on Tower Hill." His salary was small, but £30; yet, "with dancing, music, &c.," it was thought it would answer.—*Hist. King's Chapel*, 74-5.

‡ A list of the Rectors or Ministers from the beginning to the time of Mr. Greenwood:—

Robert Ratcliffe, Rector,	1686, left,	1689.
Robert [?] Clarke, Assistant,	1686.	
Samuel Myles, Rector,	1689, died,	1728.
George Hatton, Assistant,	1693, left,	1696.
Christopher Bridge, "	1699, reind.	1706.
Henry Harris, "	1709, died,	1729.
Roger Price, Rector,	1729, resigned,	1746.
Charles Harwood, Assistant,	1731, died,	1736.
Addington Davenport, "	1737, left,	1740.
Stephen Roe, "	1741, removed,	1744.
Henry Caner, Rector,	1747, left,	1776.
Charles Brockwell, Assistant,	1747, died,	1755.
John Troutbeck, "	1755, left,	1775.
James Freeman, reader,	1782, died,	1835.
Samuel Cary, Associ. Minister,	1809, died,	1815.
F. W. P. Greenwood, "	1824, resigned,	1842.



THE STONE CHAPEL.*

according to the prevailing Government over the country, it should now be called the United States Chapel.

Overseers of corders of wood, Jeremiah Fitch, John Goffe, John More, John Lowell, John Bull and Thomas Shepcoll. Fined for not serving as Constables, "Mr. Joseph Parsons, Mr. Edward Brumfield, Mr. Benj. Alford and Mr. Humphry Luscombe."

CHAPTER L.

Death of Joseph Redknep. — Joseph Dudley President. — Colonial Seal. — Edmund Andros Governor. — Town Affairs. — Muddy River taken from Boston. — Number of persons taxed. — New Order about Marriages. — People excessively taxed. — Their Lands declared forfeited to the King. — Town Meetings forbid by Andros. — The King grants Toleration. — Andros forbids Thanksgiving. — Mather's Embassy to the King. — Andros attempts to hinder it. — He goes against the Eastern Indians. — Indian Hostages. — Andros continues his Oppressions. — Death of his Lady. — Winslow imprisoned. — The People take up Arms. — The Governor and others seized and imprisoned. — The old Government restored. — News of the Revolution in England. — Joyously celebrated. — Andros and others sent prisoners to England.



COLONY SEAL.

JOSEPH REDKNAP died this year, aged, as was supposed, one hundred and ten years. He had been a wine cooper in London, and came over here in or before 1634, as in that year he was made a freeman.†

The Rose frigate arrived from England, May † 14, bringing a Commission appointing Joseph Dudley, Esq., President of New England, § and

by that of King's Chapel, I have so designated the engraving which represents it at the present day. To avoid confusion and prevent mistakes, a single name is desirable to the same object. It matters but little what the name is, so long as uniformity is attained. The Philadelphians are remarkable for having double names to some of their streets, to the no little annoyance of strangers.

† Hutchinson, i. 341; *Gen. Reg.*, iii. 93. In the list of freemen his name is spelled Rednap. A Benjamin Rednap was a freeman of Lynn, 1691. He was, perhaps, a son of Joseph, whose death is recorded in the text, and who, according to Mr. Lewis, had 40 acres of land granted to him in Lynn in 1638. The latter author records his death from Sewall's *Diary*, "23 Jan. 1686," which should proba-

• Being now more generally known by this name than

bly be 1686-7. If he were the Joseph Redknep who testified concerning affairs of Lynn in 1657, he was then only "about 60."

‡ At a Town-meeting the same day Capt. Pen Townsend was chosen Deputy to the General Court, in place of Mr. Isaac Addington, who was elected a Magistrate. At the regular meeting on the 9 March preceding, Mr. Addington, Mr. John Saffin, and Capt. Timothy Prout, had been chosen Deputies.

John Addington

§ John Dunton was at this time selling books in Boston, and in his *Life and Errors* (ii. 111) thus notices this arrival: — "About this time [he has no date] arrived the Rose frigate from England, with a new Charter, procured by one Randal [Randolph] which gave Major Dudley the title of President, and the Magistrates



JOSEPH DUDLEY.

certain gentlemen to be of the Council.* Mr. Dudley was not popular, inasmuch as he had recommended an early compliance with Mr. Randolph's requirements, and had been in correspondence with him, and now, no doubt, was chiefly indebted to him for this mark of the King's favor. The people, however, submitted more quietly to him as a Royal Governor, having lately had so near a prospect of one, though not an African, quite as much to be dreaded as any native monster from the deserts of that barbarous country.†

May 25. "The President and Council being assembled, the exemplification of the Judgment against the Charter of the late Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, together with his Majesty's Commission of Government were publicly read,"‡ and received with a sort of feigned satisfaction.

A new order of things was, of course, expected to take place. The old Colonial Seal, which had been in use from an early date, was no longer to be attached to documents. It was made of silver, and prepared in England by the Massachusetts Company, and sent over to Governor Endicott in 1629, and was used by him before Boston was settled by the Second Colony under Mr. Winthrop.§

Mr. Dudley's Presidency was a very brief one, and it does not appear that there was any good reason for his being found fault with. Civil affairs went on in a channel as near the former one as the nature of the new arrangement in the government allowed; and, as to religious concerns, they were not at all disturbed.

Dec. 20. Sir Edmund Andros assumed the government on his arrival.|| He lodged on his first coming into town, probably, at the house of Mr. Gibbs, at Fort Hill.¶ The people of Boston had had some

were changed into Counsellors. Parson Ratcliffe came over with the Charter, and on Lord's-day read the Common Prayer in his surplice, and preached in the Town-house. He was an eminent preacher, and his sermons were useful and well dressed. I was once or twice to hear him; and it was noised about that Dr. Annesley's son-in-law was turned apostate. But I could easily forgive them, in regard the Common Prayer and the Surplice were religious novelties in New England."

* Mr. Dudley's commission made him President of the Council for Massachusetts Bay, N. Hampshire and Maine, and the Naraganset country, or King's Province. Wm. Stoughton was named Deputy President; Simon Bradstreet, Robt. Mason, John Fitz Winthrop, John Pyncheon, Peter Bulkley, Edward Randolph, Wait Winthrop, Richard Wharton, John Usher, Nathl. Saltonstall, Barthol. Gedney, Jona. Tyng, Dudley Bradstreet, John Hinks, and Edward Tyng were named as Counsellors. Mr. Bradstreet and his son Dudley Bradstreet, declined. — Hutchinson, i. 351.

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Dudley

† See a Note in Hutchinson, i. 341.

‡ See Tully's *Almanack* for 1687. But in the *Almanack* it is said that the reading of the Commission, &c., was "received by persons of all conditions, with general acceptance."

§ The accompanying engraving at the head of the Chapter accurately represents it, though of but half the size of the original. It is supposed to have been destroyed in the time of Andros.

|| He came in the *Kingfisher*, a fifty gun frigate. Judge Sewall wrote in his *Diary*, "Dec. 24. About 60 red coats are brought to town, landed at Pool's wharf, where drew up, and so marched to Mr. Gibbs' house at Fort Hill." — *Holmes' Annals*, i. 419.

¶ Mr. Robert Gibbs. His house was of stone, and one of the best in the Town. He was the father of Mr. Henry Gibbs, who removed to Providence, and of Mary, wife of the Rev. John Cotton of Newton. Robert Gibbs was dead in 1686. Soldiers were quartered in his house for a year and a half, for which his heirs claimed £87, 10s. rent and damages, in 1739. — *Original Documents*. The street or alley on which his house was situated, was called Gibbs' Lane. This lane extended easterly from the east end of Cow Lane (High street) to the water, terminating not far from a wharf, long known as Gibbs' wharf.

knowledge of Andros. He had been here before, and they had, perhaps, as much respect for him as for Mr. Dudley. His proceedings at first gave some confidence that his government would not be altogether unsatisfactory.

The "standing charge" of Boston in 1686, was "about £400 per annum; above £200 of which is in maintaining three Free Schools, mending the high wayes," in the Town, at Rumneymarsh and Muddy River. The rest is expended in paying for various services, "to the poore people that are not like to get their linings as long as they doe live; besides clothinge, burying y^e poore, and giueinge to peoples necessities transientlie, repaire the Townehouse and schoole houses, maintaineinge poor people when they are sicke, blowing vp of houses, &c."*

In the beginning of the last year the inhabitants of Muddy River moved in Townmeeting that they might be freed from taxes, for that they desired to apply their amount of tax to the maintenance of a writing school. In January of this year, the new Government
Jan. 12. of the Colony, in answer to a petition from Muddy River, "ordered, that, hence forth the said Hamlet of Muddie River, be free from town rates to y^e Towne of Bostone; they maintaing their own high ways and poore, and other publique charges, amongst themselves; and that within one yeare they raise a schoole-house, and also maintaine on able readinge and writinge master; and that the inhabitants annuallie meete to choose three men to manage their affairs."†

Aug. 31. The taxable polls of the Town, from sixteen years of age and upwards, were 1447.‡

Meanwhile the new Governor began to give evidence that he intended to effect a complete change in affairs. One of his first acts was to put the Press under restraint, over which he appointed his Secretary, Randolph, Licenser. This, however, was no new grievance, but to put it into the hands of a man whom the people believed to be their enemy in everything, was sufficient to cause a general rankling among feelings already much irritated. §. He proceeded to make a new order concerning marriages, and intended to bring about a law making no marriage valid, not solemnized by a minister of the Church of England. Fees of office were enhanced to an insufferable rate. For the probate of a will, fifty shillings were exacted. With four or five of his Council, the Governor assessed such taxes as he thought proper. Poor people, women and children, were obliged to come to Boston from re-

* "There is appointed by Authority, a Market to be kept in Boston, and a Committee is ordered to meet and state the place and days, and other circumstances relating to the good settling thereof." — *Tully's Almanack for 1687.*

† This order was signed "Edward Randolph Sect." "Benjamin Bullivant, late Clerke of y^e Councell" witnessed it.

‡ A list of them "on ten sheets of paper" is spoken of in the Town Records. That list is not, probably, preserved.

§ Three weeks before the arrival of Andros, his secretary, Randolph, ordered Mr. Samuel Green the printer, to print nothing without his approbation. The order was signed by "Ben. Bullivant," in which it was said he must not print "any Almanack whatever." — See *Holmes' Annals*, i. 420. But Mr. Green did print an Almanack for the year 1686, and I have seen and used one of them.

1686-7. The Selectmen to appoint chimney sweepers, and none else to be allowed to sweep them.

note places upon all the business connected with the settlement of estates.

A plan was hit upon by Andros and his ill advisers, to extort money from the people, which, could he have succeeded in it, would have gratified his avarice, which seems to have been as much his ruling passion as cruelty was that of Colonel Kirke. But happily any passion carried to excess defeats its own objects. Andros mistook the character of the people here. They were not to be insulted with impunity. They had not grown up believing that all power emanated from the King, or that his vicegerent could not be called in question for acts clearly against all reason, even though he might construe the law to suit his purposes. Andros' plan of aggrandizement was no other than this. It was to declare all the landholders tenants at will. His argument backed up by the King would have answered his designs. But his King, not being able to back up his title to his Crown, his claim to it and the arguments of Andros shared the fate of all tyrannical iniquities. The sum of Andros' argument was, that as the people held their lands by a Charter from the Crown, and as they had forfeited that Charter, they had forfeited their possessions under it.* This was, indeed, an alarming conclusion, and what would have been the result, had James the Second continued on the throne of England, it is not difficult to decide. Such a King, with such a General as Kirke had proved himself to be, submission first, and the gallows next, were about alike certain.

Under such prospects a free people would be very likely to be in a state of desperation. They were even so at that time, but their nerves were steady, as in the sequel will appear.

Meanwhile James Second was making rapid strides in arbitrary power, then perfectly consistent with Popery, with which he was thoroughly imbued. Andros and Kirke were reputed to be of the same faith, but neither of them, probably, cared a straw's worth about any religion further than was necessary to keep upon terms with their master.

The immediate affairs of the Town, during the administration of Dudley and Andros, seem to have been almost neglected, as it appears from the records.† Some were discouraged, and others knew not what to do. A despotism was staring them full in the face. They knew

* Andros' object was to grant new titles to estates himself, for which he was to receive such fees as he chose to demand. "Accordingly Writs of Intrusion were issued out against the chief gentlemen in the Territory; by the terror whereof many were driven to petition for patents, that they might enjoy their lands, which had been 50 or 60 years in their possession. But for these patents there were such exorbitant prices demanded, that £50 could not purchase for its owner an estate not worth £200: nor could all the money and moveables in the Territory have defrayed the

charges of patenting the lands at the hands of these crocodiles; besides the considerable quit-rents for the King. Indeed, the brutish things done by these *wild beasts* of the earth, are too many to be related."—Mather's *Remarkables*, 101.

† "Sir Edmund Androsse, with a few of his Council, made a law prohibiting any Town-meeting, except once a year, viz.: on the third Monday in May."—*The Revolution in N. Eng. Justified*, p. 12. The Town Records show this to be true, or rather their absence shows it.

not what would be law to-morrow, or whether there would be any law save the will of an unprincipled despot. The General Court had been abolished, and hence the people had no voice in any public measures.*

In the midst of this state of things Andros received an additional Commission, adding New York to his government. This Commission he caused to be published from the balcony of the Town-house. Not long after he received the news of the birth of a Prince, and thereupon ordered a general Thanksgiving, which was to take place on the first of September. A special order was sent to "Mr. Cotton Mather" to read the Proclamation to his congregation.†

The only good act for which James Second has credit in New England, was his "Declaration of Indulgence," or an order for universal toleration in matters of religion.‡ This displeased Andros in proportion as it pleased the people; and he was bitter against Mr. Increase Mather for his agency in causing an address of thanks to be sent to the King for his Declaration. His hatred of Mr. Mather did not begin at this time. That Minister had been looked upon all along as the cause of opposition to his measures, and not only to his, but to those of all the King's officers hitherto. Now, his wrath was at its height, and he seemed determined to be revenged on him whom he considered the leader of the people.§

Soon after the King's "Declaration" was received, the Churches of Boston agreed to keep a Day of Thanksgiving on the account of that event. This so irritated Governor Andros, that he forbid such a demonstration, and threatened to set guards of soldiers at the doors of the Churches if it should be attempted.||

Encouraged by what James had lately done for religious liberty, many of the "superior people" thought there was a prospect of obtaining from him some special favor for New England, if they were to send over a suitable person to intercede with him. This it was concluded should be done, and Mr. Mather was at once pitched upon as the messenger. In the mean time Randolph had succeeded in bringing Mr. Mather into difficulty, which happened in this wise. Mr.

* Randolph, writing to some friend, said they were now become as arbitrary as the great Turk. — *Hutchinson*.

† The Proclamation and Order are inserted in *Hutchinson*, i. 372.

‡ "By this general indulgence Popery was craftily to be introduced. Mr. Mather and his constituents were not Politicians sufficient to penetrate into the wicked and pernicious contrivance of that toleration." — Douglass, *Sum.* i. 440.

§ Dr. Cotton Mather speaks with great bitterness of Andros. But against Randolph he is more than bitter. His denunciations are highly characteristic of their author: — "O, Randolph! I said a good while ago, that I should have a farther occasion to mention him. I have now done it; and, that I may never mention him any more, I will here take my

eternal farewell of him, with relating that he proved a *Blasted Wretch*, followed with a sensible curse of God wherever he came; despised, abhorred, unprosperous; anon he died in Virginia, and in such miserable circumstances, that (as it is said), he had only two or three Negro's to carry him unto his grave." — *Remarkables*, 107. This perhaps refers to Andros.

It will be well to observe, in connection with this, that Andros did not die in Virginia. He was appointed Governor of that Province in 1692, in which office he continued six years; and that he appears to have met with no difficulty there; having, no doubt, learned, by his experience in Boston, that Colonists could not easily be made slaves of. He died in London, in February, 1714. — *Hutchinson*, ii. 208. Allen, *Biog. Dict.*

|| See *Remarkables*, 103. 111.

Mather had been very active in all measures against the surrender of the Charter, and had published reasons against it; but he managed his opposition with so much prudence that his enemies could not get any legal hold upon him. At length a letter was forged under his name, and being directed to some person in Amsterdam, was pretended to be intercepted in its passage thither. And, as it reflected on Sir Lionel Jenkins, and contained passages calculated to incense the King and his ministers against the Country, it was used by Randolph for that purpose.* The forgery was believed to be the work of Randolph and a brother of his,† and Mr. Mather so expressed himself in a letter to a correspondent. This charge of Mr. Mather coming to Randolph's ears, he at once brought an action of slander against the Author of it; laying his damages at five hundred pounds. It came to trial; Randolph lost his case, and had to pay the costs of court. Notwithstanding, by some means not stated, he commenced the action anew, and a writ was out for the arrest of Mr. Mather, as he was just ready to sail on his mission;‡ but he was secreted by his friends, and at length went on April 7. board the ship prepared to convey him, in the night, disguised, and thus thwarted the design of his implacable enemy.§

Mr. Mather took with him his youngest son, Nathaniel, then about eighteen years of age. As their ship approached the English coast, "they narrowly escaped perishing among the rocks of Scilly." And soon after they were near being wrecked by following the false information of some fishermen.|| However, he soon after landed safely at

* "There were many passages in favor of Ferguson, Lord Shaftsbury, Oates, &c. Sir Lionel Jenkins either suspected the forgery, or treated the thing with contempt, asking whether it was that Star-gazer wrote it. (Referring to Mr. Mather's then late treatise on comets.)" — Hutchinson, i. 366. Sir Leoline Jenkins died 1 Oct., 1685. — Granger.

† I have made no researches respecting the family of Andros. There was a Captain Elisha Andros in the Indian wars of 1690, &c. Farmer does not mention him. Sir Edmund's Autograph is subjoined.

E Andros

‡ It appears from Mr. Mather's biographer that the new action was brought purposely to prevent his mission to England, and that Mr. Mather himself had communicated his design to Andros. It is related as follows: — "He waited on Sir Edmund Andross, the Governor and Oppressor of New England, and acquainted him that he designed a voyage to London. He also gave the Country notice of his voyage, in a sermon at the Great Lecture, on Exod. xxxiii. 15. *If thy presence go not with us, carry us not up from hence.* Hereupon Randolph again,

assisted by one 'pothecary Bullivant, a memorable Justice (and something else!) privately sent an officer to arrest him once more upon the former action of defamation. But it fell out that he was just then under the operation of a more wholesome *physic* than what that 'pothecary had sent him; and so the officer was ignorantly denied admittance. The 'pothecary as ignorantly reported that Mr. Mather was arrested; and the report flying like lightning about the solicitous Town, it soon reached Mr. Mather's ears; who then kept upon his guard." — *Remarkables*, 106-7.

§ "Mr. Mather withdrew privately from his house, in a changed habit, unto the house of Col. Philips in Charlstown; in which withdraw, it is remarkable, that a wicked fellow, whose name was Thurton, and who was placed as an undersheriff, to watch him, and seize him, if he stir'd abroad, now saw him and knew him, and yet found himself struck with such an enfeebling terror, that he had no power to meddle with him. From thence he was, by certain well disposed young men of his flock, transported unto Winnesimmet; and from thence he went aboard a ketch, which lay ready to assist his voyage; from which he was, on April 7th, 1688, gladly received aboard the ship, called the *President*, on which he had at first shipped himself, and so bore away for England." — *Remarkables*, 107-8.

|| "Some very wicked fishermen of St. Ives,

May 6. Weymouth, "which was the last town he lodged in when he left England seven and twenty years before."

May 25. On the twenty-fifth of May he arrived in London, and five days after had an audience with the King, "in the Long Gallery at Whitehall." And not long after, two or three other conferences, in all of which, according to the report given of them, "his Majesty" was full of good words, and appeared kindly disposed towards New England, while at the same time his sincerity was doubted. And, as will be observed, his fair speeches amounted to nothing; notwithstanding Mr. Mather had the advice and help of persons of influence in England, as well as the counsel and aid of several of Massachusetts. Among the latter were Mr. Samuel Nowel and Mr. Elisha Hutchinson, who had been Assistants under the Charter government.

April. Meanwhile the Eastern Indians were in open war with the settlers in that part of the Country. Sir Edmund, with a considerable armament, sailed from Boston to chastise them, but it was productive of far more mischief than advantage. The war thus begun continued near ten years.* Late in the season of the same year Governor

Nov. Andros marched with a force of about 700 men against the Eastern Indians by land.† In this, likewise, he accomplished nothing against them, and his men suffered extremely, and many of them died from exposure to the rigors of the season; more, it is affirmed by some, than the whole number of Indians in hostility. But Andros led his men in person, and shared their hardships with them.

After the return of Governor Andros from his first expedition against the Indians, some of the officers in authority in the eastern country, took a number of Indians prisoners and sent them to Boston. Here they were held as hostages, and for safe-keeping imprisoned. This was in the summer, and Sir Edmund was at the time absent from Town. On his return he was greatly displeased that the Indians had been im-

also after that, gave them false advice, on purpose to have shipwrecked 'em, which they again escaped by Mr. Mather's taking one of the *sharks* aside, and hiring him with four half crowns to tell the truth." — *Remarkables*, 108. If this is a fair picture of the liabilities of mariners on *civilized* coasts in those days, the situation of those thrown upon *un-civilized* ones was lamentable indeed. I have no doubt of the facts in the above extract.

* Sir Edmund had calculated upon the assistance of the experienced and brave Col. Benjamin Church, and sent for him to come to Boston. Ever ready to fight Indians when his Country required it, he came immediately to Town. The Governor offered him the second place in command, and Church was at first disposed to accept; but taking time to consider of it before giving a final answer, and in the interim consulting with many of his acquaintances in the Town, "who made it their business, some to encourage and others to discourage him," he returned answer to the

Governor that he could not go. Hence, it may be fair to infer that there were many in Boston who did what they could to render Sir Edmund's expedition abortive.—See Church's *Hist.*, &c., 150.

† "And tho' 'tis judged that our Indian enemies are not above 100 in number, yet an army of 1600 English hath been raised for the conquering of them; which army our poor friends and brethren now under Popish commanders (for in the army as in the Council, Papists are in commission), has been under such a conduct, that not one Indian hath been killed, but more English are supposed to have died through sickness and hardship, than we have adversaries there alive; and the whole war hath been so managed, that we cannot but suspect in it a branch of the plot to *bring us low*; which we leave to be further enquired into." — *Declaration of the Inhabitants of Boston*, &c., in "An Account of the Late Revolution by Nathaniel Byfield," p. 17. "Thus we are briar'd into another Indian war." — *ib.*

prisoned, and ordered them set at liberty.* Some of his own Council opposed the liberation of one of the Chiefs, long noted for his barbarities. The name of that chief was Hopchood.† It is said that Andros spent two or three hours in private with Hopchood before he was set at liberty, and hence the depredations which that Chief committed not long after, caused Andros to be charged with inciting the Indians to war against the English. However, it is certain that Hopchood was a principal leader in the butcheries at Salmon Falls in the following March, and at Fox Point in the following May, to go no further.

The occurrence of these things, and the constant issue of Writs of Intrusion‡ against people of wealth, caused the poorer class to inquire, "What was to become of them, when their turn should come?" People were brought to Boston from Ipswich, and other places even more remote, and put into prison, because they dared to question the legality of being compelled to raise money without the authority of a General Court. Cases of individual oppression cannot be enumerated, § but that of Mr. Joseph Lynde of Charlestown, and that of Mr. Ichabod Wiswall of Duxbury, were peculiarly aggravating.

At the same time that the news of the birth of a Prince was received at Boston, suspicions accompanied it, that it had no foundation in truth. The people were better prepared to entertain the suspicions than to believe that they were provided with a successor thus early to

* "Upon his return, finding the Indians in prison, fell into a great rage against those gentlemen that had acted therein."—Thos. Danforth in *N. Eng. Justified*, 34.

† Hutchinson says it was Madokawando, and does not mention Hopchood at all. Madokawando may have been one of the captives who accompanied Hopchood, as there were "about a dozen" of them.—For the exploits of both of these Chiefs see THE BOOK OF INDIANS. Dr. C. Mather says Hopchood was a "bloody Devil."

‡ The nature of those writs will be best understood by a Deposition which I take out of *New England Justified*, page 26, which is as follows:—"The deposition of Capt. Daniel Turel and Lieut. Edward Willis, sworn, say, That upon a Writ of Intrusion being served on Deer Island, belonging to the town of Boston, and let unto Col. Samuel Shrimpton by the Selectmen of the said Town, the rent whereof being of long time appropriated towards the maintenance of a Free School in the Town, we, the Deponents, two of the Selectmen of the said Town, do testify, that meeting with Mr. James Graham upon the Town-house, and telling him, that if Col. Shrimpton did decline to personate the case of the said Island, we the Selectmen would. The said Graham said, Are you the men that will stand suit against the King? We the Deponents told him we would answer in behalf of the Town. The said Graham replied, There was no Town of Boston, nor was there any Town in the Country. We made answer we were a Town, and owned so

to be by Sir Edmund Androsse, Governor, in the warrant sent us for the making a rate. Then the said Graham told us, We might stand the trial if we would, but bid us have a care of what we did, saying It might cost us all we were worth, and something else too, for aught he knew; and further these deponents say not. Sworn before William Johnson, Assistant, Jan. 30, 1689."—Mr. Graham was Andros' Attorney General. Mrs. Mary Hooke, wife of Francis Hooke, Esq., of Kittery, Me., presuming, it may be, that Noddle's Island would be wrested from Col. Shrimpton, petitioned Andros for "consideration and relief," she being daughter of Mr. Samuel Maverick, former owner of said island. She urged that "her father, in 1648, was fined £250 for attempting to petition the King, and that when a commissioner with Nichols, Carr and Cartwright, he was interrupted by sound of trumpet."—*Mass. Archives*, Vol. 128, p. 45. I may not have noted, elsewhere, that Noddle's Island (now East Boston) is supposed to have been so named from one William Noddle, who was a Freeman of the Colony, 18 May, 1631; the same, perhaps, resident in Salem in 1632, and who was drowned in the "South River," while "carrying wood in a canoe," in June of that year. Winthrop, *Jour.* i. 80, calls him an honest man.—See Prince, *Annals*, ii. 29.

§ "Writs were issued out against Col. Shrimpton, Mr. Samuel Seawall [afterwards Judge Sewall] and we know not how many more besides."—*N. Eng. Justified*, p. 22.

a monarch not at all agreeable to them; and they were anxiously hoping, if not expecting, some favorable turn in public affairs.*

Notwithstanding the death of Lady Andros occurred about this time, no notice appears to have been taken of it in published accounts of that day, nor did it have any perceivable influence on her husband the

Feb. 10. Governor, as respects the oppressive measures he was pursuing.

She was buried with all the Church of England ceremonies, hitherto an unaccustomed sight in Boston.† The day was cloudy and dark, well agreeing with the gloomy prospects of the people.

Early in the year 1689 there was a rumor that the Prince of Orange‡ was about to assert his claim to the English throne; and while the people of Boston were in much suspense regarding it, Mr. John Winslow arrived in a ship from Nevis. While at that Island, in the month of February preceding, he learned, by an arrival from England, that the Prince had landed, and was actually declared King.§ The ship which brought that news to Nevis, brought the "Prince's Declaration," which Mr. Winslow procured to be copied, at an expense of four shillings and sixpence, because he would bring it to Boston; for, he said, "It was very welcome news to me, and I knew it would be so to the rest of the people of New England; being bound thither, and very willing to carry such news."

April 4. On the arrival of Mr. Winslow, Governor Andros, suspecting he had brought news from England, sent James Sherlock, his sheriff, to Mr. Winslow's house in Joyliff's lane,|| to demand his papers, and he accompanied the said Sherlock to the Governor's house. The Governor insolently demanded why he had not brought him the news? To which Mr. Winslow replied, that he was not aware that it was his duty to do so, nor was it customary for passengers to go with news to the Governor on their arrival. He was then asked to produce the Declaration of the Prince of Orange; but he declined to comply. At this Andros was much out of temper, and told Mr. Winslow he was

* James-Francis-Edward, son of James II., was born June 18th, 1688. He was afterwards styled "The Pretender." — *Salmon*. Hence the suspicions of the Bostonians turned out to be suspicions only.

† Judge Sewall attended the funeral, concerning which he made these brief notes: — "Between 4 and 5 I went to the funeral of Lady Andros, having been invited by the Clark of the South Company [Society]. Between 7 and 8 (lychns [Lychnites, a sort of white marble; also a gem that shines best by candle-light. *Philips and Kersey*. — Used by Sewall as torch or lamp] illuminating the cloudy air), the corpse was carried into the hearse drawn by six horses, the soldiers making a guard from the Governor's house down the Prison Lane to the South Meetinghouse; there taken out and carried in at the western door, and set in the alley before the pulpit, with six mourning women by it. House made light with candles

and torches. There was a great noise and clamor to keep people out of the house, that they might not rush in too soon. I went home." — *Sewall, in Hist. King's Chapel*, 40-1. The Lady Anne Andros appears to have been a relative of the family of Dr. Benjamin Church of Boston, a descendant of which, many years ago, found and repaired the tomb, upon a slab, in the bottom of which the name of the tenant was inscribed, and by this it was identified. — *Letter of Amos Lawrence in Bridgman's King's C. Inscriptions*, p. 317-18.

‡ He was son of William II., Prince of Orange, by Mary, eldest dau. of Charles I. Hence he was nephew of James II., whom he dethroned. His wife was Mary, dau. of James II., and therefore his own cousin.

§ He landed at Torbay, in Devonshire, Nov. 5th, 1688.

|| At the foot of Spring-lane. His place of residence is inferred from circumstances.

a saucy fellow, and ordered the Sheriff to take him before the Justices of the Peace. Mr. Winslow asked the Sheriff to allow him to choose his Justice, but he was told that he must go before "Doctor Bullivant." When he came there, Bullivant was joined by Charles Lidget and Francis Foxcroft. They demanded his papers, but were refused them. They then imprisoned him "for bringing into the country a traitorous and treasonable libel," notwithstanding he offered 2000 pounds bail.*

Without such occurrences as this, it may very reasonably be said that the people had suffered enough to justify a rebellion; and although they were now ripe for it, it does not appear that there was any plan to seize upon the Government, or to rise up in arms, as they immediately proceeded to do, which is thus related by an eye-witness: — †

April 18. "I knew not anything of what was intended until it was begun, ‡ yet being at the north end of the town, where I saw boys running along the streets with clubs in their hands, encouraging one another to fight, I began to mistrust what was intended; and, hasting towards the Town Dock, I soon saw men running for their arms, but before I got to the Red Lion, § I was told that Captain George || and the Master of the frigate were seized and secured in Mr. Colman's ¶ house, at the North End; and when I came to the Town Dock, I understood that Bullivant and some others of them were laid hold of, and then immediately the drums began to beat, and the people hastened and ran, some with and some for arms. Young Dudley and Colonel Lidget with some difficulty attained to the Fort.** The Gov-

* *New England Justified*, 11, 12.

† The account which follows in the text is from Hutchinson, who did not know the author. It is from a letter, dated "Boston, April 22, '89." The writer withheld his name for obvious reasons. It was, in Hutchinson's time, the most circumstantial account that had appeared.

‡ The commotion began "about 8 o'clock in the morning. It was reported at the South End of the Town that at the North End they were all in arms; and the like report was at the North End, respecting the South End. About 9 of the clock the drums beat through the Town, and an ensign was set upon the Beacon." — *Byfield, Account of the Revolution*, 3 and 4.

Nathaniel Byfield

§ Mention is made of this Tavern in 1676. It was "at the North End," and long a noted Inn. Joseph Miller, bookseller from London,

was here in 1709; and is mentioned as situated near the Red Lion in 1744. In 1766 John Harris kept a vendue next door to it.

|| Captain John George. — *Byfield*. George's account is printed in *Chalmers's Annals*, 469.

¶ Same perhaps, father of Dr. Benjamin Colman of Brattle-street Church afterwards.

** This fort had been put into excellent condition in the time of the war with the Dutch. A Committee of the General Court reported, in 1666, that it was "apprehended to be the completest work of the kind which hitherto had been ordered in this country." Maj. Gen. John Leverett, "with the advice of the Committee of the militia of Boston," superintended the work. The Committee of the Gen. Court said, that, "under the conduct of the Maj. General, they entered a well contrived fort, called Boston Sconce; the artillery whereof was of good force and well mounted, the gunner attending the same; that the form thereof was suitable to the place, so as to scour the harbor to the full length of their shot every way; the foundation of stone, and well banked with earth." They found nine guns

mounted, with arrangements for four more "without." The same Committee examined, at the same time, the North Battery, at

ernor immediately sent Dudley on an errand, to request the four ministers, Mr. Joyliffe, and one or two more, to come to him at the Fort, pretending that, by them, he might still the people, not thinking it safe for him to go to them. They returned for answer, that they did not think it safe for them to go to him. Now, by this time, all the persons whom they concluded not to be for their side were seized and secured, except some few who had hid themselves, who afterwards were found, and dealt by as the rest. The Governor, with Palmer, Randolph, Lidget, West, and one or two more, were in the Fort. All the companies were soon rallied together at the Town House, where assembled Captain Winthrop, Shrimpton, Page,* and many other substantial men, to consult matters; in which time the old Governor came among them, at whose appearance there was a great shout by the soldiers. Soon after the Jack was set up at the Fort, and a pair of colors at Beacon Hill, which gave notice to some thousand soldiers on Charlestown side that the controversy was now to be ended, and multitudes would have been there, but that there was no need. The frigate, upon the news, put out all her flags and pendants, and opened all her ports, and with all speed made ready for fight, under the command of the Lieutenant; he swearing that he would die before he should be taken, although the Captain sent to him that if he fired one shot, or did any hurt, they would kill him, whom they had seized already; but the Lieutenant, not regarding, kept those resolutions all that day. Now, about four of the clock in the afternoon, orders were given to go and demand the Fort, which hour the soldiers longed for;† and had it not been just at the nick, the Governor and all the crew had made their escape on board the frigate, a barge being sent for them, but the soldiers, being so near, got the barge.‡ The army divided, and part came up on the back side of the Fort, part went underneath the hill to the lower battery or sconce, where the red coats were, who immediately upon their approach retired up to the Fort to their master,

Merry's Point. In that there were seven guns. For his special service about the Forts, Gen. Leverett received a vote of thanks and £100.

* Captain Nicholas Page, or Paige, I suppose, who, though a churchman, did not go with Andros in his ultra course. He was a Commissioner in Philip's war, and has been several times noticed in this work. On the Town Records I find this:—"April 10th, 1688. Information being given, that Nicholas Paige, Esq., was inclosing the Town ground on y^e pte of y^e streete vnder the Jettie of his dwelling-house, 3 foot and 4 inches from the house on each side of the corner, and into the streetes on both sides, the selectmen went to the place and there found John Temple and John Cimball [Kimball?], carpenters, about the worke, whome sd selectmen warned not to take in sd ground vnder sd Jettie. Lt. Coll.

clared the same to be pte of the streete, and warned him not to take it into his house."

† The bearers of the order were "Mr. Oliver and Mr. Eyres."—*Byfield*.

‡ "There then came information to the soldiers [in the Town] that a boat was come from the Frigate that made towards the Fort, which made them haste thither, and come to the Sconce soon after the boat got thither; and 't is said that Gov. Andros, and about a half score gentlemen, were coming down out of the Fort; but the boat being seized, wherein were small arms, hand grenadoes, and a quantity of match, the Governor and the rest went in again; whereupon Mr. John Nelson, who was at the head of the soldiers, did demand the Fort and Governor, who was loath to submit to them, but did at length come down," &c.—*Byfield*. In Hutchinson there is a most interesting account of the courageous Nelson.

who rebuked them for not firing on our soldiers, and, as I am informed, beat some of them. When the soldiers came to the battery or sconce, they presently turned the great guns about and pointed them against the Fort, which did much daunt those within; and the soldiers were so void of fear that, I presume, had those within the Fort been resolute to have lost their lives in fight, they might have killed an hundred of us at once, being so thick together before the mouths of the cannon of the Fort, all laden with small shot, but God prevented it. Then they demanded a surrender, which was denied until Mr. West and another should first go to the Council, and, after their return, we would have an answer, whether to fight or no. Upon their return, they came forth from the Fort, and went disarmed to the Town House, and from thence some to the close Jail, and the Governor, under a guard, to Mr. Usher's house. The next day they sent the two Colonels to demand of him the surrender of the Castle, which he resolved not to give; but they told him if he would not give it presently, under his hand and seal, he would be exposed to the rage of the people, and so left him; but he sent and told them that he would, and did so;* and they went down, and it was surrendered to them with cursings, and they brought the men away, and made Captain Fairweather commander in it.† Now, by the time the men came back from the Castle, all the guns, both in ships and batteries, were brought to bear against the frigate, which were enough to have shattered her in pieces at once, resolving to have her. It is incident to corrupt nature to lay the blame of our evil deeds anywhere rather than on ourselves, so Captain George cast all the blame now upon that devil Randolph; for had it not been for him, he had never troubled this good people; earnestly soliciting that he might

* The paper drawn up and sent to the Governor has been before referred to, but it is too important to be omitted in any account of Boston at this period. It runs thus:—"At the Town-house in Boston, April 18, 1689. To Sir Edmund Andros. Sir: Ourselves and many others, the inhabitants of this town and the places adjacent, being surprised with the people's sudden taking up arms; in the first motion whereof we were wholly ignorant, being driven by the present accident, are necessitated to acquaint your Excellency, that for the quieting and securing of the people inhabiting in this country from the imminent dangers they many ways lie open and exposed to, and tendering your own safety, we judge it necessary you forthwith surrender and deliver up the Government and Fortifications, to be preserved and disposed according to order and direction from the Crown of England, which suddenly is expected may arrive; promising all security from violence to yourself or any of your gentlemen or souldiers in person and estate; otherwise we are assured they will endeavor the taking of the Fortification by storm, if any opposition be made:—

"Simon Bradstreet
John Richards
Elisha Cooke
Js. Addington
John Foster

Peter Sergeant
David Waterhouse
Adam Winthrop
J. Nelson
Wait Winthrop

William Stoughton
Thomas Danforth
Samuel Shrimpton
Wm. Browne
Bartholo. Gedney."

Byfield, *Acct. Revolution*, p. 20. Neal, *Hist. N. E.*, ii. 60. Hutchinson, i. 377-8.

† Capt. John Fairweather. Capt. Roger Clap had held the office of Captain of the Castle from the death of Capt. Davenport, 1665 to 1686. He resigned in the latter year, because he could not serve under the new Government. He removed to Boston at that time, and became associated with the South Church, and died here, 2 Feb., 1691-2. "The military officers pay'd their last respects by walking before the Corps at his funeral, and the Governor and whole General Assembly by walking after."—Prince, *Christian Hist.*, i. 71. His posterity are numerous and respectable at this day. Capt. John Pipon had held it under Andros.

not be constrained to surrender the ship, for by so doing both himself and all his men would lose their wages, which otherwise would be recovered in England, giving leave to go on board and strike the top-masts, and bring the sails on shore, and so he did. The country people came armed into the town, in the afternoon, in such rage and heat that it made us all tremble to think what would follow, for nothing would satisfy them but that the Governor must be bound in chains or cords, and put in a more secure place; and that they would see done before they went away, and, to satisfy them, he was guarded by them to the Fort." *

Thus, in less than two days, was the Revolution achieved, and without bloodshed,† or without the loss of a single life.

On the same day that the Revolution commenced, the venerable Bradstreet, then near ninety years of age, with several of the Magistrates chosen in 1686, and some of the principal merchants and other prominent gentlemen of Boston, assembled at the Town-house. These were looked upon by all classes as the only proper persons to assume the Government.‡ It was owing to their prudence at the critical moment which prevented bloodshed, by calming a populace who, at first, were ready to pour a terrible torrent of vengeance upon those who had so lately and wickedly oppressed them.

Being convened in the Town-house on the same day, a paper was drawn up and sent to the Governor, requiring him to surrender the Government and Fortifications, which he at first refused to do, but with which he complied on a little reflection.

At the same time, that is, on the same day, "about noon," an elab-

* Capt. Daniel Fisher, of Dedham, was Speaker of the House of Deputies in 1682, when Mr. Randolph said something about sending some of the principal men to England to answer for certain alleged misdemeanors. The Captain died Oct. 8th, 1683, but his son, of the same name, was living. This son had not forgotten the proscription of his father. He was a stout, athletic man, of a resolute spirit. When the news of the tumult of the 18th of April reached Dedham, Capt. Fisher "instantly set out for Boston, and came rushing in with the country people, who were in such a rage and heat as made all tremble again. Nothing would satisfy the country party but binding the Governor with cords, and carrying him to a more safe place. Soon was Capt. Fisher seen among the crowd, leading the pale and trembling Sir Edmund by the collar of his coat from the house of Mr. Usher back to Fort Hill." — *Relation of the late Hon. Ebenezer Fisher, of Dedham, to Francis Worthington, who printed it in his History of that Town*, p. 51. Mr. Lewis found and printed the following in his *Hist. of Lynn*, supposed to have been written by Randolph: —

"April 19th, about 11 o'clock the Country

came in, headed by one Shepperd, teacher of Lynn, who were like so many wild bears; and the leader, mad with passion, more savage than any of his followers. All the cry was for the Governor and Mr. Randolph."

† In a letter of Randolph, dated 25 Nov., 1689, in the "Common Goal," he speaks of "the poor wounded man, who had lain 16 days rotting in his own excrement," and begs that he might be removed from the room where himself and "the other gentlemen were confined." — *Hutchinson, Col. Orig. Papers*, 574.

‡ "Mr. Bradstreet, Mr. Danforth, Major Richards, Dr. Cook, and Mr. Addington, &c., were brought to the Council-house by a company of soldiers under Capt. Hill. Meanwhile the people in arms did take up and put into goal Justice Bullivant, Justice Foxcroft, Mr. Randolph, Sheriff Sherlock, Capt. Ravenscroft, Capt. White, Farewel, Broadbent, Crafford, Larkin, Smith, and many more; as also Mercey, the then goal-keeper, and put Scates, the brick-layer, in his place." — *Byfield*, p. 4.

Elisha Cooke

orate "Declaration of the Gentlemen, Merchants, and Inhabitants of Boston and the Country adjacent," much of the nature of that of 1776, was read from the balcony of the Town-house.* Above twenty companies of soldiers had marched into town, and there were above a thousand men in arms in Charlestown, who could not get over the ferry.†

April 20. The next day the new Council took into consideration the circumstances of the country, and after some deliberation, addressed the Government under the title of "A Council for the safety of the people, and Conservation of the Peace."

At the time of the rising of the people of Boston on the eighteenth instant, Judge Dudley was holding a Court at Southold, on Long Island.

April 21. On his arrival at Newport, he heard the news of what had befallen the Government under which he acted. The day following he received letters advising him not to return to Boston, and he thereupon fled into the Narraganset country, and lay concealed at Maj.

April 23. Richard Smith's about a week. At the end of that time "about a dozen young men, went thither, of their own heads," took him and proceeded with him to Boston, where he lay a long time in prison, and suffered much. He was not alone a sufferer, for Sir Edmund and his abettors also tenanted a prison.

May 22. Meantime fifty-four towns had chosen Deputies to form a General Court, who now met, and were for resuming the old vacated Charter; but the Council thought it not prudent to do so, inasmuch as it was not certain that it would not injure their cause in the eyes of the present powers in England. It was finally concluded that the old officers of Government of 1686 should assume a sort of conservative control, until news should be received from England.

May 26. The day following the arrangement for settling the Government, a ship arrived from England, bringing advice that William and Mary had been proclaimed King and Queen of England. This has been said by writers of the time to have been the most joyful news ever before received in Boston.

May 26. Three days after, the Proclamation was published with greater ceremony than had been known on any occasion in the town; "Civil and military officers, merchants and principal gentlemen of the Town and



WILLIAM AND MARY.

* It occupies thirteen small quarto pages in Mr. Byfield's *Narrative*.—It is also in Neal. Hutchinson says it might be supposed that this declaration was a work of time, and must have been prepared beforehand; but he gives his reason for believing it to be the work of the day in which it was required, and to have been the performance of one of the Ministers of the Town, Mr. [Cotton] Mather, who had a remarkable talent for very quick and sudden composites.—*Mass. Hist.*, i. 381.

† Neal, *Hist. N. Eng.*, ii. 61-2.

Country, being on horseback, the regiment of the Town, and many companies of horse and foot from the Country, appearing in arms; a grand entertainment was prepared in the Town-house, and wine was served out to the soldiers."*

Fears of being called to account by the Government in England were now at an end, and the Council proposed to the Deputies to exhibit Articles against Sir Edmund Andros, and the other prisoners, or to set them at liberty upon security. This was not agreed to. Soon after Andros was encouraged to demand his release and the release of those concerned with him, then in prison. But the Deputies "resolved that Mr. Joseph Dudley, Sir Edmund Andros, Mr. Edward Randolph, Mr. John Palmer, Mr. John West, Mr. James Graham, Mr. George Farwell, and Mr. James Sherlock, were not bailable, and sent up several heads of charges against them."

The summer and autumn passed away, and Sir Edmund and his companions were still prisoners to the Bostonians. Meanwhile some attempts at escape were made. At one time Andros succeeded, and got as far as Rhode Island, but was there taken by one of Captain Church's old companions in the Indian war, Major Peleg Sanford, and sent back again. He had made one attempt before, immediately after his first imprisonment, by disguising himself in woman's apparel. In this he passed two guards, but was stopped by a third, being detected by his shoes, which he had not taken the precaution to change.

Some time in the winter following an order was received from their Majesties to send the prisoners over thence; and they were accordingly sent in the first ship bound for that country.

Mr. Mather still remained in England, and rendered excellent service to his country. There was an artful and cunning attempt made to have the deposed Governor reinstated, which coming to Mr. Mather's knowledge, he prevented it; yet, by a manœuvre of a different nature, Andros and his companions in iniquity escaped being called to account, and during this reign Andros succeeded in procuring the appointment of Governor of Virginia, as has before been incidentally mentioned.

The business of the Town now returned to its former course.† It was voted in Town-meeting, "that the former custom and practice in managing the affairs of the Free-schools be restored and continued."

* June 3. — The town chose "Dr. Thomas Oakes, Capt. Penn Townsend, Capt. Timothy Prout, and Mr. Addam Winthrop," for representatives.

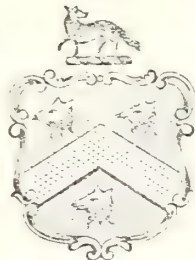
Penn Townsend

† Among the proceedings of a Town-Meeting of Sept. 16th, 1689, were the following: — "Ordered, that y^e Select-men send for and quicken the Hogg Reeves to the faithful discharge of their offices, which is of late much

neglected." Those for this year were Danell Turill, jr., Wm. Towers, Joseph Cowell, Wm. Colman, John Cony, sen. and Giles Dyer. To audit the Selectmen's account, Mr. Peter Sergeant, Mr. Benj. Alford, Mr. Samson Sheafe. This was at a meeting June 24th. "To set y^e price of corne to y^e white-bread bakers, Nathl. Olliver, Arthur Mason, Tym. Thornton. Treasurer, Mr. Edward Willis. Recorder, John Joyliff. Measurers of corne, John Marshall, John Tucker. Of boards, Thomas Barnard, Caleb Rawlins, Jabesh Negus, Ebenezer Messenger." Overseers of woodcoorders were

CHAPTER II.

Huguenots settle in Boston. — Found a Church. — Pierre Daillé. — Andrew Le Mercier. — The Society Dissolved. — Succeeded by another, under Rev. A. Crosswell. — That succeeded by a Roman Catholic. — Pirates. — Thomas Hawkins. — Thomas Pound. — Expedition against Canada. — Its Failure. — Small Pox. — Major Walley. — First Issue of Paper Money. — Josiah Franklin. — Birthplace of Dr. Franklin. — Earthquake. — Witchcraft. — First Case in this Period. — Case of Philip English.



FOX-CROFT.*

ON the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, many thousands of French Protestants were obliged to fly from their native land. As this Edict was not passed till towards the end of the year, few or none of those against whom it was directed arrived in Boston until the following year. The fugitives were called Huguenots. Among those who came to this place were Mr. Laurie and Pierre Daillé, Ministers. Those who reached Boston in 1686 were joined by others in the ensuing year; among whom was Pierre Baudouin. He took refuge at first in Ireland, but soon after resolved to come to New England, and arrived at Casco, in Maine, in 1687, and in Boston not long after. Mr. Baudouin was the progenitor of the Bowdoin family.

Soon after the arrival of the first Huguenots in Boston, probably as early as 1687, one of their Ministers preached regularly to them, and they entered into a "Church estate." This was the origin of the French Church in the Town. So far as has been ascertained, the Society was first organized in the Town's School-house in School-street, and that, in the same place, or one of the other public School-houses, meetings continued to be held until after 1704. About twelve years after this date, a small brick Church was erected in School-street on land purchased in the year last named.† Whether the Rev. Pierre Daillé were the first minister does not appear, while the first notice of him as the Minister of the French Church is found in 1696. He had been then officiating in that capacity many years, probably, and continued in

Henry Dawson, John Butler, Jeremiah Fitch, Lt. Ephraim Sale, Joseph Peirce, John Bull. The corders were Saml. Davis, Thomas Narmore, Danl. Fairfield, Jno. Fairfield, Davis Cumins, Fearnot Shaw, John Tuckerman, Sen., Jno. Tuckerman, Jun., Jno. Alliset, Mathew Grosse. At the Town-meeting in September it was ordered, "That the Town take into consideration against the next Towne meeting, the inconvenience and damage that shod cart wheels doe to the paveinge of the streetes."

* In the *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Regr.*, vol. viii., pages 174, 260, and 364, are good accounts

of the Foxcrofts. In the page last designated, their pedigree is traced in England for several generations.

† There is an "original deed from Jas. Mears, hatter, to John Tartarion, Frans. Bredon, and John Dupuis, Elders of the French Church, who, for £110 current silver money of N. E., sells all that land bounded northerly by School-house land so called, where it measures in front 43½ feet, easterly, &c. 36 feet, westerly 88½ feet, southerly 35½ feet, to erect and build a Church upon for the use of the French Congregation in Boston, according to the Reformed Churches in France." Dated 4 Jan. 1704.

the office till his death in 1715.* What became of Mr. Laurie is not ascertained.

After the Elders of the French Church had purchased a lot in School-street, in 1704, they petitioned the Selectmen for liberty to erect a Meeting-house of wood upon it, thirty-five by thirty feet, but it was refused them on the plea that the New School-house would well accommodate them, as the old one had done "for some years past," and that it would accommodate, for the time to come, "a far greater number of persons than then belonged to their congregation." The Society continued thus until about 1716, when a brick Church was erected.

After the death of Mr. Daillé, the Rev. Andrew Le Mercier succeeded to his place, as Minister of the French Church. He continued its Minister for many years, until the Society had become too much diminished to bear the expense, when it was dissolved.† Their Church ceased to be used by them several years before 1748.‡ Mr. Le Mercier was a gentleman of great benevolence, and highly respected. The distressing shipwrecks which had happened upon "Island Sables," induced him, in the year 1738, to petition the Governor and Council of Nova Scotia "for the property" of that Island, that he might erect buildings thereon, and stock it with such domestic animals as would be useful in preserving the lives of any mariners who might escape from wrecks. His petition was complied with, and proclamations were issued by that Government and also by this of Massachusetts, warning all persons against removing or destroying whatever the Proprietor, should, in his humane endeavors, place upon the Island. It should be remembered that, through the efforts and perseverance of this gentleman, many lives were saved; notwithstanding repeated depredations were committed upon the goods and effects placed there for such a benevolent end.§

* In his will Mr. Daillé prohibited the use of wine at his funeral, and directed that gloves only should be given to his wife's relatives. To the Ministers of the Town he gave gloves and scarves, and to Mr. Walter of Roxbury. His French and Latin books he gave to form a library for the Church; for the benefit of the Minister, the interest of £100, and £10 to be put at interest till a Meeting-house should be erected, and then that sum was to go towards its erection. To old man John Rawlings, the French School-master, £5; to loving wife Martha Daillé £250, my Negro man Kiffy, and also all my plate, clothes, furniture, &c. The residue of estate to "loving brother Paul Daillé Vauzelade in Amfort, in Holland." Good friend Mr. James Bowdoin, Executor.

Daillé

It was dated 20th April, 1715; proved, last

day of May, same year. Mr. Daillé was buried very near the centre of the Granary Burying Ground, and upon the headstone of his grave is this inscription:—

"Here lies y^e Body of y^e
Reverend Mr. Peter Daillé,
Minister of the French Church in Boston,
Died y^e 21st of May, 1715,
In the 67th year of his age."

Near him is the grave of a former wife, "Savre Daillé, wife to y^e Reverend Mr. Peter Daillé, aged about 60." She died 30 Aug. 1712. This was probably his second wife. His first, Esther Latonice, died 14 Dec. 1696.

† "That Society Dissolving," the Rev. Andrew Crowell's Society purchased it of the Proprietors. — Crowell's *Narrative*, p. 18.

‡ Mr. Le Mercier styled himself, "Pastor of the French Church" as late as 1753. See his Description of the Island Sables, published in the *News Letter* of that year.

§ In an advertisement which Mr. Le Mercier published in the Boston newspapers in 1741, he says, "Notwithstanding these two

It is probable that Mr. Le Mercier had resided in Nova Scotia, and that he came to Boston by way of that Province. His residence in this Town was in Winter-street. His son, Andrew Le Mercier, Jr., resided there also, in the house with his father, as late as 1744. Previous to his death, which was in 1764,* Mr. Le Mercier the elder resided in Dorchester.

During the great religious excitement produced by the visit of Mr. Whitefield to New England, a considerable number of persons, belonging to Churches in Boston which opposed that gentleman's course, separated from those Churches; and that they might not only have "better edification," but that, "being professed friends of the present Reformation, they might have a pulpit open to receive Mr. Whitefield," purchased the French Church of its proprietors,† and soon after installed the Rev. Andrew Croswell, of Groton, in Connecticut, as their Pastor.‡

Mr. Croswell having died in 1785, the house was next used as a Roman Catholic Chapel, and Mass was performed in it for the first time on the second of Nov. 1788. Such are the outlines of the history of the French Protestant Church from its rise to its final dispersion. Few of those who established it could have thought that a branch of that power, from which they had fled their native land upon pain of death, would so soon flourish on a spot which they had chosen for a place of refuge.§

At the time the late Revolution was in progress, and immediately after it, pirates were committing depredations upon the coast of New England.

Proclamations. 'the love of money, which is the root of all evil,' is so deeply rooted in the hearts of some fishermen, that they have sundry times stole our cattle and our goods; regarding neither the laws of God nor man," &c. In this advertisement he offered a reward of £40 for the discovery of the wretches, "but to forgive the offenders if they make known their accomplices to Capt. John Gorham of Casco Bay, or to me."

* "Saturday last, departed this life in the 72 year of his age, Mr. Andrew Le Mercier, formerly Pastor of the French Protestant Church in this Town. His Remains are to be interred from Deacon Wait's in Queen Street, tomorrow afternoon."—*Boston Gazette*, 2 April, 1764. He had a wife Margaret. The births of five of his children are found on the Boston Records—James, 17 June 1720; Margaret, 10 Dec. 1721; Peter, 7 Aug. 1723; Zechariah Andrew, 24th Oct. 1724; Jane, 6 May, 1726; Stephen Bartholomew, 4 Dec. 1727.—The will of Mr. Le Mercier was dated, Dorchester, 7 Nov. 1761, proved 15 June, 1764.—*Memo-randa furnished by Mr. W. B. Trask.*

† The deed of the purchase is dated 7 May, 1748. "Stephen Botineau, the only surviving Elder of the said French Church, Andrew Le Mercier, Clerk, Minister of said Church, Zechariah Johannot, John Arnault, John Brown, Andrew Johannot, Jas. Packenett,

Wm. Bowdoin and Andrew Sigourney, proprietors of said Church, made over their right and interest in it to Thos. Fillebrown, James Davenport, Wm. Hickling, Nathl. Proctor, and Thos. Hlandyside Peck, trustees for the New Congregational Church, whereof Mr. Andrew Croswell is Pastor, for the sum of £3000 old tenor, for the sole use of a Protestant Church, from henceforth and forever."—Dr. A. Holmes, in 2 *Colls. Mass. H. Soc.*, ii. 63. The house stood on the lot next east of the Universal Meeting-house.—*Snow*, 201.

‡ Mr. Croswell was installed 6 Oct. 1748. He had been a preacher at Groton in Con. The day previous had been set for the purpose, but a sort of remonstrative injunction from the Old South Church occasioned a delay of one day.—Rev. Mr. Croswell's *Narrative*, p. 7, 9.—The Church was formed on the 17 Feb. 1747-8.—*Ibid.* p. 3.

§ The Records of the French Church are supposed to be in existence, but their possessor is unknown. The Great Bible used in the Church, is, or was recently, in the hands of GEORGE LIVERMORE, Esq. It was a present from Queen Anne. Many curious facts were collected by L. M. SARGENT, Esq., about members of the French Society, and published in the *Daily Transcript*, Jan. 28, Feb. 22, March 1, and March 8th, 1851. These facts may be interesting to descendants of the Huguenots.

They were perhaps encouraged to pursue that kind of lawless adventure, considering, probably, that the Governments both in Old and New England were in too distracted a state to be able to call them to account. One Thomas Hawkins, of Boston, with a small crew Aug. 9. of desperate young men, boarded the ketch *Mary*, of Salem, of which Hellen Chard was master, and forcibly robbed it of goods to the amount of sixty pounds. The ketch was loaded principally with fish, and the place of the robbery was about three leagues from Halfway Rock, in the Massachusetts' Bay. It does not appear that any violence was offered to the crew, further than was necessary to effect the object of plunder. Hawkins was indicted of piracy by the Grand Jury, and the Trial Jury brought him in guilty accordingly. He was sentenced to be hanged on Monday, the twenty-seventh of January, following.*

Oct. 4. At the same term, nine others were convicted of piracy and murder, and were all executed with Hawkins. The principal of these was Thomas Ponnd.† The armed sloop *Mary*, of Boston, sailed in quest of Hawkins and Ponnd, under the command of Captain Samuel Pease, of Salem.‡ He discovered the latter at Tarpaulin Cove, in a small vessel well manned and armed. On coming up to him, Captain Pease ordered him to strike, but Ponnd, with his sword drawn, and standing upon the quarter deck, flourished it in defiance, and ordered his men to fire upon the *Mary*. They did so, and a smart skirmish ensued, in which Captain Pease was mortally wounded. Ponnd and his party were at length overpowered and taken. In his indictment it was set forth that he, "being under a red flag at the head of the mast, purposely, and in defiance of their Majesties' authority, had wilfully, and with malice aforethought, committed murder and piracy upon the high seas, being instigated thereunto by the Devil." §

One Edward Browne was found in Ponnd's company, and was arraigned with the rest, but it was proved by the pirates themselves that he had been forced into their service, and was detained among them against his will, and was therefore acquitted.

Soon after the depredations above detailed, another piratical crew

* The Court was thus constituted : — Thomas Danforth, Esq., Deputy Governor, presided as Chief Justice, and James Russell, Samuel Appleton, John Hathorne, Samuel Sewall, John Smith, John Richards, William Johnson, Elisha Hutchinson, John Phillips, and Jeremiah Swayne, Esquires, as Judges. The Grand Jury was composed of Mr. Bernard Trott, foreman, Moses Paine, Thomas Harwood, Arthur Mason, John Marion, Senr., John Capen, Isaac Jones, Robert Pierpont, William Garey, Richard Loudon, Henry Spring, John Alden, Senr., Richard Buckley, Samuel Lynde, Ephraim Sale. The Trial Jury consisted of Elizur Holyoke, foreman, Jacob Melyne, Isiaa Tay, Joseph Griggs, Samuel Craft, James Bird, Samuel Hasting, Joseph Weekes, Edward Winchip, Wm. Welstead, Senr., Benjamin Garfield, Tho.

Downe. All the above names are spelled as they stand upon the records made at the time.

† The evidence against Ponnd is printed from the original minutes in the *Gen. Reg.*, ii. 293.

‡ What number of men he had is not stated. Only four testified at the trial, who said they were "of the company late belonging to the sloop *Mary*, Capt. Samuel Pease commander." Their names were, Benj. Gallop, Abraham Adams, Colburn Turell, and Daniel Langley.

§ *Records in the Clerk's Office, S. J. Court.* Those concerned with Ponnd, and executed with him, were Thomas Johnson, Eleazer Buck, John Sicklerdam, William Dun, Richard Griffin of Boston, gunsmith, Daniel Lander, Wm. Warren, and Samuel Watts. The place of residence of Griffin only is given.

Nov. 21. took the ketch *Elinor*, of Boston, William Shortriggs master. They were charged only with piracy, but piracy, however small, was visited with death, and four individuals were hanged as the perpetrators.

Aug. 9. The year 1690 is remarkable for Sir William Phips' expedition against Canada. Forces were collected at Boston, whence they sailed upon that design, to the number of about 2000 men, in "between thirty and forty" transports and small men-of-war. The largest vessel was a frigate of forty-four guns. The design utterly

Nov. 19. failed, and Sir William returned to Boston in November, having lost by the enemy and sickness near 300 men. The fleet, upon its return voyage, was dispersed in storms; two or three of the vessels were never heard of after; one was lost on Anticosti, and some were blown off to the West Indies. The small-pox,* which prevailed in the Town before the forces sailed, spread into the fleet, and on the return of the fleet many died of the camp disease, and spread the infection among the inhabitants.†

These were not all the calamities brought about by the failure of the Canadian expedition of this year. No preparation was made by the Government for paying the soldiers, most culpably relying upon the plunder to be taken from the enemy for that purpose. There being no money in the treasury, and no time to raise it by a levy upon the Country, a mutiny was feared among the suffering troops. To avert this, resort was had to Paper Money, then called Bills of Credit. This was the first introduction of a paper currency into New England. It was an experiment, a new expedient, and of course the people were slow in giving it currency. It turned out like other issues of Bills of Credit of a later period; the holders eventually lost large sums by their depreciation.‡

* In a private letter, dated Aug. 5th, 1690, to the Rev. John Cotton, of Plymouth, from his son, he says, "The small-pox is as bad as ever; printer Green died of it in three days, his wife also is dead of it." This was the end of Mr. Samuel Green, so favorably spoken of by Mr. John Dunton, and before detailed; and of his wife, of surpassing excellence, according to the same author. — See Thomas, *Hist. Printing*, i. 280-2.

† Major John Walley, of Boston, commanded the land forces in that expedition, and bore his share of the blame for its miscarriage. He was a member of the Artillery Company, and its Captain in 1679; one of Sir Edmund Andros' Council, a Councillor under the New Charter, and a Judge of the Supreme Court. His *Journal of the Canada campaign* may be seen in the first volume of Gov. Hutchinson's *Hist. Mass.* He was among the founders of Bristol, R. I., and died in Boston, 11 Jan., 1712, aged 63. His will is dated 4 Jan., 1711 [1711-12]; the inventory of his estate, 14 Mar., 1712-13; amount, £9961 11s. 3d. Son John

sole executor, and to have his present dwelling-house, with the land and wharf belonging thereto, the garden and land on the southerly side thereof to be laid out thence to Milk Street; also £3000. To dau. Sarah Chancey, widow, the land and tenement in the occupation of Capt. Nathl. Oliver, and £200. To his two other daughters, Elizabeth and Lydia Walley, £1500 each, when of lawful age. These were all his children. Major Walley's residence was in Water Street. In 1755, John Walley, Esq., the only son of the Major, was dead, and the spacious mansion, "containing upwards of 20 rooms," was advertised for sale. Major Walley's brother, Thomas, died before him. Several MS. letters, written by early members of Major Walley's family, are in possession of the Author.

‡ A Bill of the issue of 1690, a specimen of which is now before me, reads: — "No. (916) 20^s. This indented Bill of Twenty Shillings due from the Massachusetts Colony to the Possessor shall be in value equal to money, and shall be accordingly accepted by the Treasurer and Re-

Aug. 2. Besides the disasters to Boston this year, already mentioned, there was a very extensive fire. It broke out on Saturday evening, "consuming about fourteen houses, besides warehouses and brue houses; from the Mill Bridgh down half way to the Draw Bridgh." *

Mar. 10. In Town-meeting it was voted that the eleven o'clock bell, which had formerly been rung at the charge of the Town, should now be discontinued; voted also "that Muddy River inhabitants are not discharged from Boston to be a hamlett by themselves, but to stand related to it as they were before the year 1686." †

Mar. 9. At a Town-meeting, Mr. Theophilus Frarie was chosen Moderator. The Selectmen were, Mr. Thomas Walker, Mr. John Joyliffe, Capt. Bezoone Allen, Mr. John Foster, Capt. Timothy Prout, Mr. Obediah Gill, Capt. Penn Townsend, Capt. Jeremiah Dummer, and Mr. John Mirrian. Mr. James Taylor was Treasurer, and

Mar. 10. Mr. Joyliffe Recorder. Deputies to the General Court chosen were Capt. Penn Townsend, Capt. Theophilus Frarie, Capt. Timothy Prout, and Mr. Adam Winthrop.

Mar. 16. From the large number of officers appointed to oversee and regulate the cording of wood, the business must have been very extensive at this period. This year they were Lawrence White, Henry Adams, Samuel Davis, Percie Clarke, Daniel Fairefield, Wm. Ridghill, Fearnot Shaw, John Tuckerman, Sen., Stephen Swazie, John Alisett, Robt. Noakes, Wm. Kine, Goodman Honywell, John Tuckerman, Jun., James Mericke, and Wm. Dyer.

April 27. The Town granted liberty to Josiah Franklin to erect a building of eight foot square upon the land belonging to Lieut. Nathaniel Reynolds, near the south meeting-house. This was the father of Doctor Benjamin Franklin, ‡ and on this spot the world-renowned philosopher is said to have been born.

ceivers subordinate to him in all Publick payme^{nt}; and for any Stock at any time in the Treasury. Boston in New-England, February the third, 1690. By order of the General Court. Elisha Hutchinson, John Walley, Tim Thornton, Comitee." The "Comitee" were the signers of the Bills. They were struck from an engraved plate, upon pieces of paper nearly square, about 5½ inches from top to bottom, and about five inches wide. In the left hand corner, at the foot, was the Colony seal, a trifle smaller than that given on page 472.

* Original Letter, cited in Thomas' *Hist. Printing*, i. 282.

† Mar. 11th, Mr. Richd. Midlecot is chosen Treasurer, and Mr. John Joyliffe, Recorder. Mar. 17th. — "Agreed that Robert Williams shall continue as formerlie to warne the Towne-meetings vpon occasion, to ringe the bell at Fire of the clock in y^e morning, Exchange bell at eleaven and at nine in the night; and carfullie looke after and keepe the Towne-clocke in the Old Meeting-house. To which is added

his goeing about the Towne at least once a month or oftner, as may be occasion, to inquire after the New Comers into the Towne, and inform the Select-men at theire monthlie meetings; for which he is to be paid 12 lb. for one year."

Deputies to the General Court were, Capt. Penn Townsend, Dr. John Clarke, Capt. Timothy Prout, Capt. Theophilus Frarie. Chosen, April 2d. July 18, the General Court order the Selectmen "to take care that the house in the Fort on the hill be provided for entertaining of sick and wounded soldiers and seamen."

‡ On the spot now covered by Messrs. Mason & Lawrence's mercantile house. But Franklin himself told Mrs. Hannah M. Crocker, as she told me in 1828, that he was born at the sign of the Blue Ball, on the corner of Union and Hanover streets, where his father then lived and carried on his business. — *MS. minutes of a conversation with Mrs. H. M. Crocker*. It is only necessary to show that Josiah Franklin removed from Milk street before the date of

Mr. Francis Hudson, having held for some time a lease of the ferry to Winesemet, relinquished it, and it was let to Samuel Hudson and John Scolly for one year.

The Deputies to the General Court were the same from Boston this year as last. The Overseers of the poor, "chosen by paper votes," were Mr. Samuel Lynd, Lieut. Samuel Checkley, Mr. Edmond Browne, and Mr. William Robie. The Selectmen chose Joseph Bridg-
 Mar. 14. ham, Recorder.* Major Elisha Hutchinson was chosen Com-
 July missioner, but he "being called to the Eastward," Mr. James
 22, 24. Tayler was chosen in his stead.†

About this time a deep melancholy pervaded the whole community, some gentlemen having returned to Boston from the West Indies, where they had escaped being swallowed up by one of the most stupendous earthquakes upon record. They were at Port Royal, in Jamaica, and witnessed the dreadful ruin which came upon that city. Nineteenths of it was buried beneath the sea, in which above 2000 people perished, and a much greater number upon the island fell victims to the pestilence which followed it. The gentlemen who brought the intelligence were William Harris, Esq., William Welsteed, Esq., Thomas Steel, Esq., and Mr. William Turner.‡

The witchcraft delusion of former ages has become a by-word, since superstition has been so far subdued that laws among enlightened people recognize no such crime; and a belief in its existence has become an object of ridicule among many. And yet it cannot be denied that there was something manifested in those times never fathomed by the keenest intellectual powers which have ever been brought to bear upon it. Among a great amount of deceptions and falsehoods, there was, nevertheless, an unexplained, and perhaps unexplainable, mystery, as far beyond human comprehension as the mystery of life itself. That such mystery is near akin to the "spiritual manifestations" of the present day may be very possible, and a time may come when to ridicule these may be as strong an indication of ignorance as a belief in them in other days.

The testimonies which are adduced for many things, and by a multitude of witnesses, against whose integrity none ever whispered aught, have confounded many unbelievers, and overwhelmed others of strong and clear minds.§

Benjamin's birth. Mr. Sparks appears to have satisfied himself that he did not remove until after Jan. 6th, 1706, the date of the Doctor's birth. Mrs. Crocker may have misunderstood Franklin, or may have misremembered.

* He fell much short of Mr. Joyliffe in spelling.

† The Commissioner was chosen "to joyno with the Select-men in order to mackeing a vauallation of each man's estate and the number of the heads."

‡ Sewall, *N. Heaven*, &c., 38-9. Holmes, *Annals*, i. 415.

§ In the case of Margaret Rule, the witnesses testified that she was "lifted up from her bed, wholly by an invisible force, a great way towards the top of the room where she lay, having no assistance even from her own arms or hands; and that, when so lifted up, a strong person could not pull her down, nor could the weight of others upon her prevent her from ascending up." The following named persons were witnesses of the facts stated, viz. Samuel Aves, Robert Earle, John Wilkins, Daniel Williams, Thomas Thornton, and William Hudson.

No period in the history of New England possesses such an extraordinary interest as that of the prosecutions for witchcraft. Nor are there any events, the details of which cause such sorrows, such regrets, and such humiliating reflections, as the sufferings of that period must call forth in every mind, however indifferent they may be to other distressing details. Nor can the consideration essentially alleviate the anguish, that witchcraft did not originate in New England, — that a belief in its existence was coeval with the remotest records of the world, — that the most wise and learned of the Judges of England fully believed in it, and up to the time of its appearance in New England were sentencing those accused of it to be put to death, in great numbers. At the period now under consideration, few could be found who had the hardihood to deny the existence of witchcraft. Such were *infidels*, in the most objectionable sense of the term, and were in danger of personal violence in their own society. To deny its existence was to deny the inspiration of the Bible ; for nothing was more plainly set forth in that volume, than that witchcraft existed among mankind.

It is not strange, therefore, with the belief in such a supernatural agency, and the law of God before them, — “Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live,” — that prosecutions for such a crime should take place. Laws were made in accordance with the teachings of the Bible, and a law once made must be enforced, or all laws would soon be disregarded. Then, however, as now, there were a few minds in advance of their age, who, although they did not deny that there was such a thing as witchcraft, had the prudence to counteract the prosecutions against it as much as was consistent with their own personal safety.*

Among the many remarkable things connected with the trials for witchcraft, it is necessary to consider the following : the proceedings of the Court with regard to the evidence ; that is, the inconsistency practised in receiving the evidence of certain witnesses. The persons complaining of being afflicted by witches, being brought into Court, testified as to who tormented them. Then the evidence of those professing themselves to be witches was taken against the accused. This

* A case of witchcraft was tried before the founder of Pennsylvania. It is not stated whether he believed in the capability of mortals to commit such a crime or not, but certain it is he got over the case in the following ingenious way. The evidence having been gone through with, Gov. Penn so charged the jury that they found they were to decide only whether the accused was *suspected of witchcraft or not!* Their verdict was in accordance with the charging ; namely, that the accused was “guilty of having the common fame of a witch, but not guilty in the manner and form she stands indicted.” — Watson, *Annals Phila.*, i. 265.

It is related of a certain English Judge, that on one occasion a poor, old, superannuated

woman was brought before him, charged with being a witch. The principal evidence went to prove that she had ridden through the air upon a broomstick. She was asked by the Judge if what was alleged against her were true. The poor woman, thinking, perhaps, that she had unconsciously so ridden, because the testimony was so strong to the point, confessed that she had done so. The Judge seemed to have been prepared for the confession, and delivered his judgment to this effect : — That the prisoner was free to go where she pleased, and to ride broomsticks as often as she pleased, for *he knew of no law against it!* This was probably at a much later period than that now treated of. Few Judges would have so decided before 1700.

led a worthy gentleman* of the time to observe, that such proceeding was "a thing never heard of in this world; that such as confess themselves to be witches, to have renounced God and all that is sacred, should yet be allowed and ordered to swear in the name of the great God!"† And though this glaring absurdity was seen and detected by some in that age, one equally glaring and absurd is practised in the courts of law at this day.‡

CHAPTER LII.

Witchcraft of 1692 continued. — Case of the Goodwin Family. — Of Mr. Parris. — Sir William Phips, Governor. — Joins the Crusade against Witchcraft. — Case of Capt. John Alden. — Other Cases. — Names of those executed. — Persons of high consideration accused. — Mary Watkins. — Prosecutions cease. — Town Affairs. — Slaughter-houses regulated. — Thomas Chalkley in Boston. — Society of Quakers. — Build the first brick Meeting-house. — Another Canada Expedition disastrous. — Fleet of Sir Francis Wheeler. — Troubles of Sir William Phips. — Returns to England. — His Death. — Death of the Queen. — Order to collect the Town Records. — About Trees at Wheeler's Point. — Agitation about Marriage of Relatives.



QUINCY. §

THE witchcraft of 1692 is sometimes spoken of as belonging exclusively to Salem. That is far from the truth. Boston has a share in the history of that unfortunate delusion; and not only Boston, but the country in 1687-8. general. About four years before its appearance in Salem, there were several cases in Boston. "Four of the children of John Goodwin, a grave man and a good liver, at the north part of the Town, were generally believed to be bewitched."|| Fifty years after these cases, Mr. Thomas Hutchinson, the historian, says he often heard persons of the neighborhood speak of the great consternation they occasioned. The children supposed to be bewitched "were all remarkable for ingenuity of temper, had been religiously educated, and were

* Mr. Thomas Brattle, who left a paper upon the witch delusion of 1692, full of good sense and instruction. It has been printed in *Mass. Hist. Colls.*, v. 61-80.

† Brattle, *ib.*, p. 67.

‡ Persons of strict integrity, honor and honesty have been denied the right to testify in causes, from the very fact of their being truly honest and truthful! That is to say, persons who do not believe in certain received opinions, cannot be allowed to testify because they so believe; and being questioned, *honestly* confess that such is their belief! While another, full of deceit and guile, swears to a lie, and his oath is taken!

§ These Arms of Quincy are taken, so far as the Shield is concerned, from a very curious

publication, entitled "Memoranda respecting the Families of Quincy and Adams," printed at Havana in 1841. But it should be stated that the Author of the *Memoranda* does not claim that the Arms given actually belonged to the branch of the Quincy family in New England. I alone am responsible for the Crest. It explains itself to every Bostonian of the present day. But, in coming ages, when Quincy Market shall have given way to *improvements*, or been so elevated and enlarged as to lose its identity, this Crest may tend to perpetuate the memory of its origin and its Originator.

|| "These were, in the year 1688, arrested by a very stupendous witchcraft."—*Magnalia*, B. vi. 71. See Rev. Mr. Upham's interesting *Lectures on Witchcraft*.

thought to be without guile. The eldest was a girl of thirteen or fourteen years. She had charged a laundress with taking away some of the family linen. The mother of the laundress was one of the wild Irish, of bad character, and gave the girl harsh language; soon after which she fell into fits, which were said to have something diabolical in them. One of her sisters and two brothers followed her example." It appeared that these children were afflicted in the same parts of their bodies, at the same time, though the case of each was unknown to the others, who were kept in separate apartments, and knew not the complaints of the others. At least, such was the report and belief at the time. Another remarkable circumstance was, that all their pains and afflictions happened in the day-time, and that in the night they were not disturbed. Another circumstance quite as remarkable was that they were struck dumb at the sight of certain good books, as the "Assembly's Catechism," "Cotton's Milk for Babes," and others of the like kind; while at the appearance of the Common Prayer, Popish and Quaker books, they were pleased, and could read in them without difficulty. Sometimes they appeared deaf, sometimes blind, and then dumb; and again they would have all these afflictions together. Their tongues would disappear from their mouths, and at another time would hang out of them to an unnatural length. Then their joints would be dislocated, and they would make mournful complaints of being burnt and cut in pieces; and wounds were said to have been apparent afterwards. At length the Ministers of Boston and Charlestown kept a day of fasting and prayer; whereupon the youngest child was relieved, but the others continued in their afflictions. The magistrates interposed, the old mother of the laundress was apprehended, and, perhaps from consternation, would neither confess nor deny the charges brought against her. Physicians pronounced her to be of sane mind, and she was condemned and executed, declaring she could not relieve those afflicted.*

* I am aware that Hutchinson says that "the old woman would neither confess nor deny," and that "she was executed, declaring the children should not be relieved." He adds, "some things are mentioned as extraordinary, which tumblers [jugglers] are every day taught to perform; others seem more than natural. But it was a time of great credulity. The children returned to their ordinary behavior, lived to adult age, made profession of religion, and the affliction they had been under they publicly declared to be one motive for it. One of them I knew many years after, who had the character of a very sober, virtuous woman, and never made any acknowledgment of fraud in this transaction." The famous Richard Baxter published an account of the affair, with a preface by himself, in which he has this remark: "The evidence is so convincing, that he must be a very obdurate Sadducee who will not believe it." And yet the same great Di-

vine, in writing afterwards to Mr. Increase Mather respecting the transactions of 1692, says, "All that I speak with much wonder that any man, much less a man of such abilities, learning and experience as Mr. Stoughton, should take up a persuasion, that the devil cannot assume the likeness of an innocent to afflict another person. In my opinion, it is a persuasion utterly destitute of any solid reason to render it so much as possible; and, besides, contradictory to many instances of facts in history. If you think good you may acquaint Mr. Stoughton and the other Judges with what I write."

Calef refers to this case of witchcraft, in the following brief passage: "In the times of Sir Ed. Andros his government, Goody Glover, a despised, crazy, ill-conditioned old woman, an Irish Roman Catholic, was tried for afflicting Goodwin's children; by the account of which trial, taken in short-hand, for the use of the

The case of William English has never been circumstantially published. He was a merchant, and, though not an inhabitant of Boston, was nevertheless imprisoned here.*

From the execution of "Goody Glover" for bewitching the Goodwin children, to the great commotion which broke out early this year in what was then called Salem Village, now Danvers, the country cannot be said to have been entirely quiet in respect to witchcraft. But towards the end of February the tragedy was revived anew. It began in the family of Mr. Samuel Parris, the minister of Salem Village, and in a few months spread itself to the adjacent towns, implicating great numbers of persons, many of whom were before patterns of virtue in all the walks of life. And yet it had its rise at this

Jury, it may appear that the generality of her answers were nonsense, and her behavior like that of one distracted."—*More Wonders*, &c. 151, ed. 4to.

* "Augt. y^e 2nd, 1692. William Beale of Marblehead, aged upward of 60 yeares, testifieth and saith, that last March past was 12 month, towards the latter end of the month, then my self being in the house of George Bonfields of Marblehead, &c., whither he had gone, as he says, "that I might have help to nurse or looke after mee because of a very greate and wracking paine had seized upp on my body." In this condition of body, a mind necessarily sympathizing therewith, and deeply imbued with the superstitions of the age, it is by no means unaccountable that William Beale should imagine that he really saw, "being broode awake, upon the iame [jamb] of the chimney, a darke shade w^{ch} covered the iame aforesayed;" and that "in the middle of the darkness vpon the iame" he should "behold somethinge of the forme or shape of a man." Then he says, "I turned my head vpon the pillow, and in y^e darkness aforesayed, saw the plaine shape or else the person of Phillip English of Salem, the w^{ch} reports say married with William Hollingworth's daughter of Salem, according to my best iudgement, knowledge and understanding." But why Phillip English appeared and not some old female, may possibly be found in some unpleasant occurrence between them at an earlier day. The case of English is here cited chiefly to show what kind of evidence was received at that time to make out a case of witchcraft. Beale further says, "As I had formerly knolege and acquaintance with him [English] my coniectures of him and these passages aforesayed were as followeth:—What is this man's business heere now, or w^{ch} way came hee hither so soone this morneing? By land or water? Then laboreing to correct my [thoughts] not to thinke that hee was a wick, and flyinge to our omnipotent Iehovah for his blessing and protection by secret ejaculations, instantly the roome aforesayed became cleare, and y^e shape, shade, or person vanished. And this was

about the time that news brought to mee in y^e morning that my son James was very like to recover of the small pox w^{ch} I left at home sick; and y^e same day in y^e afternoon came news that hee was suddenly strooke with a paine on his side and did not expect to live three houres. And ack Cording to my Iudgment before three houres were ended, newes came that he was departed this life; at w^{ch} docktor Jackson w^{ch} was his docktor, and William Dagget w^{ch} was his nurse, both of Marblehead told me y^t they admired and woudred. And it was not many moenths before that, my son George Beale departed this life in y^e same house after he was recovered of the small pox. Hee deceased January y^e 23, before my son James death aforesayed." A modern Jurist would probably find it difficult to see what such testimony could have to do with Phillip English. However, he and his wife Mary were, in May following, imprisoned in Boston, but they escaped to N. York. They afterwards returned to Salem, where, as late as 1709, he was endeavoring to recover his confiscated estate.—*Original Deposition*, MSS.—See also Felt, *Annals of Salem*.

One of the indictments against English runs thus: "The Jurors for o' South Lord and Lady the King and Queen doe present that Phillip English of Salem, in the County of Essex, merchant, vpon the 31st day of May, in the year aforesaid, 1692, and divers other dayes and times as well before as after, certaine detestable arts called witchcraft, and sorceries, wickedly, mallistiously and feloniously hath vsed, practiced and exercised, at and in the towne of Salem in the county of Essex aforesaid, in, vpon and against one Mary Wallcott of Salem aforesaid, single woman. By said acts the said Mary Wallcott y^e day and year aforesaid and divers other dayes and times both before and after, was and is tortured, afflicted, consumed, pined, wasted and tormented; against the peace and of o' South Lord and Lady the King and Queen, their Crowne and dignity, and the lawes in that case made and provided." Endorsed, "Ignoramus. Robert Payne, foreman,"—*Orig. MS.*

time among some of the most ignorant persons in the village, who happened to belong to the family of Mr. Parris.*

March 11. Early in the following month, Mr. Parris invited several of the neighboring ministers to join with him in keeping a day of fasting and prayer at his house, and soon after Mr. Deodat Lawson

March 24. preached a sermon at Salem Village, "being Lecture day there, and a time of public examination of some suspected for witchcraft."† Thus prayers and sermons were resorted to, with the hope that they might succeed "against the malicious and accursed operations of Satan and his instruments." But all to no purpose. The delusion spread like the flames among the dry leaves of autumn. In a short time the jails in Boston and Salem were filled with the accused. At length it was foreseen, by many, that their own safety depended upon their becoming accusers themselves. And thus the number of afflicted persons wonderfully increased; and it was apparent that there would soon be no witches, except those who had not joined in the cry against somebody in sufficient season to escape by that wile.

May 14. Meantime Sir William Phips arrived in Boston‡ from England, bringing with him the new Charter of the Province, granted by William and Mary, and a Commission constituting him Governor of the same. Unfortunately the new Governor fell in with the

* An Indian man and an Indian woman, concerning whom particulars will be found in Calef's and other accounts. Their names were John and Tituba or Tittuba. The latter was accused of afflicting, by witchcraft, a daughter of Mr. Parris, and two other girls. Her examination before Justice Corwin is extant in his own autograph, now before me. At first her answers were direct and simple, plainly denying all knowledge of what she was accused; but the examination was pressed in an unwarrantable manner, by repetition upon repetition, until, through fear, or a thoroughly bewildered understanding, Tittuba was brought to confess whatever she thought would satisfy her accusers. The first question was, "Why doe you hurt these poor children? What harm have they done unto you?" She replied, "They doe noe harme to mee. I noe hurt y^e at all." Magistrate — "Why have you done it?" Accused — "I have done nothing." Magistrate — "What, doth y^e Devil tell you that he hurts y^e?" Accused — "No. He tells me nothing." Magistrate — "Doe you never see something appeare in some shape?" Accused — "Noe, never see anything." Notwithstanding this plain denial of all knowledge of anything wrong on her part, yet four closely-written pages of foolscap paper were completely covered with the examination of the simple Indian woman; after this was over she was committed to jail in Boston.

† It was considered a famous sermon, and was soon after printed, with a dedication "To the Worshepful and Worthily Honored Bar-

tholomew Gidney, John Hathorne, Jonathan Corwin, Esqs.; together with the Reverend Mr. John Higginson, Pastor, and Mr. Nicholas Noyes, Teacher of the Church of Christ at Salem." Mr. Lawson was under the same delusion with the majority of persons of that day, and his sermon was attested by I. Mather, Charles Morton, James Allen, Samuel Willard, John Bailey and Cotton Mather. He had been settled over the same society where Mr. Parris preached, and there, in 1689, his wife and a daughter Ann had died. In 1696 he returned to England, and reprinted his sermon, to which he added an appendix, giving an account of the witchcraft; dedicating it "To the Right Worshipful and truly Honourable Sir Henry Ashhurst, Barr^t and his truly Honourable and religious Consort, Lady Diana Ashhurst." Lawson was living in London several years after this.

‡ His residence was at the corner of Charter and Salem streets, which was long known as Phip's Corner. Charter street was probably so named at this time, to honor Sir William, who brought over the Charter. Fifty years ago Shaw said, "an upright third story had changed the original appearance" of the house in which he dwelt. — *Descript. of Boston*, 291. His first exercise of power on his arrival in Boston, "was said to be his giving orders that irons should be put upon those in prison." — *Calef*, 95. Dr. Increase Mather came over with the Governor, thus terminating a most active agency of five years. He was received with warm demonstrations of love and esteem.

judges in their delusion respecting witchcraft, and condemnations and executions followed.

May 31. In the same month Captain John Alden, of Boston, was accused of witchcraft, taken to Salem for examination, and cast into prison. He offered bail, but no bail would be taken. After remaining in jail in Boston near three months, he effected his escape.* How long he kept out of the reach of his accusers is not stated, but he returned, and "was bound over to answer at the Superior Court in Boston, in April following." Before the time of trial, however, the "spell was broken," and Captain Alden, with near a hundred others, were cleared by proclamation. During his examination he behaved himself manfully.† He was a well-known naval commander, had had charge of the province galley for many years, and had been in service in the Indian and French wars, both before and after these trials. In 1690 he was appointed to treat with the Indians, at Sagadahock, which service he performed acceptably. In 1696 he commanded a brigantine called the Endeavor, in an expedition on the eastern coast.‡ He was a son of the first Mr. John Alden, who came to Plymouth, in 1620. As early as December, 1659, he took up his residence in Boston, and died here on the fourteenth of March, 1702, at the age of eighty years, leaving a handsome estate of upwards of 2000 pounds. He lived

* In the History of Duxbury it is said that he fled to that town and was there concealed in the house of a relative. When he arrived it was late at night, and his friends were surprised to see him, and to some anxious inquiry as to his strange arrival, he assured them that though he had fled from the Devil, the Devil was after him.—Winsor.

† He was examined before Gedney, Hathorn and Corwin. When brought into the presence

the accusers with it. After a considerable space he was taken to the meeting-house, where his examination was more formal. Here the accusers cried out "that Aldin did pinch them." The Magistrates made him stand up in a chair, and ordered the Marshal to hold his hands open to prevent his pinching "those poor creatures." Capt. Alden demanded why they should think he came there to afflict those persons whom he had never seen before? "Mr.

Bartho Doney

John Hathorne

of the afflicted, they "plaid their juggling tricks, falling down, crying out, and staring in people's faces. The Magistrates demanded of them several times, who it was of all the people in the room that hurt them? One of the accusers pointed several times at one Capt. Hall, but spake nothing. The same accuser had a man standing at her back to hold her up; he stooped down to her ear, then she cried out Aldin, Aldin. One of the Magistrates asked her if she had ever seen Aldin? She answered, No. He asked how she knew it was Aldin? She said the man told her so. Then all were ordered to go down into the street, where a ring was made, and the same accuser cried out, There stands Aldin, a bold fellow, with his hat on before the Judges. He sells powder and shot to the Indians and French, and lies with the Indian squaws, and has Indian papooses." He was then ordered into the custody of the marshal, and his sword was taken from him, because it was said he afflicted

Gedney bid him confess and give glory to God." Alden made an appropriate reply, and appealed to all who had ever known him to bring aught against him. Gedney replied that he had known him many years, and had been at sea with him, and always looked upon him to be an honest man, but now he had changed his opinion. Alden was then bid to look upon the afflicted, which when he did they would fall down. Then he inquired of Mr. Gedney what reason could be given that his looking upon him, did not cause him to fall down also; but Gedney could give none.

‡ Mr. Winsor, in his Hist. of Duxbury, says that it was John Alden, son of Capt. John, named in the text, who was implicated in the witchcraft accusations. But that worthy young Author was clearly wrong in that, for he was at the time called "John Aldin Senior of Boston, mariner." Calef and Hutchinson are both explicit in regard to it.



SEWALL.

on an alley leading from Cambridge to Sudbury-street, from him called Alden's lane, which it bore till 1846, when it was dignified by the name of Alden street.

After the settlement of the new Government, a special Commission of Oyer and Terminer was appointed for the trial of persons suspected of witchcraft. The appointed Judges, or a quorum of them, commenced a session at Salem, on the second of June following,* the day of the date of their Commission.† The Court consisted of William Stoughton, now Lieutenant Governor, Chief Justice; Major

Nathaniel Saltonstall, who, refusing from conscientious scruples to act at such trials, was superseded by Mr. Jonathan Corwin; Major John Richards, Major Bartholomew Gedney, Mr. Wait Winthrop, Captain Samuel Sewall and Mr. Peter Sergeant. Captain Anthony Checkley had been appointed Attorney General, but refusing to serve in these prosecutions, Mr. Thomas Newton was appointed in his stead. The melancholy records of their proceedings are extant, and will ever remain an unfading scene to succeeding generations of the frailties of the human mind.

June 10. The first person executed this year was "a poor, friendless old woman," named Bridget Bishop. She confessed nothing. And in little more than a month after, five others suffered. On July 19. the fifth of August six others were sentenced to death, and were all executed except one, a female, Elizabeth, wife of George Procter, whose peculiar situation saved her. On the Aug. 19. ninth of September, six others were tried and received sentence of death. And on the sixteenth of the same month, Giles Cory was pressed to death; the circumstances attending which are too revolting to be detailed here. On the following day nine others were condemned, and five days after suffered death, save one, Abigail Falkner, Sept. 22. of Andover, whose situation reprieved her, as in the case of Elizabeth Procter.

October. "And now," says an unimpeached historian of the time, "nineteen persons having been hanged, and one prest to death,‡

* Catef, 100.

† Chandler, *Crim. Trials*, i. 93.

‡ These are the names of those executed; Bridget Bishop; July 19th, Sarah Good, Rebecca Nurse, of Salem Village; Susanna Martin, of Amesbury; Elizabeth How, of Ipswich; and Sarah Wildes, of Topsfield. August 19th, Mr. George Burroughs, sometime Minister of Wells; John Procter, John Willard, of Salem Village; George Jacobs, Senr., of Salem, and Martha Carrier, of Andover. Sept. 16th, Giles Cory. Sept. 22d, Martha Cory, of Salem

Village; Mary Easty, of Topsfield; Alice Parker and Ann Pudeater, of Salem; Margaret Scott, Willmet Redd, of Marblehead; Samuel Wardwell and Mary Parker, of Andover.

In the case of Giles Cory, Roman Inquisitors could not have done more. He pleaded "Not guilty" to the indictment, but could not put himself upon trial by a jury which he believed was sure to condemn him, for they had con-

Jonathan Corwin

and eight more condemned, in all twenty-eight, of which above a third part were members of some of the churches in New England, and more than half of them of a good conversation in general, and not one cleared; " while of about fifty who had confessed themselves witches, not one was executed. At the same time above 150 lay in prison, and above 200 more accused. But now, fortunately, "the special Commission of Oyer and Terminer comes to a period," and there was to be no Court to try those held for trial, until the Superior Court came together, which was not till the following January. This delay gave opportunity to all for reflection upon what had been done, and for those in authority to determine whether they should again deluge the land in the blood of their friends and neighbors, without the fearful prospect of carrying that deluge into their own households, and perchance to their own wives and children. Governor Phips looked to the Ministers for direction in future; * the chief of whom was now cautiously composing "Cases of Conscience concerning Witchcraft;" a work, while it showed its author to be a firm believer in its reality, at the same time condemned all, or nearly all, the evidence which had been relied upon in the late trials, as entirely insufficient to take away the life of any one accused. † In brief, a change was coming over the community. Several of those who had composed the Juries at the late trials, afterwards signed a recanta-

demned every one brought before them, and he had made up his mind "to undergo what death they would put him to." He was the first, and so far as I can learn the last, ever pressed to death for imputed crime in New England. Mr. George Corwin was the sheriff.

The case of Mr. Barroughs, a man of unexceptionable character, was excruciating to the multitude that were assembled to witness his execution. On the ladder he made a speech, declaring in firm simplicity his innocence; and his last prayer was so fervent and sincere, that it drew tears from many; and it began to be feared that the people would hinder the execution. He was, however, "turned off." Dr. Cotton Mather was there present, and, "being mounted upon a horse," exerted his great influence to appease the spectators. He said, among other things, "that the Devil was wont to transform himself into an Angel of light," and the executions went on.— *Calef*, 103-4.

* He was one of Dr. Cotton Mather's society, and ordered and sanctioned the publication of the account of the witchcraft, since so well known by the title of "Wonders of the Invisible World," &c. It is accompanied also with the certificates of two of the Judges, dated Boston, October 11th, 1692; in which certificate they say, "Ypon perusal thereof, we find the matters of fact and evidence truly reported, and a prospect given of the methods of conviction, used in these proceedings of the Court at Salem. [Signed] William Stoughton, Samuel Sewall." And the misguided author exclaimed, that "he should rejoice if his book might con-

duce to promote thankfulness to God for such executions."

Wm Stoughton

Samuel Sewall

† Notwithstanding Dr. C. Mather was completely carried away by the delusion, and would, if he had had the power, in all probability, have executed all that happened to be accused; yet, in the "Advice of the Ministers" to the Government relative to proceedings in the trials of the accused, which he published, he claimed to have been the mover of the Governor's clemency which he exercised, as related in the text. Upon this conduct of the Doctor, Mr. Calef severely animadverted, and in conclusion says: "But tho' the Minister's Advice, or rather Dr. C. Mather's was perfectly ambidexter, giving as great or greater encouragement to proceed in those dark methods, then cautious against them, yet many eminent persons being accused, there was a necessity of a stop to be put to it."— *More Wonders*, &c., 153-4. Certainly there was something rather ambidexter, in that the doctor should countenance every severity towards those accused of witchcraft, and at the same time applaud the Governor for pardoning the prisoners; calling it "a vanquishing the Devil, adding this conquest to the rest of his noble achievements." — *Ibid*.

tion,* and the conscientious and honest Judge Sewall openly confessed that he had committed a great error, while some others were apparently confirmed in the course they had pursued.†

1692-3. Agreeable to an Act of the General Court the first Superior
Jan. 30. Court was held at Salem, and the Judges appointed were William Stoughton, Thomas Danforth, John Richards, Wait Winthrop, and Samuel Sewall. Of fifty-six indictments, twenty-six were declared true bills, and of all the persons against whom these were returned, but three were adjudged guilty by the Jury. The reason so few were condemned has been already stated.‡ Besides, the Jurors now inquired, "What account they ought to make of the spectre evidence?" and were answered, "None whatever."

1692-3. While the three persons above named awaited sentence in prison,
Jan. 31. the Court commenced its session at Charlestown. Here the Judges received word that those they had lately condemned were reprieved by the Governor. This so shocked the Chief Justice, that he left the Bench, went out of Court and did not appear there again during the session; exclaiming as he went, "We were in a way to have cleared the land of these, &c. Who it is obstructs the course of Justice I know not. The Lord be merciful to the Country!"

It cannot be disguised, that the tendency among the accusers to implicate persons in the higher walks of life, had much to do in bringing all accusations to be viewed as the grounds of the iniquity instead of the object of them. And it is to be lamented that the discovery was not made before the crime of taking the lives of innocent persons had been ignorantly perpetrated; for which no atonement can ever be made.§ While the case of the wife of Mr. Hale wrought a change in Essex, the case of the wife of Governor Phips had the same effect in Boston, where the mischief was already deeply rooted.||

* "We do heartily ask forgiveness of you all, whom we have justly offended, and do declare according to our present minds, we would none of us do such things again on such grounds, for the whole world." &c. [Signed]—"Thomas Fisk, foreman, William Fisk, John Bateheler, Thos. Fisk, Jr., John Dane, Joseph Evelith, Thos. Perly, Sen., John Pebody, Thos. Perkins, Samuel Sawyer, Andrew Elliot, Henry Herriek, Sen."

† The Chief Justice, Mr. Stoughton, who died in 1702, was never convinced of his error, as charity is inclined to suppose, for he never acknowledged it.

‡ In October, the wife of Mr. John Hale, the minister of Beverly was accused of being a witch by a person in Wenham. Mr. Hale had been one of the most forward to bring accused persons to punishment, but now, being fully convinced that his wife was unjustly accused, he soon altered his judgment; "for it was come to a stated controversy among the New England Divines, whether the Devil could afflict in a good man's shape; yet when it came so near to himself, he was soon con-

vinced that the Devil might so afflict; which same reason did afterwards prevail with many others, and much influenced to the succeeding change at trials."—*Calef*, 108.

§ An agreeable writer has said, that Mr. Stoughton "made atonement for his bigotry by contributing, in his lifetime, to the cause of education. He erected, for the use of Harvard College, the building known as Stoughton Hall."—*Chandler, Crim. Trials*, 135. Truly I cannot see what erecting a Hall for Harvard College had to do with atoning for Mr. Stoughton's errors while a judge. Did he intend that edifice for that purpose? As well might any good act of his life, however small, have balanced the same errors.

|| "If it be true what was said at the Council Board, in answer to the commendations of Sir William, for his stopping the proceedings about witchcraft, namely, that it was high time for him to stop it, his own lady being accused. If that assertion were a truth, then New England may seem to be more beholden to the accusers for accusing her, than to Sir William."—*Calef*, 154.—*Hutchinson* extracts

1693. The last Court held in these tragedies was at Boston ; over
 April 25. which Mr. Danforth, Mr. Richards and Mr. Sewall presided. It
 was at this Court that the aged Captain Alden "was acquitted
 by proclamation," but "Mary Watkins, who had been a servant, and
 lived about seven miles from the Town," was tried and condemned ;
 not by the jury. Their repeated verdict was, Ignoramus ; but the
 Court imprisoned her for some time, and she was finally sold into bon-
 dage in Virginia.

Notwithstanding the tide had been some time at flood, trials would
 not probably have ceased yet, but for the course of the miscreant accu-
 sers themselves, in implicating those above all suspicion ; which had
 now become too apparent, even to the most credulous to be farther
 suffered, and prosecutions in consequence ceased.

At the June term of the General Court the last year, was passed
 "An Act for building with stone or brick in the Town of Boston, and
 preventing fire." This Act recites that "hence forth no dwelling-
 house, shop, warehouse, barn, stable, or any other housing of more
 than eight feet in length or breadth, and seven feet in height, shall be
 erected and set up in Boston, but of stone or brick, and covered with
 slate or tyle," except in particular cases ; and then not without license
 from the proper authorities. By another Act, passed six years after,
 this of 1692 does not seem to have answered the end of its enactment,
 and the Legislature was obliged to legalize what it could not or did not
 prevent, "forasmuch as the demolishing of such houses and buildings
 (being now finished)" erected contrary to the Statute of 1692, "and pro-
 ceeding according to the directions of the said law, would probably be
 thought overgreat severity. Yet that such bold and open contempt
 may not pass wholly unpunished ; and to the intent that others may
 be deterred from doing the like in future. Be it enacted," &c.

The affairs of the Town seem to have gone on for the past year much
 as though there had been no great commotions in the Country.

Mar. 13. At the March meeting, Capt. Theophilus Frary was chosen
 Moderator, and Thomas Walker, Bozoun Allen, Obediah Gill,
 Samuel Checkley, Timothy Thornton, John Meryon, sen., Ephraim Sav-
 age, Nathaniel Williams, and Capt. James Hill, were chosen Selectmen.
 Treasurer and Commissioner, Mr. James Taylor. At the May Meeting,
 May 2. Mr. James Taylor, Capt. Penn Townsend, John Eyers, Esq.,
 and Capt. Theophilus Frary were chosen "Representatives."*

from a "MS. letter," a curious circumstance
 about the Lady of the Governor, whose name
 being Mary (the same with the Queen), who
 was applied to in her husband's absence for her
 interposition in the case of a woman imprisoned
 for witchcraft. The good Lady took the re-
 sponsibility to sign a discharge, which the
 Jailer obeyed. "And truly," says the writer
 of the letter, "I did not believe this story till
 I saw a copy of the mittimus and discharge
 under the keeper's hand ; for which delivery

the keeper [Mr. John Arnold] was discharged
 from his trust and put out of his employment,
 as he himself told me." — *Hist. Mass.*, ii. 61.

* March 13.—Constables chosen were "Tim-
 othy Clarke, Tho. Cooper, Joseph Russell,
 Richard Cheuers, Jacob Maline, Enocke Green-
 leaf, Wm. Parkman and Hezekiah Hinchman ;
 for Rumny Marsh, Wm. Bordman ; for Muddy
 River, Danall Harris. Clerks of the Market,
 Nicholas Cocke, Isaac Meryon, John Benet and
 John Curtheue." Samuel Bridge agreed to

Mar. 30. The slaughtering of animals about the Town having been complained of as a nuisance, "the Selectmen, with three of the Justices of the Peace," ordered that "slaughter-houses for the killing of meat" should be set up in these places only; namely, "on Mr. Timothy Thornton's wharf, the wharves near the Salutation Tavern.* In the middle of the Town near and over the Mill-stream. At the South end, at or near Bendall's wharfe."

Oct. 16. The Town chose Maj. Penn Townsend, Edward Bromfield, Esq., Capt. Theophilus Frary, Mr. Timothy Thornton, for Representatives "to serv in the General Assembly to be held eighth November."

In the course of the year, Thomas Chalkley, an eminent Quaker, visited Boston, and afterwards printed an account of his travels. In his work he says: "I being a stranger and traveller, could not but observe the barbarous and unchristian-like welcome I had into Boston. 'O! what a pity it was,' said one, 'that all of your society were not hanged with the other four.' This shows that the spirit of persecution was alive in some of that people, long after the power of it was restrained."†

Some laws had been passed the preceding year exempting the Quakers from taxation, which may account for the vindictive attitude assumed by some towards Thomas Chalkley. The exact time when a house was set apart for public worship by the Denomination in Boston is not stated, but it was not far from and perhaps as early as 1665.‡ However, there had been, ever since the persecutions of 1677 an inconsiderable number of Quakers in and about Boston.§ In that year "their ordinary place of meeting" is spoken of. In 1694 they possessed a lot of land

collect the Country rate for 3d the pound, for which Mr. Simeon Stoddard stood his security in £1000. Fourteen Tythingmen were chosen out of the seven military companies:—"Tho. Banester, John Meryon, out of Capt. Sewall's; Samll. Bridges, John Adams, out of Capt. Hills; John Cunny [Coney], Wm. Adams, glover, out of Capt. Penn Townsends; James Barnes, John Kilbe, out of Capt. Allen's; Tho. Messenger, James Smith, out of Maj. Savages; Tho. Cushing, Joshua Gee, out of Capt. John Wings; John Farnum, John Niccols, out of Maj. Hutchinsons; Joseph Grant, Wm. Huffs, out of Capt. Greenoughs."

* It was in Ship Street, at the corner of Salutation Alley. It was standing long after this. June 26th, the following named persons were appointed Innholders:—"John Bishop, John Prat, Joanna Hunlock, Joshua Hewes, Elizabeth Watkins, Hannah Kent, Enoch Hubbard, Mary Wright and Capt. Wright."

† Chalkley in Besse, *Sufferings*, &c., ii. 220.

‡ May 4th, 1664, Edward Wharton of Salem, being at Boston, assembled with "George Preston, Wenlock Christison and others of their friends to worship God," &c. While they were exercised in the duties of preaching and

praying at the meeting, a warrant came from Edward Rawson for the apprehension of the Preacher. This meeting was at the house of Edward Wanton. The warrant sets forth that a stranger was there preaching, "publicly among many, and endeavoring to seduce his Majesty's good subjects and people to his cursed opinions." When the Constable reached the place of meeting, the meeting was ended. But he found Wharton at Nicholas Upsall's house, and arrested him, and the next day he was whipped, and then sent to the Constable of Lynn, who was ordered to whip him, and then to send him to Salem.—Details and copy of warrants may be seen in Besse, ii. 233.

§ A law was made in 1675, subjecting every person found at a Quaker-Meeting to be committed to jail, "to have the discipline of the house, and to be kept to work with bread and water, or else pay £5." Constables were empowered to apprehend ex officio. See Besse, ii. 259. In consequence of this law some Friends received the barbarous usage referred to in the OLD INDIAN CHRONICLE, cited *ante*, p. 410. By misinformation, Snow, *Hist. Boston*, 199, placed the important events of Quaker affairs of 1677 under 1675.

in Brattle street, one hundred and eight feet deep by twenty-five and a quarter in width, for a Meeting-house and Burying-ground, and built a brick house* on it twenty-four by twenty feet, which was secured to the Society by William Mumford, Edward Sheppen,† John Soames, Edward Wanton,‡ Walter Clark of Newport, and William Chamberlain of Hull. In 1708 the Society desired to sell their house, and to erect a new one, of wood, but on application to the Town Authorities, their request was denied, and in the following year Walter Newberry, John Wing and Thomas Richardson, the committee of Friends having charge of the business, so reported to the Society.§ “It was therefore concluded to build, of brick, a house twenty-five by thirty feet. This was the building lately standing in Congress Street. It was burnt in the great fire of 1760, and in the same year it was concluded by the Yearly Meeting to repair it, which was done. This building stood till April 2nd, 1825, when it was sold for 160 dollars, and immediately after demolished.”||

During and after the Revolution of 1776, the Quakers became so much diminished, that it was said, in 1826, that their Meeting-house in Congress street had been wholly unoccupied by them for nearly twenty years.¶ “Their meetings were discontinued by a vote of the Society in 1808. The Burying-ground had been undisturbed for eleven years, when the remains of one hundred and eleven bodies were removed thence to Lynn for re-interment, in July, 1826.” The land was sold in 1827, and the stone building opposite the west end of Lindall Street occupies the site of the old Church. The Society has since erected a neat stone edifice in Milton Place, but meetings are held in it only occasionally, as resident members are very few.

Notwithstanding the disastrous issue of the Canada expedition of 1690, the Government in England soon after determined upon another, but it was more ill-judged than the former. The first notice here that such a design was on foot, was brought by the fleet which was to undertake it. This was, enough to have caused a fatal delay, yet it was but a slight error in comparison with another, which originated with it. The same force destined to conquer Canada was ordered to reduce Martinico in the West Indies, then to rendezvous at Boston, and after recruiting to proceed into the St. Lawrence. Before anything could be effected

* The first Meeting-house built of brick in the Town. — Bowen, *Picture Boston*, 128. Its site is believed to have been “somewhere in the neighborhood” of that on which Brattle-street Church now stands. — See Lothrop, *Hist. Brattle-st. Church*, 6.

† He afterwards went to Philadelphia, and was the first Mayor of that city, and filled other important places. His descendants have also been distinguished, among whom was Edward Shippen, LL. D., Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, and William Shippen, M. D., first Professor of Anatomy in the University of Pennsylvania. — See Miller's *Retrospect*, ii. 340. — *American Portrait Gallery*, and Allen, *Amer. Biog.*

‡ Ancestor of the four Governors of Rhode Island, of the name of Wanton. Edward, above named, died in Scituate in 1716, æ. 85. — See Deane's *Hist. Scituate*, 372.

§ The above facts are from Snow, who had them, and other items, “from a venerable professor of the denomination.” But as Snow's informant misled him in some of them, and others are loosely stated, it is proper that my readers should be able to make the necessary allowance by this notice.

|| Snow, 200.

¶ Boston Courier, 30 June, 1826. Their lands in the Commonwealth were in the hands of Trustees till 1823.

against Martinico, a most fatal sickness broke out in the fleet, and before it reached Boston 3000 men had died, being three-fifths of the whole force. Sir Francis Wheeler the commander of the fleet, by and with the advice of the Government at Boston, relinquished all ideas of effecting anything against Canada this year.*

June 11.
Mar. 23. At a Town-meeting it was agreed that Mr. Samuel Phillips may have the ground where the Cage and Watch-house stand, on a lease of twenty-one years, to build a shop on; he building a cellar under it; and after one and a half years, to pay three pounds a year for it.†

Sir William Phips has, not unjustly perhaps, been denominated "a weak Governor," and that he was much better calculated to command a ship of war than to be Governor of a Colony. Certain it is, he very much disgraced himself by brutally assaulting Mr. Brenton, the Collector of the Port of Boston, and for caning Captain Short of the Non-such frigate, whom he met in the street. These assaults were occasioned by a misunderstanding in respect to admiralty jurisdiction; the Governor assuming an authority which the Collector and the Captain thought did not belong to him. He was a man of great physical strength, and seems to have been rather prone to employ that for want of other kind of argument. Meanwhile representations were being made to his prejudice in England, as the private letters from influential men in Boston were generally against him. He had, at the same time, quite as much as he could do to keep a majority of the General Court on his side, as appears by a motion in that body to address the King in favor of his being kept in his place of Governor; out of fifty members, there was but one majority for it. Many of the representatives of the country towns then resided in Boston, and they went against the Address. Out of this arose the Non-resident Act, an act requiring that a representative should reside in the town which he represented. This was carried, like the Address in favor of Sir William, by one majority. On this occasion, it is said that the Governor rushed into the House, drove out the Non-residents, and, says this authority, "I am mistaken if, either for estates or loyalty, they left any of their equals in that House."‡

Nov. 17. Finally, Governor Phips was ordered to appear in England, to answer to the complaints against him, and he left Boston in

* Dr. C. Mather, then writing his *Magnalia*, says Sir Francis Wheeler gave him the account of the mortality of his men himself. — *Magnalia*, ii. 71. *Hutchinson*, ii. 72. Sir Francis was cast away the year before near Gibraltar.

† "May 9th, leave given to Joseph Maylam to go forward in building a brick building neere the west end of the Town-house, considering the great benefit that thereby may accrew to the Town, being judged at least £8 p. year at present coming in; and the benefit of a brick watch-house and security from fire, &c."

"May 14th. Committee to draw up Instruc-

tions for the Select-men, — Doct. Elisha Cook, Isaac Addington, Esq., Coll. Sam^l. Shrimpton, Lt. Col. Elisha Hutchinson, and Maj. Pen Townsend. — July 16, seven Assessors chosen. Capt. Bozoone Allen, Capt. Samuel Checkley, Ephm. Savage, Mr. Timothy Thoratton, Mr. Obediah Gill, Mr. Thomas Walker, Mr. John Marion, Sen. Mr. Checkley and Mr. Walker refusing to serve, Mr. Joseph Bridgham and Mr. Sam^l. Lynd were chosen in their room. Mr. Bridgham refusing, Capt. Nath^l. Green was chosen."

‡ *Letter to London*, in *Hutchinson*, ii. 80.

November, Lieut. Governor Stoughton assuming the Government. On his arrival in England he was much harassed by actions at law for his conduct at Boston. Damages were laid at 20,000 pounds, and Sir Henry Ashurst, the friend of Dr. Increase Mather, became his bail. These suits were thought to have brought on or aggravated the disease of which he died. His death took place in London, in February following.*

Dec. 28. Queen Mary died near the end of the year, at the early age of thirty-three, and the next day William was recognized King of England, as William the Third. What time the news of these events reached Boston, and what notice was taken of them, if any, are not ascertained, and it is probable that they were quietly passed over.

Mar. 11. What called forth the following action of the Town does not appear from the Records: "Voted, that the bookes of the Register of birthes and deathes in the town of Boston shall be demanded by the Select-men in whose hands soever they be, and that all bookes or other things belonging to the Library, and all the goods or estate belonging to the Town, be demanded, and taken possession of by the Selectmen."†

Mar. 25. It was ordered by the Town, that as Capt. Samuel Sewall had been at charge "in severall essays to plant trees at the south end of the Town for the shading of Wheeler's Point," he and his heirs, "and none else," should have liberty to lop the trees so planted,

* He was buried at the east end of the church, St. Mary Woolnoth, London, over whose remains his wife caused the following inscription to be placed:—

"Near this place is interred the body of Sir William Phipps, Knight, who, in the year 1687, by his great Industry, discovered among the rocks near the Banks of Bahama, on the north side of Hispaniola, a Spanish plate ship which had been under water forty-four years; out of which he took, in gold and silver, to the value of three hundred thousand pounds sterling; and, with a fidelity equal to his conduct, brought it all to London, where it was divided between himself and the rest of the adventurers: For which great service he was knighted by his then Majesty, King James II., and afterwards by the command of his present Majesty; and at the request of the principal Inhabitants of New England, he accepted the Government of Massachusetts, in which he continued to the time of his death, and discharged his trust with that zeal for the interest of his country, and so little regard to his own private advantage, that he justly gained the good esteem and affections of the greatest and best part of the inhabitants of that Colony. He died the 18th of February, 1694 [1694-5]; and his Lady, to perpetuate his memory, hath caused this Monument to be erected."—Maitland, *Hist. London*, vol. ii. p. 1145. See also *Gen. and Hist. Reg.*, iv. 299.

Though this inscription is long, even the age of the deceased is not mentioned, his parentage, nor place of birth. Something of these may be found in the Magnalia of his intimate friend, Dr. Cotton Mather. The reader of Sir William's life, as given by that author, however, should read in connection with it Callef's notice of it in his "More Wonders of the In-

visible World." Sir William Phipps' father, James Phipps, came from Bristol, England, and settled at Pemaquid. He had 26 children, of whom 21 were sons, of whom Sir William was one; born 2 Feb., 1650. Hence he was but 45 at his decease. His wife was Mary, daughter of Capt. Roger Spencer, and widow of John Hull, merchant of Boston. She had no children by Phipps. Spencer Bennett, son of her sister Margaret, took the name of Phipps, and was Lieut. Governor of Massachusetts. He grad. H. C. 1703, died 4 April, 1757, æ. 73. His son William grad. H. C. 1728. The wife of Lt. Gov. Phipps died at Cambridge, 7 May, 1764. In 1739, "John Phipps of Wrentham" petitioned the Gen. Court for a "Canada grant," in right of his uncle, Sir Wm. Phipps, and for another in right of his brother James. This John Phipps was probably son of John, both of whom are remembered by Sir William in his will, which he made 18 Dec. 1693, and which was proved 13 June, 1695: Sir William's widow died in 1704, leaving to her adopted son, Spencer Phipps, the bulk of her estate. She was then the wife of Peter Sergeant.

† Mar. 11. Maj. John Walley chosen Moderator. Constables chosen were Daniel Oliver, John George, Edward Thomas, Epaphras Shrimpton, Thomas Palmer, Thomas Graford, Benj. Mountfort, Eleazar Moody. Graford was excused. Palmer and Moody paid fines. David Norton, Geo. Robinson, and Wm. Turner were chosen in their room.

and to cut them down and dispose of them, he or they planting others and causing them to grow.

Winnesimmet ferry was let to John Scolly for seven years.*

There was a good deal of agitation in the Churches of Boston upon the subject of marriage, particularly in respect to the lawfulness or unlawfulness of intermarriages among relatives. It is probable that some case had occurred in one of the Churches which gave rise to that agitation. However this may have been, "several of the Ministers in and near Boston" felt themselves called upon to settle a question which they thus stated:—"Whether it is lawful for a man to marry his wife's own sister?" The Ministers who took it upon themselves to decide upon the matter were Increase Mather, of the Second Church, Charles Morton, of Charlestown Church, James Allen, of the First Church, Samuel Willard, of the Third Church, Cotton Mather, of the Second, John Danforth, of Dorchester, and James Sherman. They published their judgment in a tract of eight pages, unqualifiedly asserting, "We answer in the negative, that it is utterly unlawful, incestuous, and an hainous sin in the sight of God." The answer occupies but two lines, the arguments and authorities making up the rest of the work.

This treatise of the Ministers, perhaps, influenced the General Court, at its May session, to pass a law "to prevent incestuous marriages." It provides that no persons shall be allowed to marry where there is an affinity between them, as declared in the Scriptures. Whoever offended or broke this law, "such man and woman shall be set upon the gallows by the space of an hour, with a rope about their neck, and the other end cast over the gallows; and, in the way from thence to the Common Gaol, shall be severely whipped, not exceeding forty stripes each. Also, every person so offending shall forever after wear a capital I, of two inches long and proportionable bigness, cut out in cloth of a contrary color to their cloaths, and sewed upon their upper garments, on the outside of their arm, or on their back, in open view."† If at any time such criminals were found without the letter, they were to be whipped, not exceeding fifteen stripes.‡

* Sept. 30. The following is a list of persons ordered to appear before the Selectmen, to answer for "breach of Town Orders or Bylaws in building to the inconvenience of the Streets with timber, stones, &c., being thereof convicted; viz., James Barton, Rich^d. Cheever, John Orris, Joseph Ryall, John Coombs, John Soames, Ralph Carter, John Gerish, Tho. Hitchborn, Gypon Fawer, Tho. Peabody, Sam^l. Mattock, Wm. Wilson, John Lawson, John Nicols, Rich^d. Middlecott, Sam^l. Burrell, David Adams, Joseph Adams, Daniel Collins, John Bayley, Christ Sleg. For their trespassing on the south side of the high way, on the eastward side of the Draw Bridge." These persons were probably erecting buildings on the spot burnt over by the great fire of 5 Aug. 1690, before noticed.

"Col. Nicholas Paig, John Wing, Rich^d. Basin, and Tho. Peck, Sen., for their trespass near their own houses." All were given to the 1st of October "to remove the nuisances, or pay 5s. for the use of the poor."

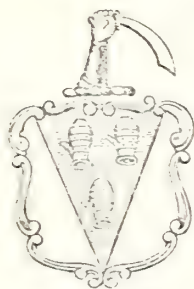
"Thomas Harris paid one penny as an acknowledgement that part of his shop stood on the Town land"

† *Colony Laws*, edition 1714, p. 68. The same is upon the statute book published in 1768. This law was the origin of the "Scarlet Letter."

‡ Justices were to consummate marriages only within their own counties, and ministers only within their towns. The marriage fee was fixed at 3s., and for publishment and certificate, 1s. — *Laws*, p. 16.

CHAPTER LIII.

French and Indian War. — The Chief Bamazeen imprisoned in Boston. — Mission of Sheepscot John. — Hopes and Prospects of the contending Parties. — The French plan the Capture of Boston. — Severity of Winter. — Harbor frozen beyond former Experience. — Defences of the Town renewed. — Order concerning the Market. — Concerning further Defences. — Writing-school. — Death of Gov. Belknap. — Jews. — Peace with France. — Order concerning the Records. — Number of Houses. — Widows. — Ezekiel Cheever. — Edward Ward. — His description of Boston. — Slanderers. — Earl Bellamont Governor. — First Nobleman Governor. — His Popularity. — Arrests the Pirate Kid. — Case of Maj. Mayhew. — Death of Gov. Bellamont. — Church in Brattle street founded. — Its History. — Muddy River petitions to be set off. — Schools. — Rumney Marsh.



JOYLIFFE.†

A DISTRESSING Indian war was now laying waste the exposed frontiers of New England. Hundreds of the inhabitants were killed or carried prisoners to Canada, and a vast amount of property was destroyed. A few Indians were from time to time taken and killed, but their number bore no proportion to the mischief done by them to the English.* The French, in Canada, aided the Indians in fitting out their expeditions, and afforded them a retreat after they had performed them, and often sent some of their own people to lead and support them. Thus a most devastating warfare was

kept up for ten years together.†

In the early part of the year 1694, there was "bloody fishing July 18. at Oyster River," in New Hampshire, as a Reverend Historian

* It is said that for every Indian killed it had cost the country £1600 each.

† A name written with great variation. Mr. John Joyliffe of Boston was a gentleman of wealth and consideration from 1663 to the time of his death, which happened 23 Nov. 1701. He lived in what is now Devonshire st., in that part between Water and Milk st. It was one of the few streets or lanes which retained its former name, when, in 1703, the Selectmen gave names to all the streets. It had been known by the name of Joyliffe's Lane for many years before this confirmation. John Joyliffe left a will, dated 17 Feb. 1699-1700, witnessed by Anthony Checkley, Saml. Lynde, Edward Creeke, and Benj. Stone. "To friends in England, viz. to Katharine Bowles, dau. of my bro. Dr. Geo. Joyliffe, 20s.; to Katharine Coope and Alice Moxley, daus., to my sister Dorothy Cane, 20s. each; to John Cooke of London, merchant, son of my sister Martha, 20s.; to sister Spicer, dau. of my sister Rebecca Wolcott, 20s.; to John Drake, son of my sister Margaret Drake, 20s.; to Margaret and Katharine Drake, daus. of my sister Margaret, 20s. each; to Esther, dau. of my sister Mary Biss, sometime wife of James Biss of Shepton Mallett,

in the Co. of Somerset, 20s.; to Rev. Saml. Willard of Boston, £5; to Mr. Simon W., son of said Samuel W., £5; to the poor of the Town, £10; to Martha Ballard, dau. of my late wife, and now wife of Mr. Jarvis Ballard of Boston, house and land in Boston, now in the occupation of Capt. Nathl. Byfield, sold to me by mortgage of Richd. Price, late of Boston, merchant, deceased, for £300; all else to go to said dau.-in-law, Martha Ballard, who, with her husband, to be exrs."

"Argent, on a Pile, Az. three dexter Gauntlets of the field, is the coat Armor of John Jolliffe of the city of London, Esq., Governor of the Muscovy Company, descended from the Jolliffs of Botham in Staffordshire. Borne also by William Jolliffe of Carswall Castle in the same Shire, Esq." — Guillim, *Heraldry*, ed. 1679.

‡ Some spoil was occasionally done upon the commerce of the French by daring and enterprising Boston seamen. In July, 1695, Capt. Robert Glover ranged the eastern coast in a privateer sloop called the Dragon. In the mouth of the St. Lawrence he captured a French ship, named the St. Joseph, with a cargo valued at about £15,000.

of the time expressed himself.* Ninety-four people were killed and carried into captivity, and thirteen dwelling-houses were burned. And only nine days after, thirty-five of the inhabitants of Groton met a like fate. A noted Indian Chief, residing upon the Kennebec river, was supposed to have led the parties which committed these enormities. The name of this Chief was Bomazeen; and, within about four months after, he was, by some stratagem, taken by the English at Pemaquid, and shortly after brought to Boston, and closely confined in the common jail, with several others of his countrymen.† Here he remained until December, 1698, at which time he was liberated by an exchange of prisoners. While these prisoners were lying in jail, Lieutenant Governor Stoughton issued a Proclamation,‡ copies of which he sent to Canada,§ and to the Indians on the “Amarascogin.” In that proclamation the Governor called upon all the Indians who held any of the English captives, to give immediate proof of their fidelity by a compliance with a treaty they had recently entered into to deliver them up, and to seize and deliver up to the English the Chiefs who had been concerned “in this last and bloody tragedy;” otherwise they might expect to be visited with the utmost rigors of the law. To this the Indians replied by a counter proclamation; in which they were not behind the Lieutenant Governor in threats and denunciations. “That which thou sayest to us, the same will we say to thee,” is a fair specimen of their reply. However, through the mediation of Sheepscot John, several captives were not long after restored, and a truce agreed upon, but the war continued.||

* Dr. Cotton Mather, *Magnalia*, ii. 626, new edition.

† The French historians charge the English with great perfidy in that seizure of the Indians. Against his account of the affair, Charlevoix sets in his margin, “Trahison faite par les Anglois aux Abénaquis.” The English, he says, had turned all their attention to debauch the people about Acadie. That seven Abénaquis being sent to Pemaquid under a flag of truce, they were seized; three of them were carried prisoners to Boston, and the other four were massacred in the way. “Sept Abénaquis étant allés à Penakuit avec un drapeau parlementaire, y furent arrêtés; trois furent menés prisonniers à Boston, et les quatre autres furent massacrés en chemin.” — *Histoire et Desc. Gen. de la Nouvelle France*, ii. 159. — Hutchinson says the Indians were no otherwise maltreated than by being kept in prison in Boston, “which, it must be acknowledged, was a very bad one.” — *Hist. Mass.*, ii. 87.

‡ I have not met with this proclamation except in French, as rendered by Potherie, in his *Histoire de L’Amérique Septent.*, iv. 40-2. As is commonly the case, the author of that book has made wretched work in translating the names of persons and places. Thus he

makes Gov. Stoughton say, in speaking of depredations, “Commit à l’endroit de plusieurs bon sujets de sa Majesté de la rivière d’Huître-Egroton,” &c. Now, unless one were familiar with all the transactions, he would not suppose that “Oyster River and Groton” was meant by the words I have italicized. Nor did Mons. de la Potherie make much better work in printing the counter proclamation of the Indians, in which document he makes them say, “J’envoie les presentes paroles par les mains de Sheepscot, Jean Alt, Bagataouaroongan un de leurs otages,” &c. Now who would suppose that the words in Italics here meant “Sheepscot John, als. Bagataouaroongan?” &c. — *Ib.* 41. Potherie was licensed to print in 1702, but his work did not appear till 1722.

§ Sheepscot John was the bearer of the Proclamation. He was one of the Hostages imprisoned with Bomazeen in Boston, and was a party to the Treaty of Pemaquid of 11 Aug. 1693, made with Sir William Phips. To that instrument his name stands, “John Bagatawawongo, alias Sheepscot John.” — *Book of the Indians*, 305. — Hutchinson, ii. 88. — *Magnalia*, vii. 85.

|| See note on p. 509.

England and France continued at war. Each nation hoped to succeed on this continent against the other, and to effect a complete conquest of it. Affairs on the whole, since the expedition of 1690, had been in favor of the French and their Indian allies. The Canadians believed that the English government would send out a strong naval force against them in the spring of 1696; to counteract which they applied to the King of France to send over a fleet of sufficient force to overpower any the English might employ. It was planned that the French fleet should fall in with the English fleet on the coast, and, having destroyed it, to proceed immediately to capture Boston, which they believed to be a place of great trade. Yet the high hopes of the French were blasted in respect to their great object.

May 11. The fortifications of the Town were examined early this year, and were reported "very much out of repair, and unfit for service in this time of war." And although the Province was accountable for their efficiency, it was determined in Town-meeting, that "forasmuch as our own safety doth necessarily depend upon the speedy setting of the platform and carriages for the great artillery in repair, so as they may be of service in case of invasion," to have them prepared at once for service. At the same time it was voted that Col. Samuel Shrimpton, Lieut. Col. Hutchinson, and Maj. Penn Townsend, with the Selectmen, should make application to the Commander in Chief for his orders and direction, and to provide for whatever expediture the Town should incur in rendering the forts serviceable.*

It was voted that Joseph Belknap's lease might be renewed, but for a term not exceeding ninety-nine years.† It was "agreed that the June 3. Market appointed by law should be kept at one place at present; namely, in and about the Town-house, and that it be opened on the eleventh day of August next."

March 8. It was voted in Town-meeting, that the Town Rate should not exceed 500 pounds; that more money should be raised and employed about the fortifications, and to buy powder for necessary defence, but not to exceed 500 pounds. Lieut. Col. Hutchinson, Peter Sergeant, Esq., and Henry Deering, were to examine the Treasurer's accounts, and Col. Shrimpton, Col. Hutchinson and Maj. Townsend,

* The next year (22 Mar. 1697), "Col. Hutchinson, Mr. Samsen Stoddard, and Mr. Tim. Clark, to be a committee to see all the great ordnance belonging to the Town of Boston well mounted on sufficient carriages; all platforms repaired, and new ones erected as they shall judge needful; stores for powder in time of Service, with all other materials necessary for our defence, and to draw upon the Treasurer of the Town, which he is to answer, not exceeding £500." The Gunner was allowed £20 per annum. Mr. Cole, Master of the Free Writing-school, to have £10 added to his salary for the coming year. It was before £30. No person allowed to keep a dog who

had not £20 ratable estate "besides the poll." No person to keep more than one dog. "Noe person shall ride too and fro aboute the Common on the Sabbath-day, to water horses, on the penalty of 5s., and Mr. Daniel Fairfield is empowered to look after the transgressors."

Samuel Shrimpton

† It was of a piece of ground leased to him in 1657. See *ante*, p. 350.

were "a committee to examine after the Town's powder that is lost, and also to appoint the wages of William Tilly, Gunner for this present year, and what is past." It was also "voted that part of the money given by the late Major John Richards, to be improved for the poor of the Town, should be laid out in building a chamber over Mr. Phillips his shop, and the Watch-house, and it is to be left with the Select-men to order the building of it, and to lease it out." A house for a Writing-school, adjoining to the old School-house, was voted to be built, and referred to the Selectmen also.*

Mar. 27. The venerable and respected Governor Bradstreet died at Salem, at the age of ninety-four. He was a son of Simon Bradstreet,† and was born at Horbling, in the County of Lincoln, in March, 1603. The father of Governor Bradstreet was "the son of a Suffolk gentleman of fine estate," became a Nonconformist, preached for a time in Lincolshire, and afterwards at Middleburgh, in Holland. He was at one time "one of the first Fellows of Immanuel College, under Doctor Chadderton, and one afterwards highly esteemed by Mr. Cotton and Mr. Preston." He died about 1617. Governor Bradstreet had witnessed the events of near a century, the entire existence of Boston, and in short New England. He was living when Capt. Joshua Scottow wrote his "Narrative of the Planting of the Massachusetts Colony," which was dedicated to him, and published three years before his death.‡ In this his old friend saluted him as New England's Nestor, to which Hutchinson subscribed, and says, "He was the youngest of all the Assistants who came over with the first Charter," and he is said to have been the last survivor of all those who came to New England with him in 1630.§

Governor Bradstreet married Anne, a daughter of Governor Thomas Dudley, by whom he had eight children, and their posterity is widely

* The next year (Dec. 20th, 1698), at the request of Samuel Sewall, Esq., Joseph Prout measured certain distances, an account of which was entered on the Records. From this it appears that the New School-house had been built at Cotton Hill. — "From the southerly corner of the New School-house at Cotton Hill, to the northerly corner of Capt. Legg's land is 55 foot; from said north corner of said School-house to the southerly post of Capt. Sewall's gate, being the breadth cross the high-way is 53 foot 4 inches; from said gate-post to the south-easterly end of the School-house fence is 41½; the breadth upon the high-way between Mr. Coney and Belknap on the one side of Capt. Sewall's land on the other side is 17 foot; from the easterly corner of the School-house cross the high-way to the N. W. gate post of the house late of Mr. Perkins is 36 foot; from the east corner of said School-house to the northe corner of the land formerly be-

longing to John Mears deceased is 11 pole and one foot; from said north corner cross the high-way to Capt. Bozoon Allen's land is 25½ foote."

Peter Sergeant

Jan. 30th, 1698-9. "Ordered, that the School-house lately built in the Prison-lane on the side of the Hill over against the land of Capt. Saml. Sewall remain as it is now fenced in, and that no more of said Hill be improved by building or otherways taken in, but left for accommodation of the street or high-way."

† Rev. Samuel Sewall, out of ancient (Bradstreet) family MSS.

‡ See *ante*, p. 106.

§ This is true, no doubt, as it respects the fathers of the Colony, or prominent men.



spread over New England at this day ; including many families and individuals of the highest respectability.*

Among all the sects which had given concern to the early Founders of Boston, that of the Jews was among the least. At this time, there were but two of that faith in the Town. These were brothers, of the name of Frazon, Joseph and Samuel. The former was some time a scholar to the learned Da Sylva in London. Their father and grandfather had lived in the Dutch Colony in Brazil.†

The Indian war continued to cause deep distress throughout almost the entire inland borders of New England, and temporary relief only could be expected during the winter now close at hand.

Dec. 10. Nor did the joyful news of the Peace of Ryswick entirely allay the fears of further miseries from Indian depredations. However, Peace was proclaimed in Boston on the tenth of December, and celebrated with an earnestness which the prospect of relief from the horrors of war only could give.

The winter which had now commenced “was the severest that ever was in the memory of man.” † “From the middle of January to the first or second of March it held cold, with very little or no intermission. All the Bay was frozen over quite out to Sea ; so as it was common to go horse and man over all the ferries for two months together. The main channel in Boston harbor did not open till the first of March. It snowed that year between twenty and thirty times.” § “Slays and loaded sleds passed a great part of the time upon the ice from Boston as far as Nantasket.” There was also a great scarcity of provisions. Grain was never at a higher price, nor could it be readily had for money. Trade also suffered more than at any former period.||

At the Town-meeting, Samuel Sewall, Esq., was Moderator. 1698.
Mar. 14. Samson Stoddard, Thomas Walker, Bozoon Allen, Obediah Gill, Thomas Hunt, John Marion, Jr., and Isaiah Tay, were Selectmen ; William Griggs was Town Clerk, and James Taylor, Treasurer. The Overseers of the Poor were Benjamin Walker, Henry Dering, Richard Draper and Samuel Lind. At the same Meeting, it was voted,

* I may well be excused from any enlargement upon the posterity of Gov. Bradstreet, it having been so lately and so ably done in the *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register*, by two gentlemen who take a deep interest in such elucidations of New England's History. See that work, vol. viii. 312—25.

The tomb-stone of Governor Bradstreet is still to be seen in the Charter-street Burying-ground in Salem, but the Inscription upon it has long been illegible ; and yet, from copies often reprinted in this age, there is nothing to indicate the fact that they are copied from copies. Nearly one hundred years ago, a Correspondent of the “Boston Chronicle” made out the original with difficulty, and even then

evidently made some errors in his transcript. The most accurate copy is probably that to be found in *Alden's Epitaphs*, i. p. 71 ; or No. 85.

† Sewall ; who says, “There are several families of Jews at New York, and New England is seldom wholly without them.”

‡ Mather, *Magnalia*, vii. 93, or ii. 693, new edition. It is not easy to understand by the *Magnalia* the precise year of this severe winter. Hutchinson is a year out of the way. See *Hist. Mass.*, ii. 101. He does not give his authority, and it is not known, therefore, who misled him.

§ Clough's *Almanack* for 1701.

|| Clough's *Almanack* for 1701, and Hutchinson, ii. 101.

"That all choice of officers, on the day of a Public Town-meeting for that work, should be entered in a book, and not on loose paper, and so all other things voted by the Town, least they should be lost."*

Boston at this time contained above 1000 houses, and more than 7000 inhabitants.† "It was no sooner come to some consistence three-score years ago, but the people found themselves plunged into a sad non-plus what way to take for a subsistence. God then immediately put them in a way. The Town is at this day full of widows and orphans, and a multitude of them are very helpless creatures. I am astonished how they live! In that Church whereof I am a Servant, I have counted the widows make about a sixth part of our Communicants, and no doubt in the whole Town the proportion differs not very much."‡

1699. It was decided by the Town that an Assistant in the Latin
Mar. 13. School should be provided for Mr. Ezekiel Cheever. It being
committed to the Selectmen, Mr. Ezekiel Lewes, his grandson, was
May 8. selected to fill the station, and to have a Salary of not exceed-
ing forty pounds a year. He entered upon his duties in the
Aug. 28. following August.§

Boston was this year visited by a remarkable character; remark-

* At the same meeting, "Col. Hutchinson, Mr. Samuel Lind, Mr. Thos. Clark, and Mr. David Copp, senr., chosen a Comtee to join with the Select-men to renew the antient bounds of the high-way leading from the Black-horse lane to the Mill, by Centry Haven, and to propose how it may be better laid out, if need be."

May 9th. "John Eyer, Esq., Capt. Sam'l Legg, Capt. Nath. Byfield, and Penn Townsend," were chosen Representatives. On the 29th, Capt. Andrew Belcher was chosen instead of Capt. Townsend, who had been chosen a Counsellor. July 11th, a rate of £800 was ordered to be raised.

Oct. 11th. "Ordered that the natural and antient water course at the south end of the Town, between the wharf lately set up by Mr. Barrichia Arnold and the wharf of Peter Welcomb, deceased, in breadth 9 feet, shall for ever remaine for that use, and shall be kept open as a common priviledge."

Nov. 14. It was voted "that a rate of £60 be raised by the Select-men, for the repairing of the Town-house, and no other use."

† *Sermon at the Boston Lecture, 7: 2: 1698*, by Doctor Cotton Mather. "The Small-pox has four times been a great plague upon us. In one twelvemonth, about 1600 of our neighbors have one way or other been carried unto their long home; and yet we are, after all, many more than 7000 souls of us at this hour living on the spot. Ten times has the fire made notable ruins among us, and our good servant been almost our master; but the ruins have mostly and quickly been rebuilt. I suppose that many more than a thousand houses

are to be seen on this little piece of ground, all filled with the undeserved favors of God."—*Magnalia*, i. 33; or new edition, i. 92.

‡ *Ibid.* B. i. 34. The Author calls earnestly upon the Town Authorities to suppress vice of every kind, and relates many examples of judgments which had fallen upon other places for the sins of their inhabitants. "Port Royal in Jamaica," he says, "you know was swallowed up the other day in a stupendous Earthquake; that just before the Earthquake the people were violently and scandalously set upon going to Fortune-tellers upon all occasions. But none of these wretched Fortune-tellers could foresee or forestall the direful catastrophe." He had heard there were some in Boston "consulted by the sinful inhabitants;" and adds, "I wish the Town could be made too hot for these dangerous transgressors. And O! that the drinking-houses in the Town might once come under a laudable regulation. The Town has an enormous number of them."

§ July 7. "Ordered that the Draw Bridge over the Mill Creek be placed 3 foot 7 in. from the range of the corner of Mr. Giles Dyer's house, as now it is, and to extend in breadth 10 ft. 11 in. from outside to outside of the joyce of said bridge, and 10 ft. more or less, being the remainder of the breadth of said way, over to the house of Mr. Christopher Goffe, late of Boston, deceased."

Nov. 6. Mr. James Russell, of Charlestown, and Mr. John Ballentine, of Boston, or "whoever else may be concerned," or owners of the bridge over the Mill Creek, are ordered

able for nothing, however, entitling him to very respectful consideration. His name was Edward Ward.*

Mr. Ward sailed from Gravesend in the ship *Prudent Sarah*, but at what time in the year, or the date of his arrival in Boston, does not appear from his *Journal*. He commences by saying that "Bishops, Bailiffs, and Bastards, were the three terrible persecutions which chiefly drove our unhappy brethren to seek their fortunes in our foreign Colonies;" and frankly acknowledges that "one of these bugbears" (doubtless the latter, though he says otherwise), forced him "to leave his own dear native country, for religious Boston." After a humorous and ludicrous description of his voyage, being tossed by the waves "like a dog in a blanket," as he expresses it, he "got sight of the promised land of Boston," of which he *promises* to give an account, "free from prejudice or partiality;" proceeding as follows:—

"On the south-west side of Massachusetts Bay is Boston, whose name is taken from a town in Lincolnshire, and is the metropolis of all New England. The houses in some parts join, as in London. The buildings, like their women, being neat and handsome; and their streets, like the hearts of the male inhabitants, are paved with pebbles."

At the "stately edifices in the chief or High-street," and their proprietors, he sneers in a manner practised only by the envious or ignorant. Some of these edifices, he remarks, "have cost their owners two or three thousand pounds; which I think plainly proves two old adages true, namely, 'that a fool and his money are soon parted;' and 'set a beggar on horseback, he'll ride to the devil;'" the fathers of these men were tinkers and pedlars."

The Meeting-houses and Ministers escape some better in the following passage:— "To the glory of Religion and the credit of the Town, there are four Churches, built with clapboards and shingles, after the fashion of our Meeting-houses; which are supplied by four Ministers;

forthwith to repair the pavement on each side of the bridge, and to move the gutters beside it, that it might be passable for horse and cart, according to the grant of the Town, or pay 20s. a week till it should be done.

* In *Jacob's Lives and Characters of the English Poets*, i. 225, printed in 1723, "Mr. Edward Ward" is thus noticed:—"A very voluminous Poet, and an imitator of the famous Butler. Of late years, he has kept a public house in the City [of London], but in a genteel way; and with his wit, humor, and good liquor, has afforded his guests a pleasurable entertainment; especially the High Church party, which is composed of men of his principles, and to whom he is very much obliged for their constant resort." Pope gives him a very low seat among the "Dunces":—

"Nor sail with Ward, to ape-and-monkey climes,
Where vile Mundungus trucks for viler rhymes."

From another passage it seems our author had, some time or other, honored the Pillory, or the Pillory him:—

"As thick as bees o'er vernal blossoms fly,
As thick as eggs at Ward in Pillory."

Nor does Mr. Ward's biographer fare much better; though he was the Author of several law books of reputation:—

"Jacob, the scourge of grammar, mark with awe,
Nor less revere him, blunderbuss of law."

Though a vulgar retailer of scandal and falsehood, it was thought best to notice Edward Ward in this work, as many of his jests and stories have passed into by-words, and are still remembered; that their origin may be known, or the vehicle through which they have found their way to this age.



to whom some, very justly, applied these epithets ; — one a scholar, the second a gentleman, the third a dunce, and the fourth a clown.”

“ Every stranger is unavoidably forced to take this notice, — that in Boston there are more religious zealots than honest men ; more Parsons than Churches, and more Churches than Parishes. The inhabitants seem very religious, showing many outward and visible signs of an inward and spiritual grace. But though they wear in their faces the innocence of doves, you will find them in their dealings as subtle as serpents. Interest is their faith, money their God, and large possessions the only heaven they covet. Election, Commencement, and Training days are their only Holy-days. They keep no saints’ days, nor will they allow the Apostles to be saints ; yet they assume that sacred dignity to themselves, and say, in the title-page of their Psalm-book, ‘ Printed for the edification of the Saints in Old and New England.’ ”

This Traveller has a few remarks upon certain laws then in force, especially that upon kissing in public, which, he says, is “ at the same price as fornication.”* The women afford a constant theme for the Author’s erratic pen. “ They are not at all inferior,” he says, “ in beauty to the ladies of London, having rather the advantage of a better complexion ; but, for the men, they are generally meagre, and have got the hypocritical knack, like our English Jews, of screwing their faces into such puritanical postures that you would think they were always praying to themselves, or running melancholy mad about some mystery in the Revelations. So that ’t is rare to see a handsome man in the country, for they have all one cast, but of what tribe I know not.”†

The extracts here given are more favorable to their Author than the parts omitted ; and, although there is some truth in his account, his work, on the whole, is grossly slanderous, or was intended to be so, but its extravagance in that respect defeats the object he had most in view. Such is, and ever will be, the ultimate fate of dealers in slander and detraction.

The Earl of Bellamont,‡ a new Royal Governor, who had been

* In this connection Ward relates this anecdote : — “ A Captain of a ship, who had been a long voyage, happened to meet his wife, and kissed her in the street, for which he was fined 10s. What a happiness, thought I, do we enjoy in Old England, that can not only kiss our own wives, but other men’s too, without the danger of such a penalty.”

† “ The gravity of their looks is of great service to these ‘ American Christians.’ It makes Strangers that come amongst them give credit to their words. And it is a proverb with those that know them, ‘ Whosoever believes a New England Saint shall be sure to be cheated. He that knows how to deal with their traders, may deal with the Devil and fear no craft.’ ” — *Ibid.*

‡ His family name was Coote. His father,

Richard, was the third son of Sir Charles Coote, Bart., and was born in 1620 ; and for whose hearty concurrence with his brother, Sir Charles Coote, in restoring Charles II., he was raised to the Peerage, being, the same day his brother was made an Earl, created Baron Coote of Coloony. Of the three sons of Baron Bellamont, our Governor, Richard, was the first. In 1688, he was returned Member of Parliament for Droitwich in Worcestershire, and served in several succeeding Parliaments ; but in that held by James II. at Dublin, in 1689, he was attainted, having been, 27th March preceding, made Treasurer to King William’s Queen, being one of the first who went over to the Prince of Orange. He married Catharine Nanfan of Bridgemorton, in the



May 26. some time looked for, arrived in Boston, and the people vied with each other in rendering him respect and homage. He was appointed by the King to the government of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and New York, as far back as 1695,* but his affairs detained him a long time in England, and he had a very protracted passage thence to New York, having embarked in one of his Majesty's ships early in the fall of the year 1698, was blown off the American coast, and obliged to winter in Barbadoes. On his arrival at New York, a government deputation was despatched to that Province from Boston with congratulations, and to consult him upon matters of government.

Bellamont was the first Nobleman who had been sent over to govern the Colony, and the novelty of such a presence among the people of Boston caused a general feeling of respect, similar to that for Royalty, even at a later day. The new Governor evidently understood more of human nature than many of his predecessors; sparing no pains to gain the respect and esteem of all classes, by an affability and condescending courtesy, which seldom fails of success. Though an Episcopalian, he was not a High Churchman; pursuing as well as professing the most moderate course both in Religion and Government. He regularly attended the Boston Weekly Lecture, and treated the Ministers of the Town with marked attention and regard.† In administering the Government, he avoided all controversies with the Legislature, and thus became universally popular. This will account for his receiving a larger salary than any Governor of the Province before him, which was also larger than that of many which succeeded him, even though the Province was far better able than it was at this time.‡

One object in the appointment of Lord Bellamont as Governor, is said to have been that he might suppress piracy, which had long been an appalling scourge on the whole American coast. What his abilities were for this work, above others, does not appear, but certain it is he effected something in this branch of duty. He caused Capt. William

County of Worcester, and had two sons, Nantfan and Richard, successively Earls of Bellamont. — *Lodge's Peerage of Ireland*, i. 386–93, ed. 1754. The well-known Sir Eyre Coote, Governor-General of India, was of the same family. John Nantfan, “a kinsman of the Earl of Bellamont,” came over with the Earl, “in quality of our Lieut. Governor.” — *Smith*, *N. Y.*, 150, ed. 1814.

* “In the beginning of the year 1695, his Lordship was named by the King Governor of New York, a place then remarkably infected with the two dangerous diseases of an unlawful trade and the practice of piracy.” — *Lodge*, *Ibid.*, 390.

† The General Court in those days always adjourned to attend the Lecture. On one occasion the following pleasant occurrence took place. In returning from Lecture, the Governor passed by the apothecary shop of the well-known Dr. Benjamin Bullivant, his friend.

The Doctor, standing at his door, was accosted by His Lordship as he passed, in these words: — “Ah, Doctor, you have lost a precious sermon to-day!” Bullivant observed, in an under tone, to a person standing by, “If I could have got as much by being there as His Lordship will, I would have been there too.” — *Hutchinson*.

‡ “For though he remained but fourteen months in the Province, the grants made by the General Court amounted to £2500, lawful money, or £1875 sterling.” — *Hutchinson*. There was at this time no house built for a Governor, and it cost Lord Bellamont £100 a year for one, besides his stable expenses. He earnestly recommended that a house should be built for the Governor, and designated a spot “in the best part of the Town, where Sir Edmund Andros lived.” — *Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, vi. 83. On or near the site where the Old Province House stood.

June 1. Kidd to be arrested, who was brought to Boston and imprisoned, and subsequently hanged in England.* About the same time Kidd was taken, one Bradish, a more noted pirate, and another, escaped out of the jail, with the connivance, as was said, of the jailer; but Bradish was afterwards retaken. He was also sent to England, and suffered with Kidd.†

June 27. There were occasional disturbances of another character. One month after the arrival of Governor Bellamont, Major Matthew Mayhew, of Martha's Vineyard, was committed to jail in Boston, charged, as by a copy of his mittimus appears, "for publicly declaring sundry atheistical, seditious, scandalous and reproachful words and speeches, to the great dishonor of Almighty God and the reproach of his holy Religion; maliciously and wickedly scandalizing and villifying of his Majesty's Governor and Government." Whether the charges were substantiated at his trial, if one took place, does not appear.‡

May, 1700. Soon after the May session of the General Court, Lord Bellamont returned to New York, where he remained in the exercise of his office until the following March, on the fifth day of which month he died. As soon as the news of his Lordship's death reached Boston, a Proclamation was issued by the Deputy Governor and the Council for the observance of a Fast throughout the Province. In June, after his arrival in Boston, several "merchants and traders" petitioned him for a bankrupt law, "as in England." §

The founding of Brattle-street Church was in the year 1699, although steps had been taken earlier. || The reasons for establishing this

* The Governor declared the laws of the province insufficient to execute criminals guilty of piracy. Hence Kidd was sent to England, and there tried, condemned, and executed.

† See Smith's *Hist. New York*, 150-2, ed. 1814. *Hutchinson*, ii. 119.

‡ I have not examined the Court Records for further facts, not deeming the circumstance of sufficient interest at this time. It appears from a deposition dated March 20th, 1700, that his trial had not then taken place.

§ What action was taken upon the Petition, if any, does not appear from the original, and I have not looked further. The names of the Petitioners were: — Penn Townsend, Fra. Burroughs, John George and Co., Wm. Clarke, Elias Heath, Simo. Stoddard, Samll. Keeling, Charles Chauncy, John Borland, William Clark of North Boston, P. Chardon, B. Walker, Samll. Legg, John Marshall, Jno. Cambbell, L. Boucher, Daniel Oliver, Wm. Welsted, Jun., Tho. Fitch, Danll. Zachary, John Colman, Jno. Maxwell, Fra. Foxcroft, Timo. Clarke, Zec. Tuthill, Ease Apthorp, William Tailer, George Whitehorn, Thaddeus Macarty, Robert Howard, Joseph Sparrow, Ed. Martyn, John Fayrweather, Thos. Cooper, John Pitts, David Jenner, for self and Partner, Roger Kileup,

David Jeffries, Joseph Parson, Jos. and Samll. Frazon, Samll. Phillips, Jos. Coysgarne, John Ballantine, Tho. Hubbard, and A. Roberts. — *W. B. Trask from Mass. Archives.*

|| "The first movements towards the formation of this Society seem to have been made as early as 1697." — *Lothrop's Hist. Brattle-St. Church*, 4. The deed from Thomas Brattle, conveying the land for a Meeting-house, is dated 10 Jan. 1698. The number of persons interested in the conveyance was twenty, and the lot conveyed was called Brattle's Close. The consideration was £150, "and for other good causes." The dimensions of the purchase were 107 feet on the south and west sides, 97 on the north, and 120 on the east, extending to within 17 feet of the present south line of Brattle-street, and on the east and north sides from 3 to 13 feet beyond the walls of the present Church. The original dimensions have since been extended on two sides by purchase, but some abridgment has also taken place for the convenience of the Town. The original grantees were Thomas Clark, John Mico, Thomas Bannister, Thomas Cooper, Benjamin Walker, Benjamin Davis, Timothy Clark, Stephen Minot, William Keen, Richard Draper, William Harris, Abraham Blush, Zechariah





BRATTLE-STREET CHURCH.

Church do not appear to have been the same as for some of the others.* Mr. Benjamin Colman, a native of Boston, but then residing in England, was invited to become its Pastor. He accepted the invitation, and arrived here on the first of November, 1699. About this time an Edifice had been completed, and on the twenty-fourth of December following he preached the first sermon in it.†

Having, in some particulars, departed from the Cambridge Platform, and hence broken in upon "the Order of the Churches," the Brattle-street Church could not be tolerated by some of the old Fathers of the Churches of New England. A Protest was therefore publicly made by them against it. This drew from the Brattle-street Church a defence of its course, which was denominated a "Manifesto or Declaration." This gave the Church the name of the "Manifesto Church," which it bore among many opposed to it for several years.‡ However, a reconciliation was brought about in a few years, and no Church in the City, perhaps, has had less of trouble and difficulty, internal and external, than this of Brattle-street, in the same period. It has had a succession of talented preachers, not surpassed, if paralleled, in any Church in any country.§ Of these to speak separately would be a most pleasing and agreeable task, but it cannot be indulged in in these pages. Concerning nearly all of them truthful and elegant memorials are to be found.¶ That by Doctor Colman upon his colleague Pastor, "Mr. William Cooper," is of surpassing excellence; that of the Rev. John Clarke upon Dr. Samuel Cooper, it is enough to say, is one of that excellent minister's best efforts; that of the Rev. William

Tuthill, Thomas Palmer, John Colman, James Meers, Joseph Allen, Elkanah Pembroke, John Kilby, and Addington Davenport. These were called Undertakers. Brattle-street, and "a way leading to the Town Dock" to it, are mentioned in the Deed. On 17 Oct., 1700, a new avenue to the Church was secured, 10 feet wide, through land of John Dasset, since called Dasset's Alley, "where a post, with a lock to secure it for foot passengers, is still maintained." — Palfrey's *Sermon*, 7, 31.

* This appears from the letter of invitation to Mr. Colman, in the following passage: — After stating "that they had chosen him to be their Minister, and urging him to make what haste he could to them," they add, "We only propose that the Holy Scriptures may be publicly read every Sabbath in the worship of God, which is not practised in other Churches of New England at this time; and that we may lay aside the relation of Experiences, which are imposed in other Churches, in order to the admission of persons to the Lord's table." — Turrell's *Life of Dr. Colman*, 43.

† *Ibid.*, 47.

‡ It is printed in Mr. Palfrey's *Sermon*, 32-4.

§ They succeeded in the following order: — Benjamin Colman, D. D., from 4 Aug., 1699, to his death, 29 Aug., 1747, æ. 73.

William Cooper, from 23 May, 1716, to 13 Dec., 1743, the time of his decease, æ. 50.

Samuel Cooper, D. D., from 22 May, 1746, to 20 Dec., 1783, the time of his decease, æ. 58.

Peter Thacher, D. D., from 12 Jan., 1785, to 16 Dec., 1802, the time of his decease, æ. 50.

Joseph Stevens Buckminster, from 30 Jan., 1805, to 9 June, 1812, the time of his decease, æ. 28.

Edward Everett, from 8 Feb., 1814, to 5 Mar., 1815, when he resigned.

John Gorham Palfrey, from 17 June, 1818, to 22 May, 1830, when he resigned.

Samuel Kirkland Lothrop, installed 17 June, 1834.

¶ The reader hardly need be referred to the *N. Eng. Biographical Dictionary* of Dr. Eliot, to Dr. Allen's *American Biographical and Historical Dictionary*, to Dr. Palfrey's *Sermon*, and to Dr. Lothrop's *History of the Church*.

Emerson upon Doctor Thacher is not only valuable as a funeral sermon, but for the genealogical and historical notes which accompany it also.*

The Old or First Brattle-street Church was built of wood, and "never painted within or without. The tower and bell were on the west side, and a door on the south, opposite to the pulpit. The window-frames were of iron." It stood until 1772, when, having "fallen into a ruinous and decayed state," it was agreed that a new one should be built. Accordingly, on the twenty-third of June of that year, the corner-stone of a new house was laid by Major Thomas Dawes, the architect.† This is the house now standing.‡ It was opened for public worship July the twenty-fifth, 1773. "In part of the years 1775 and 1776, a regiment or two of British troops were quartered in the Church, a Sugar-house which stood north of it, and other houses in the neighborhood." They kept possession of it till the town was evacuated in March, 1776. The Society had been compelled to abandon it in April the preceding year. "Gen. Gage had his head-quarters in the house opposite the Church. He told Mr. Turell he had no fear of the shot from Cambridge while his men were within such walls." The Americans were cannonading some points in the Town, and a heavy cannon-ball struck the house the night before the evacuation, knocking a hole in the wall. The shot was picked up by Mr. Turell, who preserved it, and when the house was afterwards repaired, it was placed in the breach which it made, facing Brattle Square, where it is to be seen projecting from the surface at this day.§

The Brattle-street Society early favored reforms, considered by it as such. In 1699, it was voted to dispense with the custom of reading and singing the Psalms line by line alternately; and the first Singing Society in the Town was established by its members. This was between 1717 and 1724. Singing by note was first practised in Boston, also, by this Church.||

At the Town-meeting in March, Capt. Nathaniel Byfield was chosen

* These Funeral Sermons are in the Author's Collection. Dr. Colman resided at one time in State-street. In 1715 he removed thence to a house at the north-west corner of Dasset's Alley. This situation was bought in 1769 of Stephen Dobbis for a Parsonage to the Society, for about £566. Dr. Samuel Cooper lived in various places; at one time in Brattle Square, where the Quincy House now is; then in the Parsonage house in Court-street, now occupied by Mr. Lothrop, in which James Otis had lived. — *Palfrey*, 56-7.

† A liberal subscription was obtained among the opulent people, £3200 in one week. The house cost £8000. Gov. Hancock gave £1000, besides a bell; and Gov. Bowdoin, £200. Major Dawes did half the mason-work; William Homer, Benj. Richardson, and David Bell, the other half. Benj. Eustis and Wm. Crafts did half the carpenter's work; Benj. Sumner, Jun., and James Sumner, a quarter; the other quar-

ter was done by John Stetson and Nathl. Call; the two latter companies were to admit Wm. Flagg, James Robbins, Benj. Sumner, Jos. Eustis, and — Appleton to participate with them. Capt. John Gore and Mr. Daniel Roe were the painters. — *Palfrey*, 64-5.

‡ It has, however, undergone much change.

§ As represented in the above engraving.

|| *Palfrey's Sermon and Snow's Hist.* The following is a list of the Deacons: — Thomas Brattle, chosen 1699; Benj. Davis, 1699; Richard Draper, 1699; John Kilby, 1701; Benj. Gibson, 1717; Jacob Parker, 1722; John Phillips, 1729; Daniel Bell, Timothy Newell, Isaac Smith, Ebenezer Storer [no date set against these]; John Gore, 1788; Saml. Barrett, 1788; James Lanman, 1788; Nathl. Hall, 1793; Moses Grant, 1793; Peter O. Thacher, 1804; Wm. Andrews, 1808; Alden Bradford, 1814; Moses Grant, 1818. — *Palfrey's Sermon*.

Mar. 11. Moderator. The Selectmen were Daniel Oliver, Isaiah Tay, Joseph Prout, John Marion, Jr., Timothy Clark, Elizer Holioke, and Obediah Gill. Town Clerk, William Griggs; Treasurer, James Taylor.* Constables Benj. Fitch, Henry Hill, Wm. Man, Wm. Welsted, Wm. Clark, Joseph Billings, James Gooch, and Joseph Dowden.†

At the same meeting a Petition from the inhabitants of Muddy River was presented, asking to be set off from Boston, because their children could not have the benefit of the Public Schools, and some other considerations. It was voted that they should not be set off, but it was ordered that the Selectmen should provide a School-master for them, "to teach their children to read, write and cypher."

Then "some of the inhabitants of the north end of the Town stood up and requested that they might have the libertie of a Free School for the teaching to write and cypher;" whereupon a vote passed in their favor.‡ "The inhabitants of Rumney Marsh standing by, and seeing the Town in so good a frame, also put in their request" for a Free School among them. The vote being put resulted favorable to them also; but the Selectmen were instructed, "that if there were a suitable number of children to come to the School," then they might proceed to provide a School-master.§

It was also voted that all the land on both sides of the Way between the Oak and Walnut, and the Fortification should be given to persons who would undertake to maintain the highway forever, not less than fifty feet wide. Those accepting the offer were to have an "unquestionable

* After voting that there should be but seven Selectmen, and "That the Town be at no charge to the maintaining the Water-ways over at Winnicmet ferry," the services of Mr. Taylor as Treasurer were considered. He having served the Town in that capacity for eight years, "never charging but £5 per year for the same," which "being far less than really the service is worth," it was voted that the Selectmen "cause a piece of plate to be made to the value of £20, and to present the same to the said Mr. James Taylor, as a small retaliation." It was also voted that for the past year's service £10 be paid him.

† Constables for Rumney Marsh and Muddy River, Jesse Winthrop and Joseph Davis. Tything men, Wm. Everton, Joseph Williams, Tho. Jackson, Saml. Turell, John Jepson, Joseph Millier, Saml. Jacklin, Geo. Eliston, Tho. Clark, John Edwards, Richard Christopher, John Gerrish, Benj. Hallowell, John Borland, Wm. Gibbins, Saml. Bridge, Saml. Townsend and James Bell. Hogreaves, Anthony Greenhill, Saml. Burnell, Saml. Bridge, Henry Emes, and Saml. Earle.

‡ Some temporary house was probably at first provided, but about 1712, one adapted to the use of a School was built on the spot ever since improved for a Public School. It stood

in Love Lane, now Tileston-street. In 1792 the old house was taken down, and a new one erected. In 1838 the present house was finished, fronting on N. Bennet-st. at a cost of \$21,072. This is the "Eliot School" so named after the Rev. Doctors Eliot, Andrew and John, father and son.

§ A writer, describing Boston about 40 years later, said there were then five Printing-houses, and that the presses were generally full of work, "which is in a great measure owing to the Colleges and Schools for useful learning in New England: whereas at New York there is but one little Bookseller's shop, and none at all in Virginia, Maryland, Carolina, Barbadoes and the sugar Islands." That "the Town-house or Exchange was surrounded with Booksellers' shops." — Oldmixon. "The best furnisht PRINTING HOUSE with PRESS and LETTERS in the Country," was consumed by fire, 16 Oct. 1690. The fire was very near the South Meeting-house, which hardly escaped. Several houses were burned, and a lad was burned to death in the house where it begun." — *Almanack*, for 1701. The "Printing House" was that of Bartholomew Green. He had commenced business in Boston the same year (1690). He was Deacon of the Old South Church, and died 28 Dec., 1733.

title" to the land given them. Samuel Sewall, Esq. and Capt. Bozoon Allen were appointed to attend to the order.

At this Town-meeting, Capt. Timothy Clark, Mr. Nathaniel May 14. Oliver, Mr. Isaiah Tay, and Mr. James Barnes, were chosen Representatives. Mr. Oliver refusing to serve, Capt. Bozoon Allen was chosen. Major John Wally, Col. Benjamin Townsend, Capt. Byfield, Mr. Nathl. Oliver, Capt. Samuel Checkley, and Capt. Thos. Frary, were chosen a Committee to instruct the Representatives.

CHAPTER LIV.

By-laws. — Almanacks. — A House built for Master Cheever. — Windmill. — Watchmen's Orders. — Bills of Credit. — Persons Refused to build. — Decline of the Churches. — Death of Lieut. Gov. Streighten. — Death of the King. — Queen Ann Proclaimed. — Great Fire. — Order about Streets. — Privateering. — Great Sickness. — Preparations for War. — Indian Hostilities. — Appropriations for Defence. — For Pavements. — New School-House. — The first Newspaper. — Its Name, Rise, Progress, and Termination. — Society for Propagating the Gospel. — Execution of Pirates. — Expedition against the French. — Mobly River set off. — Weights and Measures. — The Forts Enlarged. — A Powder House on the Common. — Death of President Willard.



MOUNTFORT.†

1701. THE Town ordered a regular compilation of its scattered By-laws, which had not hitherto been done, and they were printed the next year.*

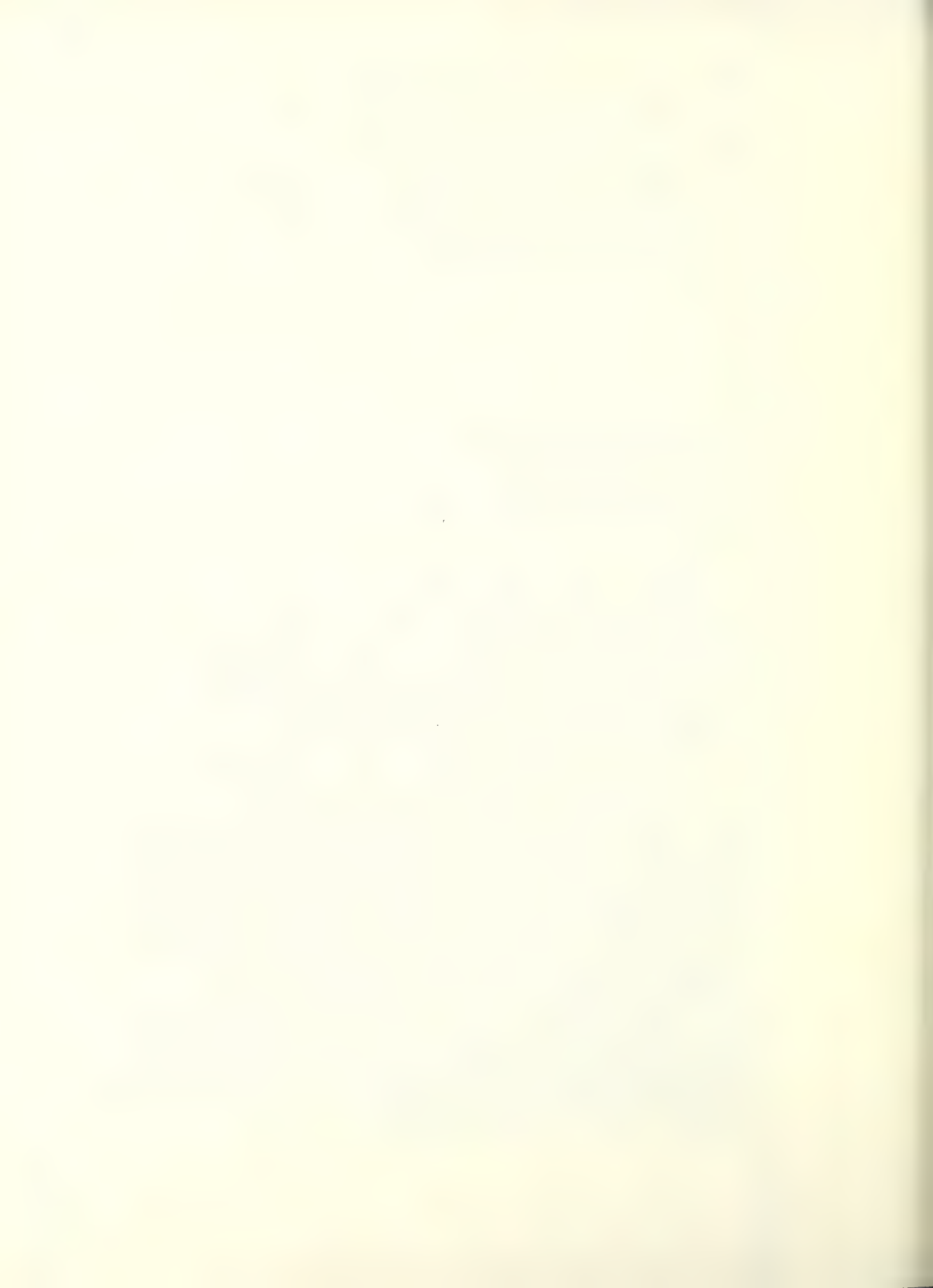
The popular Almanack of this period was by John Tulley, who, to his "Friendly Readers" says, "I have now served you with an Almanack twice seven years, and as often given you the liberty to toss my name about by censure and applause." That for this year he says was more than he intended, because "another ingenious person hath undertaken the work."

* They are embodied upon the records, and occupy about 18 pages, and are entitled, "A Book of Town Orders for one year." At the end is, "Ordered, That the Town Orders be put in print."

† The family of Mountfort claims descent from an ancient Norman family, which came to England with William the Conqueror. One of the seats occupied by the early Mountforts is or was very recently in possession of Henry Mountfort, Esq. This seat is known by the name of Beaumhurst Hall, and is near Uttoxeter in Staffordshire. "In Dugdale's Hist. Warwickshire is given an elaborate and authentic pedigree of the family, from Turstain de Montfort, 1630, to Simon Mountfort, 1633; which Simon was father of Edmund, who, with his brother Henry, arrived at Boston from London, in the ship Providence, in 1656. Benjamin, also of Boston, was another brother." These were called "educated merchants." The Mountforts of Portland are descended from

Edmund. See Willis' *Smith and Deane's Journal*, p. 8. On the tomb-stone of the first Edmund, in the Granary Burying-ground, is this inscription: — "Here lyeth buried Edmund Mountfort, senior, brother to Henry and Benjamin Mountfort. Left issue six sons and two daughters. Deceased in y^e 61 year of his age, upon the 14th day of August, 1690." The late Col. John Mountfort, formerly of the U. S. A., Hon. Judge N. B. Mountfort of N. Y., and George Mountfort, Esq., now Consul to a Port in the Mediterranean, are his descendants. — *Family Papers*.

The arms, as given above, are copied from the tomb of Jonathan Mountfort, in Copp's Hill Burying-ground, erected 1724. Upon which is inscribed, "Mr. John Mountfort, Ætatis LIV. Obt. Jan. VI. MDCCXXIV. — Benjamin Mountfort, son of John Mountfort and Mary Mountfort, Ætatis XXV. Obit. March X. MDCCXXI." — See *Epitaphs from Copp's Hill*, 81.



The "ingenious person" was probably "Samuel Clough," who published the "New England Almanack," also, for this year. They were both printed by "B. Green and J. Allen," but the latter was for "Samuel Phillips at the Brick Shop," and the former was sold as well as "printed by B. Green and J. Allen, at the Printing-House at the South End of the Town." They were both very neat specimens of printing for that day.*

Mar. 10. At the regular Town-meeting, Capt. Nathaniel Byfield was chosen Moderator, and Joseph Prout, Town Clerk. A vote was passed to build a house for "Old Mr. Ezekiel Cheever, the Latin School-master." Mr. John Arnold requested liberty to set up a Windmill on Fort-Hill, which was referred to the next meeting. It was then voted that he might erect one there, "on the Town's land," paying such quit rent therefor as the Selectmen should agree to.

May 10. The Town now chose for Representatives, Mr. John White, Capt. Samuel Legg, Mr. Nathaniel Oliver, and Capt. Andrew Belcher. Watchmen were "enjoyed to be upon duty from ten o'clock till broad day-light"† At an adjourned meeting, two days after, a

May 12. vote passed to raise 1050 pounds to meet the necessary expenses of the Town. The following year but 1000 pounds were raised, and the Treasurer was ordered to receive the "Province Bills of Credit" in payment of rates.

Persons intending to build were required to apply to the Selectmen for liberty.‡ The only applicants this year were William Griggs, William Burroughs, Richard Hinchman, Jonathan Loring, and Mr. Stephen Minot. Their licenses were all for structures of wood or timber.

The Town, judging from its records, appears to have been steadily advancing in wealth and importance at the commencement of the century now begun. Nevertheless, was there no other record to which to refer but some publications of the Fathers of the Town, a very different

* A transcript of Tully's title-page may be curious as well as interesting to readers. —

"Tully 1701. An Almanack for the Year of our Lord 1701. Being first after Leap-year, and from the Creation, 5650. And from the Discovery of America by Chr. Columbus, 209. And the reign of our Gracious Sovereign K. WILLIAM the Third (which began Febr. the 10th, 1688, 9.) the 13th year. Wherein is contained the Lunations, Courts, Spring Tides, Planets, Aspects, and Weather, the Rising and Setting of the SUN, together with the Sun and Moon's place and time of Full Sea, or High Water, with an account of the Eclipses, and other matters useful and necessary. The Vulgar Notes of this Year are, Golden Number 11, The Impact 1, Cycle of the Sun 2, Dominical Letter E. Calculated for and Fitted to the Meridian of Boston in New England, where the North Pole is Elevated 42 gr. 30 min. But may indifferently serve any part of

New England. By JOHN TULLEY. Licensed by Authority."

The title of Clough's is similar, but he has in the calendar pages "Brief Observations of the most noted things hapning in Boston since its first settlement."

† From 10. Mar. to 10 Sept., and from 9 to 8 the other half of the year. They were to go about the Town "silently with watch bills, forbearing to use any bell, and no watchman to smoke tobacco while walking their rounds; and where they see occasion, they are to call to persons to take care of their lights."

‡ The Selectmen were also charged with the admission of residents. I find a record of but four for this year, viz.: Edwd. Croslet, and Richard Christophers gave his obligation that he should not become chargeable to the Town. For Adam Bosquain, Peter Daille [Pierre Daille] was security; for Noah Guile, Wm. Rouse; for Daniel Bernardo, James Mountor.

conclusion would be inevitable.* It is true that some parts of the picture of the period have a very gloomy aspect. The Indian and French war had caused great desolation; the crops for several years together had been not only short, but in some parts had almost entirely failed; and the very long and severe winters of late had a tendency to make the inhabitants distrust the future.

July 7. Lieut. Governor Stoughton died at his residence in Dorchester, and the duties of Governor devolved, for the first time, upon the Council. The Government did not continue in their hands long.

Jan. 11. Joseph Dudley, Esq., having arrived from England with a Commission of Governor, assumed the Government. He had been in England since 1693. In the winter of that year King William appointed him Governor of the Isle of Wight, where he continued eight years. During his residence there he was elected to Parliament from the Borough of Newton in that Island.†

Dudley had long hoped for the power which he now possessed. He had not forgotten the twenty weeks' imprisonment he had suffered at the hands of the Bostonians when Andros fell; and one of his first steps was to reject all those members of the Council who were members at the time of his imprisonment.‡

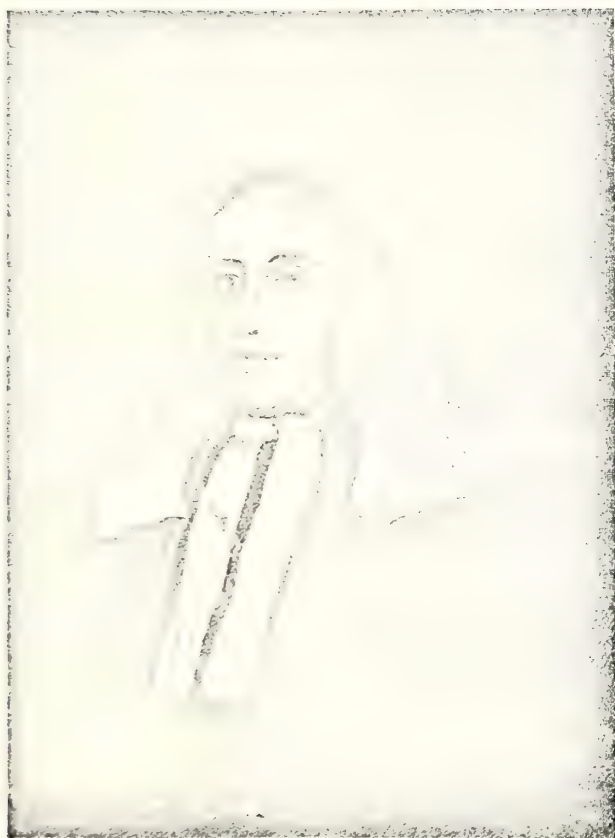
* Towards the close of this year Dr. Increase Mather published two Sermons, which he entitled "Ichabod, or the Glory departing from New England." Although this had special reference to the declining state of the Churches, a great decline in the temporal affairs of the Country is often referred to. The following brief extracts will show the desponding tone of one of the greatest preachers in the Town. "O NEW ENGLAND! NEW ENGLAND! Look to it that the Glory be not removed from thee. It has come to the threshold of the house, if not to the East Gate."—"And if the fountain should fail; I mean the COLLEGE, which has been one of the Glories of New England; and if that should fail, or (which is worse) become a Nursery not of Plants of renown, but of degenerate plants, who will forsake those holy principles of truth, which their Fathers came unto this Land with respect thereunto, the Glory is like to be gone from these Churches in less than one Generation: So that little or nothing of New England will be found in New England."—*Ichabod*, &c. 44.

† His age was 70. The Rev. Samuel Willard, of the Old South, preached his funeral Sermon, to which he gave this title:—"Prognosticks of Impending Calamities. Delivered in a Sermon Preached on the Lecture at Boston, July 17, 1701. Occasioned by the DEATH of the Truly Honorable William Stoughton, Esq.," &c. Gov. Stoughton lived and died a bachelor. The family arms are given *ante*, p. 210. He was son of Capt. Israel Stoughton, often mentioned in previous pages. There is a pedigree of the ancestors of Gov. Stoughton, in the *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, v. 350.

‡ He came over in the Centurion frigate,

Capt. Herne, whose passage was six weeks and one day. The Lieut. Gov., Col. Thomas Povey, came with him. At the same time came "the Rev. Geo. Keith, A. M.," Mr. John Talbot, Mr. Patrick Gordon, Missionary for Long Island, and "Mr. Morris." The Governor and his company treated them with great kindness and generosity, at whose desire, says Keith, "we did eat at their table all the voyage on free cost." Keith was an Episcopal Missionary. He seceded from the Quakers in Pennsylvania in 1692. Talbot, who had been Chaplain to the Centurion, was associated with Keith in his Mission. The latter preached in "the Queen's Chapel" the first Sunday after his arrival, and his Associate the following Sunday. Keith printed his Sermon, which occasioned a hot controversy with Dr. I. Mather.

§ They were, according to Hutchinson, "Winthrop, Cooke, Hutchinson, Foster, Addington, Russell, Phillips, Browne, Sargent, and others." His reminiscences of some of them are of much interest. "Elisha Cooke had been of the Council nine or ten years, had been an Assistant before the Revolution, married a daughter of Gov. Leverett, and was allied to the best families in the Province; had a better estate than the Governor himself. Peter Sargent had married the relict of Sir William Phips, Thomas Oakes had been one of the Agents in England with Cooke. Col. Ephraim Hutchinson was discharged from the command of the Castle. He was succeeded by Lieut. Gov. Povey, who came over with Dudley. The Legislature granted Povey £200 a year, but he complained of its insufficiency, and returned to England in 1705, and never came to New England again,



WILLIAM STODOLSON.

The Representatives were "desired to promote the encouraging the bringing of White Servants and to put a period to Negroes being Slaves."

"Thirty hundred weight of bullets, and five thousand flints were ordered to be forthwith provided for a Town Stock; and Mr. Gyles Dyer, Mr. Richard Draper and Mr. Robert Gibbs were deputed to provide them."

The great number of licenses granted this year for the sale of liquors indicate an alarming increase of tippling shops. They were generally for selling "out of doors."*

Notifications of Town business were usually written documents, posted up in three or four places. This year some were printed.†

Mar. 11. A fire, which was for many years known as the "seventh great fire," broke out near the Dock, destroying a large amount of property. Three warehouses were blown up to hinder its spreading.‡ Two days before, it was voted in Town-meeting "that the Select-men should procure two water-engines§ suitable for the extinguishing of fire, either by sending for them to England, or otherwise to provide them."||

May 12. "It being reported that as yet there hath been no sufficient record made of the breadth of the several streets and highways belonging to the Town, it is voted that the Select-men cause the same to be measured, and report to the next Town-meeting."¶ This vote does not appear to have been fully carried into effect till the year 1708.

* The Records of some of them are thus expressed:—John Carthow may sell wine and liquors; John Lane may keep an Ordinary, and sell all sorts of drink; Jane Davis may sell beer and cider out of doors, by retail; Exercise Conant, all sorts of drink, out of doors; David Gwin, both within and without doors; Capt. Grigory Shugers, out of doors; Thos. Phillips, same; Melitabell Pumery may keep a victualing house and sell liquor; John Pastee may keep an Ordinary or Public House; Peter Townsend, to sell liquor out of doors; Mrs. Anna Checkley, same; Mr. Wm. Turner, same; John Verrin, same. Many of these were, doubtless, respectable inhabitants.

Frequent warnings to people to leave the Town are recorded. Such warnings, however, were not an indication that the persons "warned out" were not good and respectable people. All new comers who neglected to give security that they would not be chargeable to the Town, were liable to be ordered to depart. Thus, "Sept. 30th, 1701, John Strong to depart the Town with his wife and 4 children, unless he give security; Henry Hed to forbear opening shop and to depart the Town, or give security," &c.

† Oct. 21. "Bartholomew Green is allowed 8s. for printing notifications for warning the Town-meeting last May."

‡ Snow, *Hist. Boston*, 264.

§ March 9th. "The Select-men are desired

to get the Water-Engine for the quenching of fire repaired, as also the house for keeping the same in." Pemberton ventured the conjecture that there were no fire-engines in the Town as late as 1711, and Shaw says the same, probably on Pemberton's authority. Conjectures in such matters are never safe.

|| This order was made at the Town-meeting on the 9th of March. At the same meeting an other was made respecting the choice of Jurymen, directing that they should be chosen from a list to be made out by the Selectmen, which should contain the names of all the inhabitants who, in their judgment, "were proper to serve on juries."

¶ At the same meeting, three Overseers of the Poor were added to the former number. These were, "Mr. Simion Stoddard, Mr. Francis Thrasher, and Mr. Robert Calef." At the meeting June 3d, Mr. Samuel Sewall was Moderator. Dr. Thomas Oaks was chosen a Representative in place of Capt. Andrew Belcher.

From the Selectmen's Minutes, it appears that the following named persons were allowed to reside in the Town. May 25, John Biles, Josiah Biles being security. July 27, John Nichols, Thomas Gold security; Anthony Blount, Florence Macarty security. July 28, Thomas Harvey, William Hough security. Aug. 21, Gosport Teams, Henry Franckling secu.; Evan Floyd, same secu. Aug. 29, John Danford, Henry Ennes security.

May 23. The news of the death of the King having reached Boston, and, at the same time, that Anne was proclaimed Queen,* the Council ordered a salute of twenty-one guns to be fired.†

1703. At the first Town-meeting this year, Mr. Henry Deering was Jan. 18. Moderator. The Selectmen were instructed "Humbly to address His Excellency the Governor that he will please to prevent men's going out of the Province on privateering designs." War had been declared against France the preceding year,‡ which was the occasion of this action of the Town. Every man was wanted at home, as the Indians and Canadian French were expected to ravage the frontiers of New England in every direction.

At the close of the last year and the beginning of this, the Town suffered greatly from sickness. The Small-pox carried off above three hundred persons. § It is said not to have visited Boston for thirteen years previous. || Thus, at this period, with pestilence upon them, and the horrors of war at their very doors, it must be supposed that these were days of despondency to great numbers of the inhabitants. And yet the Records show a spirit and determination worthy of the founders

* King William III. died March 8th, 1701-2, in the 52d year of his age. Queen Anne was the only surviving child of King James II., by the Lady Anne Hyde, eldest daughter of Edward Earl of Clarendon.

† The order for the Salute is now before me, with the autographs of the Counsellors. It is here copied:—"Province of the Massachusetts Bay. By the Council. Having, upon the Intelligence arrived here of the death of his late Maj^{ty} King William the Third, of glorious memory, ordered that the Proclamation of the high and mighty Princess Anne of Denmark to be Queen of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., be published to-morrow in Boston. We order, that upon the publication thereof you cause Twenty-one pieces of Ordnance to be discharged from the Fort under your command. Given under our hands, at the Council Chamber in Boston, the 28th day of May, 1702. To Capt. Timothy Clarke.

"John Pyncheon, Ja. Russell, Elisha Cooke, John Hathorne, Wm. Browne, Sam. Sewall, Jonathan Corwin, John Foster, Peter Sergeant, Joseph Lynde, Nathaniel Thomas, John Appleton, Penn Townsend, Nathl. Byfield, E^m. Hutchinson."

Joseph Lynde

E. Hutchinson

"Capt. Timothy Clark" had been chosen "Cannoner" by the Town on the 9th of March preceding.

‡ May 4th, 1702. At what time the news of the Declaration was received in Boston I have met with no statement.

§ "It being proposed to the Town, for the regulating of Funeralls and lessening the charge thereof, that during the present sickness, and untill farther order, that there be only a first and second bell toll'd at each Funerall, each bell not to exceed the space of half a quarter of an hour; and that there be a moderation in the prices of Coffins, digging of graves, and wages of porters for carrying the corps, and also that there be two or three black cloathes provided at the Town charge to lay over the corps."

At the same time, the Selectmen were directed to place a pump in the "Condit" by the Dock, nigh Wing's Lane, for the public use in case of fire.

March 8, Mr. Joseph Prout was chosen Town Treasurer, Mr. James Taylor having declined serving. Constables at Muddy River, Daniel Harris, Wm. Sharp, and Peter Bileston. Voted, that an inventory of the Town's land be taken, and to raise £700 to defray the expenses for the year.

April 12, Mr. Daniel Oliver chosen to assist about the valuation of estates in the room of Mr. Robert Gibbs, deceased.

June 1, Mr. John Love chosen Constable, in the room of Mr. John Ruck.

June 25, Mr. Nathaniel Williams to have £80 for the year ensuing, as an Assistant to Ezekiel Cheever in governing and instructing the youth at the Latin School.

|| Holmes' *Annals and his Authorities.*

of an Empire. Every precaution was made to prevent the Enemy from coming upon them unprepared. An attempt was made to conciliate the Eastern Indians, and to prevent them from joining the French. In June, Governor Dudley left Boston with some of the principal inhabitants, to bring about so desirable an object. A grand Council of the principal Tribes being assembled in the Fort at New Casco, a Treaty was made with them, which they protested should remain as "immovable as the mountains;" and that, "as high as the Sun was above the Earth, so far distant should their designs be of making the least breach between the English and themselves." *

June 20. This Treaty had no other effect but to put off hostilities on the part of the Indians, who, early in August following, "at nine in the morning, began their bloody tragedy; making a descent on the inhabitants from Casco to Wells, at one and the same time, sparing none of every age or sex." † This was the commencement of another ten years' war.

The people of Boston had learned that the French were making gigantic preparations to crush the power of the Heretic English in America. This being the most important place in New England, against this Town, therefore, it was with good reason believed a formidable force would be directed. Whereupon, at the first Town-meeting, ‡ a Committee § was appointed "to view the Fortifications of this Town, and advise about the repairs thereof;" and fifty pounds were placed at the disposal of the Selectmen to enable them to proceed in any necessary steps.

April 19. At the same time, one hundred pounds were voted for paying certain sections of streets. || At the meeting in April, a Committee was chosen "to inquire into the best expedient for the asserting and maintaining the Town's interest in the Flats abutting on the Streets, Lanes, and Highways." At the previous meeting, the Town voted "to build a new School-house, instead of the old one in w^{ch} Mr. Ezekiel Chever teacheth." The tax to be raised this year was fixed at 1200 pounds. ¶

* Penhallow's *Indian Wars*, p. 2. Willis' *Portland*, i. 6.

† Penhallow, p. 5.

‡ At the same meeting the "Overseers of the Poor" had liberty to "procure some meet person" to preach to the people in the Almshouse, once on each Sabbath, "when there was a competent number of persons there." For such service the Preacher was to have 10s. a day. Andrew Faneuil, Joseph Marriner, and Win. Brown, "accepting" to pay their fines, were excused from serving as Constables. Capt. Roger Lawson to Saml. Baker's place, in the same office; and Thomas Foster and Nicholas Buttolph took the places of Thomas Hood and Thomas Newton.

§ "Elisha Cook, Esq., Collonell Elisha

Hutchinson, Coll. Pen Townsend, Coll. Tho. Savage, and Capt. Timothy Clark" composed the Committee.

|| "Such places of the Streets as the Selectmen shall judge most needful, and therein to have particular regard to the Highway nigh old Mrs. Stoddard's house." Two years after, 29 Mar., 1706, another £100 was appropriated for pavements; namely, "for paving the mayn street towards the Landing to the South End of the Town, and £50 for paving at the lower end of the Town-house."

¶ The thanks of the Town were voted to Mr. Francis Thresher for his service in overseeing the repairing the Almshouse and yard, and fencing the Burying-place and the Pound, and his managing the paving at the Neck, and



April 24. Five days after this Town-meeting, was issued in Boston the first Newspaper published in North America. This was the Boston News-Letter.* The Proprietor and Publisher was John Campbell, of whom mention has been made in a previous page.† He was Postmaster of Boston, and this office gave him superior facilities for the circulation of a Newspaper. Nicholas Boone was associated as Publisher.

Boone published but a few numbers of the News-Letter.‡ Green printed it until near the close of the year 1707. John Allen then printed it until the Great Fire of 1711, which destroyed his printing-office.§ Then Green printed it again for Campbell, without his own name. It was thus continued till 1715, when Green's name appeared in the imprint as the printer.|| Up to 1717, the old method of beginning the year on the twenty-fifth of March was observed in the News-Letter; after that it was recorded from the first of January.

Notwithstanding the News-Letter was got out in the cheapest style, at an expense hardly half of that of a common play-bill of the present day, it is evident the Publisher found great difficulty in sustaining it. And it was fifteen years before he thought seriously of permanently enlarging his publication. It was, however, enlarged from time to

his service as Overseer of the Poor. Mr. Robert Calef was included in the vote for his service as Overseer of the Poor also.

* It was printed on a half sheet, or single leaf, small folio. In the centre of the first page, at the top, is N. 35., and at the right hand margin, in a line with N. E. is Numb. 1. Then immediately below (the N. E.) is the title, "The Boston News-Letter." In the next line (separated from the title by a rule), "Published by Authority." That is, with the approbation of the Colonial Government. Then another rule; then, "From Monday, April 17, to Monday, April 24, 1704." The imprint is at the foot of the 24 page:—"Boston, Printed by B. Green, sold by Nicholas Boone, at his shop near the Old Meeting House."

The following is the substance of nearly the whole of the first News-Letter:—"Boston, April 18. Arrived Capt. Sill from Jamaica, about 4 weeks passage, says they continue very sickly. Mr. Nathaniel Oliver, a principal Merchant of this place, dyed April 15, and was decently inter'd, April 18th. Aetatis 53. The Honourable Col. Nathaniel Byfield is commissioned Judge of the Admiralty for the Province of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island. And Thomas Newton, Esq., Judge Deputy for the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.

"The 20th, the Rev. Mr. Pemberton Preach'd an excellent Sermon on *Thes. 4: 11, And do your own business*, which his Excellency has ordered to be printed.

"The Rev. Mr. Lockyer dyed on Thursday last."

This first number contained a Prospectus,

which is thus expressed:—"This News-Letter is to be continued Weekly; and all Persons who have any Houses, Lands, Tenements, Farms, Ships, Vessels, Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes, &c., to be Sold or Lett; or Servants Runaway; or Goods Stoll or Lost, may have the same Inserted at a reasonable Rate; from Twelve Pence to Five Shillings, and not to exceed; Who may agree with Nicholas Boone for the same at his shop, next door to Major Davis's Apotheecary, in Boston, near the Old Meetinghouse.

"All persons in Town and Country may have said News-Letter Weekly, upon reasonable terms, agreeing with John Campbell, Postmaster, for the Same." This was the only advertisement in the first paper.

† Ante, p. 455. He was a bookseller.

‡ His name was left off of No. 5, and in the imprint "Sold at the Post Office" was inserted.

§ It was in Pudding Lane. Allen had been a London printer, and is supposed by Thomas to have come over to Boston by the invitation or encouragement of the Mathers.—*Hist. Printing*, i. 287, ii. 194.

|| Bartholomew Green's printing-office stood on the easterly side of Newbury-st., on which site a block of stone buildings was erected in 1825. A part of the old building in which the News-Letter was last printed was standing when Dr. Thomas wrote his History of Printing, which was published in 1810. It stood back of No. 56 Newbury-st., which corresponds nearly to 264 Washington-st. at the present time. "At this place began and ended the printing of the Boston News-Letter."—*Thomas*, i. 485.



time, and was continued till 1776, when the British troops evacuated Boston.*

Aug. 3. The Society, or "Company for Propagating the Gospel in New England and the parts adjacent," resident in England, empowered several gentlemen, chiefly of the Town of Boston, to manage the affairs of the Company, in carrying out the objects for which it was incorporated. The following are the names of those commissioned: Waitstill Winthrop, Esq., Doctor Increase Mather, Gabriel Bernon, Esq., Mr. Nehemiah Walter, Samuel Sewall, Esq., Peter Sergeant, Esq., John Foster, Esq., Thomas Banister, Esq., Col. John Higginson, Mr. Edward Bromfield, Mr. Eliakim Hutchinson, Mr. Penn Townsend, Mr. Jeremiah Dummer, and Mr. Simeon Stoddard.†

Sept. 11. At the Town-meeting in September there was little business of moment transacted. Deacon John Marston was Moderator.‡

Acts of piracy had not ceased. "John Quelch, who had been Master of the brigantine Charles, and had committed many piratical acts in India, came with several of his crew and landed in various parts of New England. Quelch and six more were condemned at Boston and executed."§

Early in the year a large armament, for the country then, sailed from Boston against the Eastern Indians and French. The well-known Col. Benjamin Church was the Commander in Chief,|| who carried out his instructions of ravaging the coast and distressing the enemy as well as the circumstances allowed; but, as in most expeditions of the kind, those guilty of murders and depredations upon the English, generally escaped punishment, while the poor French inhabitants suffered lamentably. Many were killed, their houses and means of subsistence destroyed, and women and little children were forced to fly into the

* The same day the first News-Letter was printed, Judge Sewall notes, in his Diary, that he went over to Cambridge, and gave Mr. Willard [the President of the College] "the first News-Letter that ever was carried over the river." Sewall was one of the most curious literary men of his time. He made a vast collection of everything of the kind for his private gratification; as Almanacks, Pamphlets, Books, and Manuscripts, which, were they now together and accessible, would be of infinite value to a Historian of Boston; yea, to all New England. But, unfortunately, his collection has been scattered in every direction, and there is hardly an Antiquary in the country who has a library, and has not some book, paper or tract, which once belonged to him, and has his autograph upon it. His residence was in Newbury-street. He had a good deal to do with printing, and was at one period a Bookseller. I am indebted to Mrs. ANNE S. GILBERT, of Boston, for an opportunity to examine important MSS. of Judge Sewall.

† From a copy of the Commission among Judge Sewall's MSS., Sewall was Treasurer.

For an account of the origin of the Company in England, see *ante*, p. 316. The present Commission closes thus:—"By order of a Court held the third day of August, Anno Domini, 1704, at Sir William Ashhurst's the Governor's House in London. [Signed]

JOHN BELLAMY, Sec. to the said Company."

‡ "Capt. Nathaniel Green, Jr., was chosen Constable in room of Mr. John Burnaby, who is gone on a voyage to sea." The Selectmen admitted these as inhabitants:—"Mehitabell Medcalf, John Savel, security; John Croad, Thomas Platts, sec.; Peter Patey, Andrew Garney and Edwd. Webb, securities."

§ Hutchinson, ii. 147.

|| Church's instructions were dated at Boston, 4 May, 1704. He had under him 550 soldiers in 14 small transports; the Jersey, a frigate of 48 guns, Capt. Thomas Smith; the Gosport, of 32, Capt. George Rogers; the Province Snow of 14, Capt. Cyprian Southack. Church embarked in Capt. Southack, whom he met at Piscataqua, having accompanied the Governor there by land, to raise forces by the way.

wilderness to escape the swords of the English. But the Indians, the principal cause of the war, could not be found. They were ready, however, to retaliate, and they continued to lay waste the frontiers.

The year 1704 was remarkable on several accounts, and marks an era in the History of New England of great interest. The age of Newspapers in America commenced; a circumstance of immense moment. Newspapers were then considered of doubtful expediency, and their continuation very precarious and uncertain. Contrasted with these considerations, their omnipotence at this day is wonderful and surprising. At first but a solitary individual invoked the aid of the News-Letter, to forward his business, and that solitary individual was the owner of the same News-Letter. To look at one of those News-Letters now, it does not seem so strange that its aid was not sought by the public; for the little fragile single leaf on which it was printed looked much more like supplicating aid for itself than being able to afford it to others. It was, indeed, like the new-born infant; helpless, and without friends to nourish and strengthen, it must soon perish. The first Newspaper survived, and has brought forth a progeny to whom a race of Hercules would be insignificant pigmies.

Sept. 14. The year 1704 is marked also by the death of that excellent man and elegant Historian, the Rev. William Hubbard; and also by the death of the first white man born in New England — Peregrine White.

In this connection it may be well to note the great age to which many of the early settlers arrived. The former of the persons above-named died at the age of eighty-three, and the latter at the age of eighty-four. And numerous instances might be given of persons attaining even more years than those. In 1684, John Odlin, Robert Walker, Francis Hudson and William Lytherland, said they were "ancient dwellers and inhabitants of the Town of Boston," and that their ages were, 82, 78, 68, and 76, or thereabouts, respectively. Some of these were living many years after that date. Odlin died the next year. Hudson "was one of the first who set foot on the peninsula of Boston." He died in 1700, aged 82. He was son of

Nov. 3. William Hudson, who was of Chatham, in the County of Kent, England. To what age the other two lived has not been ascertained.*

* It may be here noted, that the four men named in the text appear to have been called upon, by the Authorities of the Province, to testify in relation to the purchase of Boston by the inhabitants, of Mr. William Blackstone. Their depositions were taken, to be used, if necessary, to show that they had purchased their land of its rightful owner; as the Charter under which they held was expected to be taken from them. (See *ante*, p. 449.) They also resorted to a purchase of the Indians (as noted *ante*, p. 456), with the same view. As a valuable historical document, the substance of the depositions is here given.

They say they had "dwelt in Boston from the first planting thereof, and continuing so at this day (June 10th, 1684); that in or about 1634, the said inhabitants of Boston (of whom the Hon. John Winthrop, Esq., Governor of the Colony, was chief) did agree with Mr. William Blackstone for the purchase of his estate and right in any lands lying within the said Neck called Boston; and for said purchase agreed that every householder should pay 6s., none paying less, some considerably more, which was collected and paid to Mr. Blackstone to his full satisfaction for his whole right, reserving only about six acres or the

The inhabitants of Muddy River having petitioned the March 12. General Court to be set off from Boston, it was voted to raise a Committee to take the necessary steps to oppose the separation. In the time of Andros an application to him was successful; but after he was deposed the Town held jurisdiction there again, as has been noticed in the order in which the affairs took place. This year the people were successful again, and they were incorporated into a town by the name of Brookline.*

At this meeting it was proposed to purchase land for the enlargement of the North Burying-place.†

Capt. Timothy Clark, "Commander of the [south] Battery in Boston," was ordered by the Governor to furnish an account of the "ordnance, ammunition, and other stores of war belonging to his Fort, in due form, meet to be offered to his Grace the Duke of Marlborough,‡ Great Master of her Maj's Ordnance." §

Castle William, on Castle Island in the harbor, was so named this year; probably in honor of the late King. ||

May. A law was made by the General Court regulating weights and measures. Every Town in the Colony was ordered to provide "a nest of Troy weights, of a different form from Avoirdupois, the biggest not to be less than eight ounces. As also pennyweights and grains." The standard was to be provided for the Province, "a good beam and scales, and a nest of Troy weights from 128 ounces, downward to the least denomination, marked with the mark or stamp used in her Majesty's Exchequer." ¶

point commonly called Blackstone's point, on part whereof his then dwelling-house stood. After which purchase the Town laid out a place for a training-field [the Common] which ever since and now is used for that purpose, and for the feeding of cattle. Walker and Lytherland further testify that Mr. Blackstone bought a stock of cows with the money he received as above, and removed and dwelt near Providence, where he lived till the day of his death."

The amount paid for Boston, excepting six acres, was £30; the raising of which is thus alluded to on the first page of the records of the Town: — "Ye 10th day of ye 9th month, 1634. Item: y^e Edmund Quinsy, Samuell Wilbore, Willm Boston [Balston], Edward Hutchinson the elder, and Willm Cheshbrough the Constable, shall make and asseesse all these rates, vizt., a rater for £30 to Mr. Blackston, a rater for the cowes keeping, a rater for the goates keeping and other charges in [torn and worn] and for losse in cowes, and a rater for the [young?] cattle [and horse?] keeping [at] Muddy River."

* As brooks form two of the boundary lines of the Town, it is supposed that the name *Brook-line* originated from that circumstance. It was incorporated November 13th.

† Tax this year was £1000. The amount voted the next year was £1150. Voted that interest be not charged on the £120 in the hands of Robt. Caket and Fra Thrasher.

‡ The ancient Marlboro'-street was named in honor of the Duke, though not so named till 1708. The streets afterwards known as Orange, Newbury, Marlborough and Cornhill, are now Washington-street.

§ *Original Warrant*, dated 25 Oct. 1705. The Account was to be dated 29th Sept., and a similar statement to be made out every six months and forwarded to England.

|| "The fortifications of this Castle were very irregular till King William's reign, when Col. Rorer, a famous engineer, was sent thither to repair them: the Colonel demolished all the old works, and raised an entirely new fortification, now called Fort William." — *Neal's New Eng.*, ii. 223.

¶ In 1692 there was an act passed "for the due regulation of Weights and Measures," requiring "that the brass and copper weights and measures formerly sent out of England, with certificate out of their Majesties' Exchequer to be approved Winchester measure according to the standard in the Exchequer, be the public allowed standard throughout this their Majesties' Province."

Mar. 11. A petition from the people of Rumney Marsh was read in Town-meeting, requesting that they might have a Meeting-house built for them. *

May. An act was passed for erecting a Powder-House in the Town, and one was soon after built "on the Common or Training-field." It stood on the hill near the Frog-pond, where a fortification was thrown up at the commencement of the Revolution. It was to keep the powder in belonging to the colony.

June 10. At a Town-meeting now held it was "voted, that the Committee appointed to consider about the suppressing of fire are continued till March next." Also, to raise another Committee "to consider what was to be done about fortifying the Town for its defence against the enemy," and to report at the next meeting, which was two days after. The meetings had been held in the Town-house hitherto, but at this time it was in the "Old South." At this

June 12. meeting the Committee on the fortifications reported "a projection" for carrying out the North Battery 120 feet in length, and forty in breadth, and eighteen to high-water mark. The cost was estimated at 450 pounds. The proposed alterations on the South Battery were stated at 800 pounds. The matter being debated, 1000 pounds were voted for both.

Oct. 21. At the October meeting of the inhabitants the Fortifications of the Town were again a primary object, and 1000 pounds were voted "for securing and finishing the wharffs already begun and placed at Merry's Point, and for the Fortification to be placed there; and also for some additional wharf to face the Old Wharfe where the guns formerly stood, in order to improve the same for an income to the Town." †

At this meeting it was voted to raise 100 pounds, to be added to the same amount raised last year; and that it be "laid out in paving the Main street towards and leading to the South end of this Town." ‡

Sept. 12. The death of the Rev. Mr. Samuel Willard, Minister of the South or Third Church, and Vice-President of Harvard College, occurred this year. He was among the most eminent of New England Divines, and was very universally respected and admired, as well for

* At this meeting, "Robt. Guttridge, Sen., John Brick [Breck], John Cotta, Jun., Ichabod Williston, Robt. Calef, Jun., and Daniel Loring, were chosen Clerks of the Market."

Mar. 29. Samuel Bridge was chosen Collector "to collect the Province Tax." An attempt to choose a Collector the last year failed. "Samuel Jackling and Josua Winsor alleging infirmity of body, and Lieut. Samuel Johnson and Robert Butcher alledging their being under oath in other offices in the Town, requested to be excused as Tythingmen;" but they were not excused.

Capt. Ephraim Savage was Moderator of the meeting on the 10 June. At the meeting, 21

Oct., Capt. Thomas Fitch. "Capt. Winsor's" was in Swing-bridge lane in 1708. "Capt. Fitch's Corner" was in King-st., and another in Union-st., corner of Marshal's lane.

† In 1708 it was entered upon the Town Records, that "over and above the £50, ordered to be laid out in Fortification in 1704, there was expended thereon £12, 8s. 4d. more, including £11, 11s. due to Mr. Nathl. Oliver for bread and beer."

‡ May 12. Representatives for this year were Col. Samuel Checkley, Mr. Elizur Hol-yoke, Dr. Thomas Oakes, and Capt. Ephraim Savage. Regular tax £1300. Joseph Prout to have £15 for his services as Treasurer.



SAMUEL WILLARD.

his abilities as for the good qualities of his mind. He was son of Major Simon Willard, who had been a man of high standing, and one of the pillars of the Country during the most trying periods of its history.* He was the Minister of Groton, but was driven thence by the Indian war of 1675-6, and soon after settled in Boston as a colleague with Mr. Thacher, over the Old South Church. Mr. Pemberton became his assistant in 1700. He took charge of Harvard College in 1701, on the resignation of Mr. Mather.

CHAPTER LV.

Admissions of Inhabitants. — Streets named. — Death of Ezekiel Cheever — Of Anthony Checkley. — Destruction of Haverhill. — Proposal to make the Town a City. — Rejected. — Chimney-sweeping. — Long Wharf built. — Uring's visit to Boston. — Post Office established by Parliament. — Death of James Allen — of John Foster. — Expedition against Canada. — Sir Hovenden Walker arrives. — The Expedition fails. — Great Fire. — Fire Wards. — Ferry Regulations.

THERE appears this year to be recorded upon the Selectmen's Records but one admission of one inhabitant.†



WILLARD.

An expedition against Port Royal, consisting of about 1500 men, which sailed from Boston on the thirteenth of May, was an entire failure. It was over by the seventh of the following month. Many in Boston were disposed to censure the commanders, and as usual, probably, for their inability to surmount impossibilities. In compliance with pre-

* The age of President Willard was about 67. He was the Author of a large number of works, but that by which he is the most extensively known, is "A Compleat Body of Divinity," &c., published by subscription eighteen years after his death. The list of Subscribers for the work is printed in it, and is a truly noble list, and is ample evidence of the great popularity of the Author; whose successors, Mr. Sewall and Mr. Prince, accompanied it with an elaborate and learned preface, in which occurs the following passage: "These larger Lectures soon sent forth their fame, and drew many of the most knowing and judicious persons both from Town and College, who heard them with so great a relish, that they have ever since the Author's death been earnestly desirous of their publication, and given such a character of them as has continually rais'd the same de-

sire in others. And this has, very strangely, rather increased than declined for these eighteen years among us; so as hardly any book has been more passionately wished for, till this growing Country's become now capable of taking off the impression of so great a work. The largest that was ever printed here, and the first of Divinity in a folio volume."

The work contains 914 pages, double columns, and has this imprint: "Boston in New England: Printed by B. Green and S. Kneeland for B. Eliot & D. Henchman, and sold at their Shops. MDCCXXVI."

Other works had been printed here in folio, but they were much smaller. The Laws and General Court Journals were always in folio.

† This was James Batterson; John Smith and Thomas Thornton being his security. In 1705, there were seven admissions: — Elizabeth

May 3. vious votes of the Town, the Selectmen furnished a list of all the Streets, Lanes and Alleys, and it was "ordered that they should be recorded in the Town Booke, as they are now bounded and named." The whole number of them was one hundred and ten.*

Aug. 21. The present year is rendered memorable by the death of the venerable Schoolmaster, Ezekiel Chever. He was born in London on the twenty-fifth of January, 1614, came to New England in 1637. From Boston he went to New Haven, where he was an instructor of youth for twelve years. In 1650 he went to Ipswich, where he continued eleven years; thence to Charlestown, where he was employed nine years; thence to Boston, in 1670, where he finished his useful labors at the age of ninety-three years and seven months. †

Oct. 18. Another gentleman of distinction died also this year. This was Anthony Checkley, Esquire, an eminent merchant, though bred to the law, and was for some time Attorney General of the Province. He was member of the Artillery Company in 1662, its Ensign in 1680, and its Lieutenant in 1683. ‡

The ill-success of the English against the French and Indians the preceding year emboldened the latter to set forth expeditions against the frontiers. Fear and consternation fell upon the whole country on learning the result of one of these, the news of which was brought to Boston upon the twenty-ninth of August; on the morning of which day Haverhill was surprised, and near 100 persons killed, and many were carried away captive. The Rev. Benjamin Rolfe, Minister of the town, was killed, while two of his daughters, then little children, were remarkably preserved from the hands of the Indians. One of these, Elizabeth, was afterwards the wife of the Rev. Samuel Checkley, of Boston, and was living here when Governor Hutchinson wrote his history. §

Brigdon, Francis Holmes, sec.; John Brown, never appeared in print an *accurate* list of them.

Nicholas Cook and John Mountfort, sec.; At the same meeting it was voted that £200 be laid out in paving "at the South End in addition to the pavement there." Also £50 for improving at the North End, "partly towards paving the Street leading from Scarlet's wharfe to Mr. Jonas Clark's, and the rest in such place as the Select-men may direct." Also £300 to support the Watch, and £900 for other expenses.

In 1706 there are but two entries:—John Obison, Wm. Obison, sec.; John Ballard, John Bullard, Jr., and Wm. Wormwell, sec. In 1708 but four:—James Whippo, James Green and John Greenough, sec.; Isaac Taylor, Saml. Kenney, sec.; Tho. Hudson, Thos. Powell, sec.; Thankfull Trobridg, Francis Thresher, sec. In 1709, John Raynor, Elizur Phillips, sec.; Laurence Hood, Danl. Johonot, sec.; Mary Harris, Eliza. Holmes, sec.; James Buck, Ambrose Vincent, sec.; Tho. Selbey, Mr. John Belcher, sec. These entries end in 1710, in which year there were but two admissions: Oliver Atwood and Edward Tillet; for the former David Robinson was security, and for the latter Ellis Callender.

* It is proposed to give an alphabetical account of them in the Appendix. There has

† Dr. Cotton Mather's *Funeral Sermon*.

‡ Some account of his family has been given, *ante*, p. 459.

§ This was the mother of the wife of Gov. SAMUEL ADAMS, the patriot. The name of Mrs. Adams was also Elizabeth, who was born 15 Mar. 1725, married 17 Oct. 1749, died 6 July, 1757. The preservation of Mrs. Checkley from the tomahawks of the Indians was most remarkable. Her father's maid-servant hearing that the Indians were upon them, jumped from her bed, and with wonderful presence of mind, took two of the little daughters, who probably

At a meeting in December, the Selectmen recommended that, inasmuch as the By-laws of the Town had not answered the end for which they were made, owing to the inability of the present Government to execute them, an Act of Incorporation should be obtained; and that, "as the Town grows more populous, it will stand in need of a more strict regulation." They therefore proposed that a Committee should be raised to consider and report upon the subject at the Town-meeting in March next. Accordingly one was appointed, which consisted of thirty-one members, including the Selectmen. But when the people came together, although the thanks of the Town were voted to the gentlemen who had with much labor prepared a draft of an Act, yet it was rejected by a large majority.* And thus this early attempt to make Boston an Incorporated Borough or City proved abortive, notwithstanding many of the principal inhabitants were in favor of it.

A general murmur continued. Town officers were censured; some for their inefficiency, some for their cupidity, and others for their want of integrity. And yet the offices were filled with the most respectable men in the Town. Offices now considered menial were then held by men of note and high standing. In this state of things, the Rev. Thomas Bridge, of the First Church, just before the Town-meeting in March of the next year, preached an elaborate sermon "for Town Officers," in which covetousness is treated of in a manner, doubtless quite significant if not suggestive to many of that day. What effect it had to correct abuses is not now apparent. It is believed, however, to have been popular at the time, and a new edition was issued some twenty years after; probably called for by similar abuses.†

slept in the room with her, one 13 and the other 9, named Mary and Elizabeth, and fled with them into the cellar. There, under two large tubs, she concealed them, and then successfully concealed herself. And although the Indians came into the cellar and rummaged it, yet the empty tubs were not thought worthy of their notice. The other child became the wife of Col. Estes Hatch. — *N. E. H. & Gen. Reg.*, ii. 353; iii. 151. — Myrick's *Hist. Hav-erhill*. — Hutchinson. — Adams' *Family Bible*.

* When the vote was about to be taken, a circumstance occurred; though unimportant in itself, it had much to do, it is said, in the result. An individual, forward in opposing the acceptance of the proposed Act, concluded some observations, in which he compared a corporation to a lion, saying, "It is but a whelp now. It will be a Lion by and by. Mr. Moderator! Put the Question." This determined the wavering, and the matter was immediately settled. Had that Prophet lived in our time, it may be, he would have seen the lion in his full strength.

† This sermon is thus entitled: "Jethro's Advice recommended to the Inhabitants of Boston, in New England, viz.: To Chuse well-qualified Men, and Haters of Covetousness, for Town Officers. In a Lecture on Exodus xviii.

21: 9th. 1st Month 1709-10. By Thomas Bridge, Pastor of a Church in Boston. The Second Edition. Luke 12: 15. — *Take heed and beware of Covetousness*. 1733." Among the many pointed passages in the discourse which might be useful in this age, the following only can be copied: "The covetous office-holders are intent on getting gain. They have many subtle artifices and devices to manage. Sometimes they are contriving to remove obstructions. Sometimes to prevent discovery, that they may act with secrecy, that they may not be mistrusted. Sometimes in supplanting their rivals. Sometimes in finding out and shaping tools to be used in their service. And when all things are ready, to know the best methods and fittest seasons for accomplishment. They spend many waking hours in imagining mischief upon their beds."

By the ensuing passage may be seen what was expected of public officers: "There are indeed divers offices in the Town, which qualified men ought to attend out of pure regard to the Public Good; as members of the Body Politic, without expecting a salary. Men hating covetousness will serve the Town in such capacities, readily, cheerfully and impartially, and ought to be treated with respect, loved and valued for their fidelity."

There was complaint that the business of chimney-sweeping, being "performed by unfaithful slaves," was badly done, and consequently there was much danger from chimneys being often on fire. Therefore, a fine of ten shillings was to be collected of those who allowed "their chimneys to take fire so as to blaze out." And, there being no persons competent to teach "the mystery or trade" of sweeping chimneys in the Town, the matter of employing suitable persons to sweep them was committed to the Selectmen.

At the Town-meeting in March, Mr. Henry Dering was Mar. 11. Moderator. It was voted to choose no Assessors, but to have nine Selectmen, and that they should perform the duty. It was also voted to excuse Mr. Timothy Lindall from serving as Constable, who pleaded that he had paid a fine of ten pounds about five years before to be excused from the same office in Salem.

A proposition to build a wharf, where Long Wharf now is, made 1710. by Oliver Noyes,* Daniel Oliver, James Barnes, John George, John Gerrish and Anthony Stoddard, was accepted by the Town. They were to build it at their own charge, with a sufficient Common Sewer. It was to run from the end of King-street to the Circular Line, and to low water mark. To be of the width of King-street between Mr. East Apthorp's and Mr. Andrew Faneuil's.† The wharf was to have a public way "on one of its sides," thirty feet wide, "for the use of the inhabitants and others forever." And about the middle of said wharf there was to be "a gap of sixteen feet wide, covered over, for boats and lighters to pass and repass." Also a passage-way on the new wharves, on each side, for carts, leaving the end free for the Town to plant guns on for defence, if occasion should require. Such was the origin of Long Wharf.‡

* Dr. Noyes died 16 Mar. 1720-1, being taken very suddenly and awfully."—Snow's MS. note. He had "a house and land near Fort Hill." Wife Katharine, sons Belcher and Oliver; daus. Anna, wif. of Mather Byles, and Sarah, wid. of — Puleopher.—*Record of* 1738.

† The Faneuils came to Boston in 1691, or, it may be, in the previous year. For I find a "List of persons of the french nation admitted into the Colony by the Governor and Council," dated, "Boston, Feb. 1, 1691." There is nothing upon the Record to show whether the 1691 should be so taken, or whether it should be 1691-2. These are the names of those then admitted, and their order upon the Record:—

"Peter Devaux, his wife, daughter, and

an English maid; Francis Legare [goldsmith] and two sons; James Montier, his wife and an English maid; Isaac Biscon, his wife; Benjamin, John and Andrew Funell; Docter Bassett; Gabriel Bernon; William Barbut; Louis Allare; Moses Seeq; Peter Vrigne, to give security next meeting."

The Faneuils came from Rochelle, in France, and were brothers. Benjamin was the father of PETER, a name indelibly associated with FANEUIL HALL. For some genealogical facts I can only refer my readers to Mr. SARGENT's interesting *Dealings with the Dead*, *Evening Transcript*, 22 Feb., 1851, for a satisfactory account of the Faneuil family. The death of Mrs. Mary Catharine, wife of Mr. Andrew Faneuil, is recorded in the *Boston Gazette*, No. 243. She died 16 July, 1724.

A high character is given of her:—"A gentlewoman of extraordinary perfections, both of mind and body."

‡ The stores on Long wharf were early numbered. At what time buildings on the streets or wharves were first numbered



Capt. Nathaniel Uring visited Boston in 1709,* and gives a very interesting account of the place, in his "Voyages and Travels," which he printed in 1723. He says he sailed from London in April of that year, but does not mention the time of his arrival. He observes, "The Town is near two miles in length, and in some places three quarters of a mile broad, in which are reckoned 4000 houses; most of them are built with brick, and have about 18,000 inhabitants. It is much the largest of any in America under the British government; they have built several wharfs; one of which goes by the name of the Long Wharf, and may well be called so, it running about 800 foot into the harbour, where large ships, with great ease, may both lade and unlade: on one side of which are warehouses, almost the whole length of the wharf. The Town is very populous, and has in it eight or nine large Meeting-houses, and a French Church, and but one English [Episcopal] and that built of wood; but I am informed, since I was in that country, they have another building with brick. I need say nothing of the religion of this Country, by reason it is so well known."

Captain Uring sailed from Boston "in the beginning of August," and about the middle of that month was captured by three French privateers. He was not long a captive. In 1722 he went out as Deputy Governor for the Duke of Montagu, to the Islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent. The Duke's establishment there proving a failure, Captain Uring returned to England in 1724. Two years after, he published the account of his Expeditions, which is the last notice of him. He appears now to have left the seas, after having followed them about thirty years. He was in the "Grand Fleet under Sir George Rook," in his expedition to the Bay of Cadiz, in 1702.†

There was a vote to erect a line of defence across the Neck between Boston and Roxbury. Accordingly, Fortifications were built upon the site of the old ones, constructed of brick and stone, having a parapet of earth. On this great guns were placed. There were two gates, one for carriages and the other for foot passengers. Through these was the passage to and from the Town over the Neck. Here was the southern

cannot, perhaps, be determined. There was no order of the Town about it up to this time, that I have met with. Tenants of small blocks began the practice, most likely, very soon after blocks were erected. In some early instances the shops were designated by the letters of the alphabet. In 1724, Benjamin Foster advertised "choice good Cables from 5 to 6 inches, of 120 fathoms," at "No. 11 upon the Long Wharfe." At the same time Adam Leyland's warehouse was "No. E, in Dr. Cook's new buildings at the head of Long Wharfe." Arthur Savage sold W. I. Goods at No. 6 Long wharf in 1727-8; Cornelius Waldo was No. 17.

On Bonner's plan (elsewhere described) of 1714, Long wharf is represented almost entirely covered with warehouses.

* He visited it again in 1717 and 1720, and the reader should bear in mind, that though Capt. Uring's description is apparently for 1709, it was evidently drawn up after 1723. Many years ago I communicated Uring's account of "Boston and New England" to the New Hampshire Hist. Society, and it was printed in the third volume of the Collections of that Society. His work, though replete in interesting incidents, is now rare, and seldom to be found on sale.

† He was born in Walsingham, Co. of Norfolk, about 1683. His father had followed the sea, but, at about 25 years of age, married, settled in Walsingham, also his native place, and followed the business of "Shop Keeper." — *Voyages and Travels of the Son.*

termination of Orange-street, corresponding now to the intersection of Washington and Dover streets.

Until this year postal affairs were under colonial regulations. Parliament now took the matter in hand and established a General Post Office in North America. This was its first enactment for the purpose, and it had in view a revenue "for the service of the war, and other her Majesty's occasions." * John Campbell was the first Post Master under this Act. He was now an elderly man, and had kept the Post Office in Boston for several years, as before noticed. †

From March, 1709, to March, 1710, there were 377 deaths in the Town. Of these 295 were "Whites," eighty Negroes, and two Indians. The increase over the previous year was fifty of the former, and thirty-six of the two latter. Among these was the Rev. James Allen, of the First Church, who emigrated to this Country in Sept. 22. 1662, was an Assistant to Mr. Davenport six years, and ordained Teacher in 1668. ‡

1711. In the beginning of the next year the Town was deprived of Feb. 9. another eminent man by death. This was the Honorable John Mar. 5. Foster, who was followed in about a month after by his wife, a lady highly esteemed. These were the grandparents of Governor Hutchinson. §

Boston felt more the effects of war, and more of the blessings of

* The rate of letters from England to this country was about the same as at present (1855), 1s. for single letters, 2s. for double ones, and so on.

† Mr. Campbell lived eight years after this. His death is recorded thus in the *N. Eng. Weekly Journal* of 11 Mar. 1728:—"On Monday night died here, John Campbell, Esq., aged 75 years. He was many years Post Master of Boston, and publisher of the Boston News-Letter; and for several years last past one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Suffolk; and on Saturday last was decently interred."

‡ He lived in what is since Beacon-st., at the corner of Somerset, in a stone house which he built, supposed to have been the oldest (of stone) in the Town, and occupied by his descendants till about 1806. When the first Boston Directory was made, that house was occupied by "James Allen, gentleman, and Jeremiah Allen, gentleman." The latter was the "Old High Sheriff of Suffolk," who resided there until 1806, or later. The present splendid granite pile, recently owned and occupied by the late Benjamin W. Crowninshield and John L. Gardner, was built by David Hinckley, merchant, who resided there about a quarter of a century since. It is now called the Somerset Club House.

§ In his History the Governor says, "Col. Foster was a wealthy merchant, of a most fair and unblemished character."—ii. 190. See

ante, p. 227. Two Sermons were preached on the death of Mr. and Mrs. Foster, by the two Doctor Mathers, father and son, which were printed in a volume together; but, like most Funeral Sermons, they are almost barren of facts respecting the deceased. The latter says Mr. Foster "was a faithful Magistrate; a Counsellor continued by annual elections with the esteem of the people at the Board, for more than thrice six years that have ran since his name was inserted in the Royal Charter of the Province; a Judge of inviolable integrity; just in his dealings; charitable to the Poor;

John Foster

an exact and well-bred merchant; one who loved both our liberties as an Englishman, and our principles as a New English-man." Of Mrs. Foster the same Author says, "She was courteous, affable, obliging. One of a peaceable temper; a hater of differences, and a healer of them. One who dispensed her alms with an uncommon generosity; one full of humble condescensions," etc. Col. Foster died intestate, and his son-in-law, Mr. Thomas Hutchinson, was appointed Administrator on his estate.



peace, than any other large town in the colonies, during the contests between England and France. When war existed the people of Boston entered heartily into it, for they felt fully confident that so long as the French retained Canada, so long would the Indians disturb the frontiers, and French cruisers destroy their commerce. Hence, every expedition undertaken in England against Canada met a ready response in the inhabitants of the Town. But they were alternately elated and disappointed. Two years previous to this, high hopes were entertained that a force was already on its way from England, which would sweep the French from Canada, or reduce them to submission. Captain Uring was charged with dispatches to the Authorities here, which warranted these expectations; but the expedition was diverted that year, owing to the defeat of the confederate troops in Portugal; the fleet being ordered to proceed to that country for their relief.

But now a more stupendous undertaking was on foot. Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker, Knt., arrived at Boston with far the largest fleet
June 25. which at one time had ever floated upon the bosom of its waters. He had fifteen men of war and forty transports, with upwards of 5000 men.* Here they were joined by two regiments raised in New England.

The next day after the fleet arrived arrangements were made for landing the men on Noddle's Island.† They were therefore landed and encamped at that place. Meantime the Admiral commenced negotiations for a supply of provisions, of which his forces stood much in need, and took up his lodgings with Captain Southack, in Tremont-street. The Captain, in the Province Galley, was to lead the van in the present expedition; or "to go ahead of the fleet in Canada river." But the Admiral met with difficulties henceforward in almost every step, to detail all of which would occupy a moderate-sized volume. They began with his attempts to victual his fleet. "One Captain Belcher,"‡ he says, "a very rich and leading man" in the Town, was

* A list of the ships, names of their Commanders, their number of men and guns, are given in the *Boston News-Letter* of 23 July, 1711, No. 379. The following extract from that paper will give a tolerable idea of the stir which this arrival occasioned in the Town:—"On Monday, the 25th of June last, the Castle gave the usual signal of several ships seen in the Bay, and about noon the alarm begun; and in one hour's time the Troop of Guards and Regiment of Foot were under arms. And in his Excellency's absence at the Congress in New London, the Gentlemen of her Majesty's Council received his Excellency Brigadier Hill, Commander in Chief of her Majesty's forces in North America, and the Honourable Sir Hovenden Walker, Knt., Admiral of her Majesty's fleet in the present expedition. The Troop and Regiment being still under arms, the General and Admiral were conducted and attended by her Majesty's

Council to the Town-house, and congratulated on their safe arrival to New England." On the 29th, the Admiral, General, Colonels, and several of the Sea Captains, proceeded to the Governor's house in Roxbury, and dined there. — *Admiral Walker's Jour.*, 75.

† At the same time the sick were provided for by the erection of booths "on one of the Islands near Nantasket Road." — *Journal*, 69. In the army which arrived in the fleet "were seven veteran regiments from the Army of the Duke of Marlborough." The generation then inhabiting Boston had never before seen so grand a military display as these veteran troops made as they performed their evolutions on the fields of Noddle's Island.

‡ Andrew Belcher, who so efficiently relieved the army by his timely arrival in Narraganset Bay with provisions after the great Swamp fight of Dec. 19th, 1675. He was the father of Gov. Jonathan Belcher, and died 31

applied to, as being the only man able to undertake it; but he would have nothing to do in the matter, which the Admiral construed quite to Mr. Belcher's discredit. He next applied to "one Mr. [Andrew] Faneuil," and he undertook to furnish the supplies. Provisions, however, were scarce, and there was doubtless a disposition among such as possessed them to make the most they could out of the necessities of their present customers. Such being the state of things, a competent supply could not easily be had; and, finally, the Governor was July 2. obliged to issue an "Order for searching for provisions." In the order, Mr. William Clarke and Mr. Francis Clarke were named as searchers, to be joined with such others as the Admiral and Gen. Hill of the fleet might appoint. In the same order Capt. Samuel Gookin and Capt. Samael Phips were appointed "to attend constantly at the camp on Noddle's Island in the day-time, to see there be no extortion or oppression in the sale of victuals or exchange of money."

Among the troubles which surrounded the expedition, that of desertion of its men was not the least. To prevent this alarming mischief the General Court passed an Act subjecting all persons to a penalty of fifty pounds, or twelve months' imprisonment, if they harbored any soldier, marine or sailor, who should desert from the fleet. Notwithstanding this enactment, and an order previously issued to the various towns to call out the military to guard the roads, a formidable number of men succeeded in deserting, and could not be found when the fleet sailed July 30. upon its intended design in the end of July; "and thus," says the Admiral, "we left Boston, having struggled with many difficulties to get dispatched from thence."*

The land forces were under the command of Brigadier Gen. John Hill. The other commanders of note were Col. Charles Churchill,† Col. William Windresse, Col. M. Kempenfelt, Col. Jasper Clayton, Col. Percy Kirk,‡ Col. Henry Disney, Col. Richard Kane. Col. Samuel Vetch and Col. Shadrack Walton commanded the New England forces.

Oct. 1723. — See Church, *Hist. Philip's War*, 62.

* The Admiral experienced great difficulty in procuring pilots for the River St. Lawrence, and probably sailed without being properly supplied: though during his stay in Boston he seems to have spared no pains to procure suitable men. As soon as he arrived here he sent for Mr. John Nelson, who then lived on Long Island, and conferred with him upon the subject, he being "a person of good sense, and well acquainted with the interest and affairs of those parts." The same person, I suppose, who acted so conspicuous a part in the Revolution of 1689, and had lately been a prisoner in Canada and in France.

Mr. Lediard, in his *Naval History*, has an ex-

cellent summary of this Canada expedition, for the failure of which he honorably acquits the Commanders; and there were few better judges of the nature of such undertakings than that candid author. His work can often be consulted with advantage by American authors.

† He was the Commander of the Marines. The Duke of Marlborough had a brother, son and nephew of the name of Charles. This gentleman was neither of them, though the contrary has been sometimes inferred.

‡ He was a son of that "Col. Kirk" whose history has been touched upon in a previous note (p. 458), and survived this unfortunate expedition, to find a resting-place in Westminster Abbey. He was now about 27 years of age, and lived to be 57; dying Jan. 1st, 1757. His mother was "the Lady Mary, daughter to George Howard, Earl of Suffolk. Diana Dormer, his niece and sole heiress, died Feb. 22d, 1743, aged 32." — *Hist. Descript. Westminster Abbey*, 164. Edition 1764.

J. Nelson

Of the melancholy fate of this great armament, it is only necessary to add, that it utterly failed, owing to adverse circumstances, beyond the control of human power. A terrific storm wrecked nine of the ships, in which were lost near 900 men. Another ship, the Edgar, was blown up after reaching the coast of England, and with it 400 men more were lost.* As in all such cases, the Commanders were blamed for the miscarriage, and retired from the service in disgrace.† Censures did not stop here. There were those in England who attributed the failure of the expedition “to the barbarous treatment of New England.” The falsity of this charge was at the time ably met by Mr. Agent Dummer,‡ then in England.

In the month of October a considerable part of the business portion of the Town was consumed by fire. It broke out about seven of the Oct. 2. clock, and by two the next morning “it reduced Cornhill into miserable ruins, and it made its impression into King-street and Queen-street, and a great part of Pudding-lane was also lost, before the violence of it could be conquered. Among these ruins there were two spacious Edifices, which, until now, made a most considerable figure, because of the public relation to our greatest solemnities in which they had stood from the days of our Fathers. The one was the Town-house; the other the Old Meeting-house. The number of houses, and some of them very capacious buildings, which went into the fire with these, is computed near about an hundred.” It was found that about one hundred and ten families were turned out of doors. This part of the Town was then filled with dwellings, as well as stores and shops, and these were stocked with valuable goods. “But that which very much added unto the horror of the dismal night was the tragical death of many poor men, who were killed by the blowing up of houses, or by venturing too far into the fire. Of these the bones of seven or eight were supposed to be found.” Others, strangers belonging to vessels, were thought to have increased the number of those who perished, and several received wounds from the effects of which they afterwards died.

“Thus the Town of Boston, just going to get beyond fourscore years of age, and conflicting with much labor and sorrow, is, a very vital and valuable part of it, soon cut off and flown away!” §

“The occasion of which is said to have been by the careless sottishness of a woman, who suffered a flame which took the okum, the picking whereof was her business, to gain too far before it could be mastered.” ||

* But one of the New England transports was cast away, and from that all the men were saved. This is remarkable. The New England men doubtless better understood the coast, or how to provide themselves with pilots than their Ally, who, it is said, affected to look with contempt upon them.

† Admiral Walker resided in Dublin, Ireland, and died there in January, 1726.

‡ *Letter to a Noble Lord*, published in 1712.

§ Account appended to Janeway's *Dreadful Fire of London*, p. 41-3.

|| *Ibid.* — “It broke out in an old Tenement within a back Yard in Cornhill, near the First Meeting-house, occasioned by the carelessness of a poor Scottish Woman, by using Fire near a parcel of Ocum, Chips and other combustible Rubbish.” — *News-Letter*, 8 Oct. 1711. A

Thus, from School-street to Dock Square, including both sides of Cornhill, all the buildings were swept away.* It was soon found that the First Church must go, and several sailors were prevailed upon to ascend into the cupola to attempt to save the bell; but so rapid were the flames, and so intent were they to effect their object, that their retreat was cut off before they were aware of it, and they fell in with the roof and perished in the flames.

Oct. 11. In consequence of the fire, "with special reference to the frustrating of a great expedition, by the loss of part of our fleet in Canada River," a General Fast was kept. At this time a contribution was taken up in the Churches for the sufferers by the fire, which amounted to about 700 pounds.†

The occurrence of this extensive conflagration, happening about two weeks before the adjournment of the General Court, probably occasioned that body to pass "An Act, providing, in case of fire, for the more speedy extinguishment thereof; and for the preserving of goods endangered thereby." The Act provided also for the appointment of Fire-wards in Boston, "not exceeding ten, in the several parts of the Town; and to have a proper badge assigned to distinguish them in their office, namely, a staff of five feet in length, coloured red, and headed with a bright brass spire of six inches long." They had full power to command all persons at fires, to pull down or blow up houses, protect goods, "by direction of two or three of the chief Civil or Military Officers of the Town."‡

Nov. 16. The first Town-meeting after the fire was held in Dr. Colman's Meeting-house; at which meeting, a concurrence was voted "with the proposals made by the General Assembly, about building a House in or near the place where the old Town house stood." Thomas Brattle, Esq., and Mr. William Payn, were appointed on the part of the Town to make an arrangement with a Committee of the General

number of this paper was printed only the day before the fire. The office in which it was printed being in Pudding-lane, was, of course, consumed; but that calamity did not prevent the issue of the paper the next week in Newbury-street. — See *ante*, p. 528.

The out-house in which the fire took is said to have belonged to Capt. Ephraim Savage, who then lived in Williams Court, and that the "poor woman's name was Mary Morse." — See Snow, 210. The houses erected in Cornhill after this fire were of brick, three stories high, with a garret, flat roof, and balustrade. — Holmes, i. 505. About four of them are yet standing on the east side, and one, No. 31, on the west side. One of them, being No. 38, Washington-street, bearing the date of its erection, 1712; and also the letters S. L., and a coat of Arms belonging to the Lynde family, which was transferred from the ancient Lynde mansion on Lynde-street to its present locality, with about as much propriety as the grave-

stone of Capt. Scottow was placed in the tower of the Old South Church.

The old brick building on the corner of Washington and School streets, now and for several years occupied by W. D. Ticknor & Co. as a Book-store, was the first built on that spot after this fire.

* "From School-street to what is called the stone shop in Dock Square." — *Hutchinson*, ii. 200. The "Stone shop," noticed by Hutchinson, was the same probably called "Colson's Stone House" about 1732, and stood at the "north-easterly termination of Cornhill." On an ancient MS. plan in my possession, "Colson's" is marked at the intersection of what is now called Cornhill and Brattle-street.

† Preface to Rev. Mr. Wadsworth's *Sermons*, 1713. In this preface the author gives somewhat of a circumstantial account of the fire, to whom Snow and others have been indebted.

‡ *Acts and Laws of the Prov. of Mass. Bay*, &c. 1714, p. 218.



COLMAN.

Court, for jointly constructing a House to accommodate both the Town and Colony. An arrangement was entered into, and in March 1714, the Town voted "235 pounds, fourteen shillings, and eight pence," to pay its part of the expense of the building.

At this session an Act was also passed, "further regulating of the Ferry betwixt Boston and Winisimmit." "A third sufficient and suitable boat" was ordered to be provided, "with able, sober persons to row in her;" and "one of the three boats in turn to be always passing on the water," unless prevented by ice

or "extraordinary stormy weather (except on the Lord's Day, and then to pass no oftener than necessity shall require); from sunrise until nine o'clock at night, from the first of April to the first of October; and until eight at night from the first of October to the first of April." "Posts," however had some special consideration. Mail routes had been established to the east and west of Boston this year. A Post went to Maine once a week, to Plymouth also; and for Connecticut and New York once in two weeks. This arrangement was not changed for many years.

1712. The Election Sermon, which hitherto had been preached in the First Church, was this year preached in the "South Meeting-house, by Mr. Samuel Cheever, of Marblehead." Mr. Peter Thacher of Weymouth, preached the Sermon before the Artillery Company.*

Mar. 10. At the Town-meeting in March, "the land that was lately John Mathew's in School-street," was ordered to be let out for a term of years; also "to make the Draw-bridge (so called) in Ann-street, a fast, firm bridge, the width of the street. And in case Capt. Ballentine, or any other person, sue or bring an action in the Law," the Selectmen to defend the same. A Committee of five was raised to inquire into the damage, if any, to be sustained by anybody in making the bridge in question "a fast bridge." John Clark, Esq., Captain Thomas Hutchinson, Major Thomas Fitch, Mr. Grove Hirst, and Capt. Edward Martyn, were the Committee.

May 14. At the next meeting, which was held in the "South Meeting-house," Isaac Addington, Esq., was moderator. A Committee, which had been raised to see if land could be purchased on which to erect a School-house at the North End, reported that a piece belonging to Mrs. Susanna Love, on Bennet and Love streets, 100 feet long and about 51 wide, could be had for 153 pounds, and they were instructed to purchase it.

* Mr. Ebenezer Pemberton preached the Election Sermon last year, and Dr. Increase Mather the Sermon to the Artillery.

CHAPTER LVI.

New North Church. — Church Discipline. — First Church Rebuilt. — Gunning on the Neck Prohibited. — Bad state of Prisons. — Death of David Copp. — Copp's Hill. — First Meeting in the New Town House. — Counterfeiters. — Post-Office Regulation. — George I. Proclaimed. — Gov. Burgess. — Gov. Sante. — New South Church. — Lighthouse. — Death of Isaac Addington — of Elisha Cook — of Grind 1 Rayson. — Tragical Fate of his sister Rebecca.



LYNDE.

ANOTHER Church was founded at the north part of the Town. This, in due time, received the name of the New North.* Its original founders were "substantial mechanics," whose names were Solomon Townsend, Erasmus Stevens, Moses Pierce, Caleb Lyman, John Pecker, Alexander Sears, Ebenezer Clough, John Goldthwait, Samuel Gardner, William Parkman, John Barrett, Isaac Pierce, Joshua Cheever, Matthew Butler, Elias Townsend, John Goff, James Barnard.† Their first meeting was previous to the month of March, and at the house of Matthew Butler, who was considered the father of the Society; and, though accidental, the pulpit of the present edifice very appropriately stands over the spot on which his pew was situated. In March following their organization, the projectors, having been joined by others, obtained liberty to erect a wooden house for their worship. A piece of land was purchased of Col. Thomas Hutchinson, at the corner of North and Clark streets, for about 455 pounds. Here a house of small dimensions was built, "without the assistance of the more wealthy part of the community, excepting what they derived from their prayers and good wishes." It appears to have been some time in building, as it was not dedicated until May 5. 1714. Three members of the Old North Church were elected Deacons; namely, Robert Comby, Edward Proctor and James Clark. This may have given rise to a jealousy said to have existed against the New Church; for when Dr. Cotton Mather was applied to to procure their dismissal from his Church, he gave a decided refusal to communicate the request, and Caleb Lyman, John Barrett and Solomon Townsend, were made choice of. Mr. Townsend declined the office, and it remained vacant till 1717, when it was filled by the election of John Dixwell, who was son of the well-known Colonel Dixwell, one of the regicide Judges.‡

* On the 27th Nov. 1814, the Rev. Francis Parkman delivered "A Sermon on the Completion of a Century since the Settlement of the New North Church." Why the date 27 Nov. 1714 should be assigned for the "Settlement" of this Church, is not clear; for a Minister was ordained over it above a month before that date.

† The first thirteen, together with Mr. Webb, the Minister, Benj. Gerrish, Nathaniel Kenny and Lately Gee, were the original signers of the Church Contract. Mr. Gee was blind. Mr. Lyman died in 1742.

‡ Mr. Dixwell died 24 April, 1725. He was highly respected and much lamented. His



When a Minister was to be chosen, two only were thought of. These were Mr. John Barnard, — afterward of Marblehead, — and Mr. John Webb, who was then Chaplain at Castle William. Mr. Barnard was a member of the Old North Church, and highly in favor with Dr. Increase Mather. This was supposed to have excited the jealousy of Dr. Cotton Mather, and through his influence Mr. Webb was brought forward, and succeeded in being elected at a second trial; unanimously, as

1714,
Aug. 2. it was recorded.* The house had been dedicated on the fifth of the preceding May. The two Doctors Mather officiated at the ordination of Mr. Webb, and Mr. Barnard preached the Sermon. The principles and practice of this Church were to be the same as those established by the Synod of Cambridge in 1648, as far as that went; and as to the subject of baptism, it was agreed to follow the example of their mother Church, the Old North; which was in accordance with the Synod of 1662. In 1719, Mr. John Frizell, a merchant of Boston, presented the Church with a bell, which, though of small size and disagreeable sound, was used till 1802, when the old house was taken down. It was then sold to the town of Charlton, in the county of Worcester, where it is probably still in use.†

When, in 1719, it became advisable to settle a Colleague with Mr. Webb, a fierce contest ensued between the majority and minority members of the Society. The Rev. Peter Thacher, an ordained Minister at Weymouth, was made choice of, and was installed with Mr.

1720.
Jan. 27. Webb, as Pastor; being of an older standing at college than Mr. Webb. The minority was quite small, but they were very determined in their opposition to Mr. Thacher, and at his installation, a tumultuous and disgraceful scene was presented.‡ Pamphlets were

place was supplied by Deacon Samuel Barrett, 8 Dec. following. Mr. Ephraim Hunt succeeded him as Deacon, 8 March, 1726. They were ordained 18 August of the same year. The last ordination of Deacons in this Church, and perhaps in this town, was 7 Aug. 1737, when Deacon Joshua Cheever and Josiah Langdon were ordained. Mr. William Parkman was the last Ruling Elder. He was elected in 1743, and died in the country in 1775 or 1776, very aged. Mr. Samuel Holland was chosen Deacon in 1752. He lived to be the oldest man in Boston; dying about 1793.

* The succession of Ministers in the New North Church is as follows: —

John Webb, ord. 20 Oct. 1714, died 16 April, 1750.

Peter Thacher, inst. 27 Jan. 1723, died 26 Feb. 1738 [1738-9?]

Andrew Eliot, ord. 14 April, 1742, died 13 Sept. 1778.

John Eliot, ord. 3 Nov. 1779, died 14 Feb. 1813.

Francis Parkman, ord. 8 Dec. 1813, died 11 Nov. 1852.

Arthur B. Fuller,

1853.

† Mr. John Frisell, presumed to be the same who gave the bell, died in Roxbury, previous to 4 January, 1752. Mr. Joseph Williams, of that town, administered on his estate. — *News-Letter*.

‡ The Council for the installation of Mr. Thacher met at the Rev. Mr. Webb's house on the corner of North Bennet and Salem streets. The opposition or "aggrieved brethren" were assembled at the house of Thomas Lee, Esq., in Bennet-st., next the since Universal Meeting-house, and must be passed, if the ordaining Council had travelled the common streets to get to the New North Church. A deputation from the aggrieved members, consisting of Alexander Sears, Solomon Townsend and Owen Harris, of the Church, and Thomas Lee, Edward Pell and William Pell, of the congregation, waited upon the Council with a remonstrance against their proceeding to business. The purport of the remonstrance was, that the ordination must not take place, and must be prevented; peaceably if possible, but at all events stopped it should be. Mean time, a crowd having gathered about, which rendered the quiet movement of the Council from Mr. Webb's house to the Church somewhat dubi-

afterwards issued upon the occasion, discovering a temper not very creditable to some of their authors.*

This division in the New North Church was the cause of the withdrawal of several of its members, and another Church at the North End was the consequence, which eventually received the name of the New Brick.† As in the case of the First and South Churches, animosity continued between them for many years, sometimes exhibiting itself in a ridiculous and ludicrous manner.

In April, 1721, the New North Church publicly ordained Ruling Elders, and in the following month Deacons were ordained likewise. In 1730, the House was enlarged. Up to the middle of the eighteenth century, Church Discipline was far from being a slight matter-of-course affair. After this it was gradually much relaxed. Before that period, unfortunates, male or female, who had committed errors, were obliged to confess them before the whole congregation, however peculiar those errors might be. Females, under certain accusations, were obliged to stand up with a white robe or sheet over them, while the Minister read aloud their confession. After about 1750, such "brethren and sisters who should fall into scandal," were allowed to confess to the Church-members only, after the other part of the congregation had retired.

The "New England version of the Psalmes" was continued in use in this Church until 1755. It was then changed for "Tate and Brady's

ous, Mr. Webb led them out at a back gate into Love-lane, and through an alley which opened directly opposite the Meeting-house; and thus quiet possession of the pulpit was obtained. Whereupon a promiscuous multitude immediately nearly filled the house. The opposing party in council at Mr. Lee's appearance had been taken by surprise. They however soon came, and, forcing their way into the Meeting-house, forbid the proceedings of the ordination, and for a time the uproar was so great that it seemed impossible to proceed. Yet they did proceed, and Mr. Thacher was declared duly qualified.

* The titles of some of those tracts follow: — "A Brief Declaration of Mr. Peter Thacher and Mr. John Webb, Pastors of the New North Church in Boston, in behalf of themselves and said Church; relating to some of their late Ecclesiastical Proceedings." 1720. This was followed by

"An Account of the Reasons why a Considerable Number (about 50, whereof Ten are Members in full Communion) Belonging to the New North Congregation in Boston, could not consent to Mr. Peter Thacher's Ordination there. Who has left his Flock at Weymouth, and Accepted a Call in Boston, without the Approbation, and contrary to the Advice, of the Ministers in this Town. With a Declaration of the Dissatisfied Brethren of the Church, &c." 1720.

This was the production of the "aggrieved" party, and occupies near 60 pages. Among

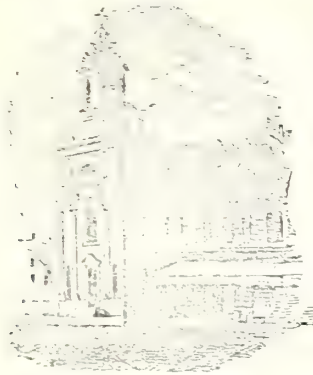
that party the names most conspicuous are James Tyleston, Thomas Lee, Jonathan Mountfort, Ephraim Mower, James Halsey, Edward Pell, Alexander Seares, John Waldo, Owen Harris, Francis Parnell, Solomon Townsend, William Pell, and Pelatiah Kinsman.

In justice to the opposing party it should be said that they produced certificates from Nicholas Philips and Thomas White, "members in full communion of the Church of Weymouth," that Mr. Thacher had broken his promise in leaving them. Abiah Whitman, Sen., and Abiah Whitman, Jr., also of Weymouth, made a similar statement. And when the Remonstrants laid their case before the "Ministers of Religion in Boston," desiring their opinion, as to the propriety of Mr. Thacher's leaving his people, those Ministers in reply said "he had not given or declared to them those Reasons which they judged sufficient or satisfactory." Those Ministers were Increase Mather, Cotton Mather, Benj. Wadsworth, Benj. Colman, Joseph Sewall, Thos. Prince and William Cooper.

Upon the issue of the last-named Tract, another followed, entitled "A Vindication of the New North Church from several Falsehoods spread in a Pamphlet lately published, tending to their defamation, entitled," as above. This I have not seen; not considering it important to an understanding of the history of the difficulty, I have not sought for it. The "Vindication" was followed by "An Answer to a Scandalous and Lying Pamphlet," &c.

† See *ante*, p. 311.

version." Not long after this the practice of reading and singing the psalms, line by line, alternately, was abolished, or discontinued.



NEW NORTH CHURCH.

1802.
Sept. 23.

and the corner-stone of the present House was laid in September of the same year.* It was dedicated on the second of May, 1804.† In 1805 a bell, weighing upwards of 1300 pounds, was purchased at a cost of above 800 dollars. It was from the foundry of Paul Revere.

Until 1749, the Ministers of this Church, as was probably the case in most other Churches in the country, were supported by voluntary contributions. These contributions were made in this manner. At a stated time the Deacons stood up in their seats with boxes to receive the money, and the congregation, or such of them as had anything to give, came out of their pews, passed around in an established order before the Deacons, and made their deposits for the Ministers. This mode of maintaining them was abolished in the end of this year, and that of assessments on pews adopted in its stead.

About this time portions of the Scriptures were begun to be read "between the first prayer and the singing before the Sermon." Mr. Nathaniel Holmes had lately presented the Church with an elegant folio Bible.‡

1713. The First Church, which was burnt, as already detailed, in May 3. 1711, having been rebuilt, was dedicated this year, on the third

* A silver plate and some American coins were deposited under the S. W. corner-stone of the foundation. On the plate was inscribed: "The New North Church was built, A.D. 1714.

Enlarged and Repaired, 1730:

A new Tower and Steeple built, A. D. 1764: August, 1802, taken down by a vote of the Society, pro bono publico.

In September following, the Corner Stone of the New Edifice was laid, (LAUS DEO,)

By the Rev. JOHN ELIOT, Pastor of the Church."

† A subscription towards rebuilding was obtained, but it was very small — only \$396.25. The donors were, Ebenezer Parsons, \$136.25;

Wm. Callender, \$110; Sarah, widow of Capt. John White, and James Williams, each \$50; John Fleet, \$20; Saml. Watts, John Richardson, and Thomas Barker, each \$10. The House cost \$27,288.44.

‡ For much of his account of the New North, the Author is indebted to the exceedingly valuable tract upon it by Mr. Ephraim Eliot, published in 1822. In his "Advertisement," that gentleman observes, that he was one of three male proprietors of the New North. Mr. Charles Hammatt [deceased] descended from Elder Barrett, and Mr. Robert Lash, descended from Elder Baker, were the others. "His [Mr. Eliot's] maternal grand-



FIRST CHURCH.

of May. It was the second house on the same site, and stood until 1803, when it was taken down. A new house had been made ready for the Society in Chauncy Place, and was dedicated on the twenty-first of July, of the same year. The accompanying view represents the old house as it stood in Cornhill;* a durable relic of which was deposited in the vestry of its successor. It consisted of a thick piece of Slate-stone, about two feet long, which was taken from under a window in the second story on the south side. On that is inscribed this brief record:—“BURNED TO ASHES OCTOBR. 3, 1711. REBUILDING June 25th, 1712. July 20, 1713.”†

Jan. 21. Among the deaths this year occurred that of Mr. John Goodwin, an inhabitant of the North part of the Town since 1682. He owned a wharf and warehouses, and also several houses in Lynn-street. By trade he was a mason, and was engaged in rebuilding the South Battery or Sconce, in 1697.† Mr. Thomas Atkins, house-

father, Josiah Langdon, was one of the committee which superintended the first building, in 1713 and 1714. His father and his brother for 70 years stood in pastoral relation to it. From May, 1794, to May, 1817, he was himself Treasurer of the Society, and has been one of the Standing Committee for more than twenty-six years.” Mr. Eliot died in September, 1827, aged 66. A Robert Lash was allowed to build with timber, 1701; perhaps the same here named. The name is not common, but still exists in the city.

* The regular succession of the Ministers of the First Church, not having before been given, may appropriately follow in this place:

John Wilson, inst. 23 Nov. 1632, d. 7 Aug. 1667, a. 78.

John Cotton, inst. 17 Oct. 1633, d. 23 Dec. 1652, a. 67.

John Devenport, inst. 9 Dec. 1668, d. 15 Mar. 1670, a. 72.

James Allen, inst. 9 Dec. 1668, d. 22 Sept. 1710, a. 78.

John Oxenbridge, inst. 10 April, 1670, d. 28 Dec. 1674, a. 65.

Joshua Moody, Asst. 3 May, 1684, to 1692, d. 4 July, 1697, a. 65.

John Bailey, Asst. 17 July, 1693, d. 12 Dec. 1697, a. 53.

Benj. Wadsworth, ord. 8 Sept. 1696, d. 12 Mar. 1737, a. 67.

Thos. W. Bridge, inst. 10 May, 1705, d. 26 Sept. 1715, a. 58.

Thomas Foxcroft, ord. 20 Nov. 1717, d. 18 June, 1769, a. 72.

Charles Chauncy, ord. 25 Oct. 1727, d. 10 Feb. 1787, a. 82.

John Clarke, ord. 8 July, 1778, d. 1 April, 1798, a. 42.

William Emerson, inst. 16 Oct., 1799, d. 12 May, 1811, a. 42.

John Lovejoy Abbott, ord. 14 July, 1813, d. 17 Oct. 1814, a. 31.

Nathl. Langdon Frothingham, ord. 15 Mar. 1815, resigned Mar. 1850.

Rufus Ellis, ord. 4 May, 1853. Mr. Ellis is the present minister.

† Buckingham's *Polyanthos*, ii. 168; from which work our engraving of the First Church is also copied.

† Mr. Goodwin married Martha, daughter of Benj. and Martha Lauthrop, of Charlestown, 2 Dec. 1669, where he then resided. The Rev. John Lauthrop, or Lothrop, of Scituate and Barnstable, was her grandfather. Mr. Goodwin was 65 years old at his death, and he was buried at Copp's Hill. After her husband's death, Mrs. Goodwin married John Pearson (of Lynn?), 1714, died 26 Sept. 1728, aged 76, and was buried by the side of her husband. They had ten or more children. Nathaniel, born 1672, finally settled in Middleton, Ct. Martha, born 1674, married Ebenezer Clough, and their daughter Martha married Elias Parkman. John, born 1681, married Mary Hopkins. Benj., born 1683, married Frances White, who after married Maj. John Bowles, of Roxbury. Hannah, b. 1687, married Wm. Parkman. Elizabeth, born 1694, married Joseph White.—*Memoranda of J. G. Locke, Esq.*

wright, was employed on the wood-work of the same fort. In 1701 he did the mason-work of a house built by the Town for the School-master, "on the land where Mr. Ezekiel Chever lately dwelt."

The establishment of Charity Schools was ably advocated by Dr. Benjamin Colman, who drew up regulations for their government; but the public mind was not fully prepared for them.

The practice of shooting game on the Neck, between Boston and Roxbury, had been probably attended with serious accidents; for this year the General Court passed "An Act to Prohibit shooting or Firing off Guns, near the Road or High-way, on Boston Neck." In the preamble of the Act it is said that "the Limbs and Lives of several persons had been greatly endangered in Riding over Boston Neck, by their Horses throwing of them; being affrighted and starting at the Firing of Guns by Gunners that frequent there after Game."*

There was a scarcity of bread this year, occasioning much suffering among the poor of the Town.† Persons who had the misfortune to be thrown into prison appear to have been little cared for by the proper authorities, in respect to their wants of food or their sufferings from cold. A "voice" from some of these has penetrated even to this distant day.‡

Nov. 20. Elder David Copp died, and was buried in the yard upon the hill bearing the name of his family. His grave "is not far from the north gate, on the west side of the path between the gates; and several others of the name of Copp lie around him." From an early period of the settlement of the Town a portion of the hill had belonged to the family, and received its name from them; but at what time it began to be called Copp's Hill, cannot be stated with certainty.§ It was at one period called Snow Hill, perhaps from a hill of

* *Colony Laws*, 231.

† *Remains of Grove Hirst*, Esq., p. 69.

‡ "On the 2d. of November of this year, several persons in the common jail petitioned the Gen. Court for relief; imprisoned, they said, "for no great crime," and were compelled "to lie on the boards, cold, without bed-clothes or fire, or any nourishment, no farther than just to keep them alive, and hardly that;" therefore, say they, "We humbly beg of you to allow us some succor to keep us from perishing. We are some of us been here two or three months, as our ships we belong to are not nye sailing. So we humbly beg of you to send us some relieve in the miserable condition we are in. It is very hard for us, we having committed nothing to deserve it." There were five of the prisoners who petitioned. Two of them appear to have been imprisoned only for safe-keeping, until their vessels sailed, one for debt, one for "costs of Court;" the other, a female, offence not named. Whether relieved or not, my MS. does not show.

§ William Copp was made a Freeman, 2 June, 1641; David, probably his son, 11 Oct.

1670. On the records are found, Jonathan, son of William and Goodith Copp, born 23 Aug. 1640; Rebecca, 6 May 1641; and Ruth, 24. 9. 1643.

The brick house of Elder Copp is mentioned in the Selectmen's Minutes, which Snow thought was that "at the head of Hull-st., south side."

William Copp, "cordwainer," left a will dated 31 Oct. 1662, proved 27th 2d. mo. 1670; inventory of his estate, £109, 17s. 6d. "Wife Goodeth, dau. Tewksbury; grand-childn. William, Thomas, John, and Mary Harvey. To son Jonathan house and ground in Boston where I now live; he to pay daus. Ruth and Lydia, and grandchildn John and Sarah Atwood, Sarah Norden, and Mary Harvey; son David 30 acres, Jonathan 20, dau. Lydia 10, dau. Ruth 10, John Atwood 10, grandch. Saml. Norden 10, and grandch. W^m. Harvey 10, being my 100 acres beyond Braintree. Son David sole executor." — *Suffolk Wills*, viii. 32.

Among the first entries in the *Book of Possessions*, is the description of "the possession of William Copp within the limits of Bos-



the same name in Liverpool, in England, or a street in London so named also.

The war between France and England was brought to a close by the treaty of Utrecht, the news of which caused great rejoicing in Boston, and the hostile Indians sent deputations to offer peace to the harassed frontiers.

Mar. 8. The Town-house, which was destroyed in the great fire of 1711, having been rebuilt, the first meeting is held in it. The peculiar class of vessels called schooners are believed to have been first constructed about this time at Gloucester. Their importance is confirmed by their superior numbers, compared at any late period with all other craft in and about the waters of Boston. Mr. Andrew Robinson is said to have been their original contriver.*

May. A person belonging to Salem was detected in passing counterfeit Province bills among the people of Boston. The bills were of the denomination of twenty shillings. The individual who passed them had the credit of making them also, and the plate from which they were struck being found in his house, and some of the bills upon his person, he declined contending "with the Queen," and was dealt with "agreeably to the law in such cases made and provided."

May 31. The Postmaster gave notice "that the Post-Office in Boston is opened every Monday morning from the middle of March to the middle of September, at seven of the clock, to deliver out all letters that do come by the Post, till twelve o'clock. From twelve to two o'clock, being dinner-time, no office kept." In the afternoon it was open from two to six, "to take in all letters to go by the southern and western Post, and none to be taken in after that hour, excepting for the eastern Post, and till seven at night."†

Sept. 15. About the middle of September news reached Boston that Queen Anne was dead, and that her successor to the Crown was "Prince George, Elector of Brunswick-Lunenbourg," as George the First.‡

Capt. John Bonner surveyed and made a Plan of the shore of the Town from "Dr. Cook's wharf," a little to the north of Oliver's Dock to "Hels" [Hill's] wharf, about 100 yards beyond Windmill, now Wheeler's Point.§

Although George I. had been proclaimed King immediately after

ton;" namely, "one house, and lott of half an acre in the Mill field, bounded with Thomas Buttolph, southeast, John Button, northeast, the marsh on the southwest, and the river on the northwest." The Mill field was on Copp's Hill, and was so called because a Windmill was early placed there. — See *ante*, p. 141.

Some of the family probably emigrated to Connecticut. I find a John Copp of Norwich, Ct., 1727, who was Administrator on the estate of James Mead, of Greenwich, Ct.

* Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, ii. 445.

† *Boston News-Letter*.

‡ The Queen died Aug. 1st, in the 50th year of her age, and 13th of her reign. She married, 28 July, 1683, Prince George of Denmark, 2d son of Frederick III., King of Denmark. She had several children, all of whom died before her. — *Salmon*. George I. was great-grand-son of James I. Anne stood in the same relation to that Monarch.

§ A copy of this Plan, made by FRANCIS JACKSON, Esq., in 1836, was presented by him to the New Eng. Hist. Gen. Society. It is on a scale of 120 feet to an inch. No wharves laid down between "Capt. Holmes'" and "Hels."

the news was received that the Queen was dead, yet, owing to several circumstances,* no orders were received from England with directions until the March following that event.

By the death of the Queen Governor Dudley lost his chief supporters in England, and the last year Col. Elizeus Burgess, who had served under General Stanhope, was appointed in his stead. But the Colonel sold out his Commission, and, perhaps, wisely remained in England. There was a great deal of intrigue and manœuvring in those days, among aspirants for office, as well as in these. Boston was the heart whence proceeded the various movements. There was a strong bank party in Boston, and an almost equally strong anti-bank party. Which-ever party could secure the Governor, considered itself in a fair way to carry its favorite measures. Mr. Jonathan Belcher, a wealthy merchant of Boston, was in London, and was opposed to the banking party. He joined with the Massachusetts Agent, Mr. Jeremy Dummer; they together securing the interest of Sir William Ashurst, induced Mr. Burgess to sell his Commission of Governor of Massachusetts for a thousand pounds sterling. Of this sum Belcher and Dummer advanced equally. They then procured the appointment of Col. James Shute as Governor, and Mr. William Dummer was commissioned Lieut. Governor. Thus Lieut. Gov. Tailer was supplanted in this office, to which he was commissioned in 1711.†

Colonel Shute was supposed to be well calculated to suit the people here, and probably would have suited them had they been in a temper to be suited. But party interest admitted of no reconciliation, and this Governor had a stormy administration.‡

A Church was founded at the South end of the Town, which, to distinguish it from the South Church, received the name of the New South Church. The first steps for its formation were taken by several persons assembled at the Bull tavern in Summer-street, near the intersection of Sea and Summer streets. Mr. Nathaniel Glover had made a donation for the object. Forty-four subscribers were soon obtained for carrying it into effect. In September following the Town was petitioned by "sundry inhabitants at the

* The Hazard sloop, sent express from England, with orders to the Government, was lost on Cohasset rocks, Nov. 12th, 1714. All on board were lost, and no papers saved; enough of the wreck, however, washed ashore to show what the vessel was, and a man from it had been landed at Nantucket. — *Hutchinson*, ii. 209.

† He arrived from England with his commission in the fall of the year 1711. In 1730 he was again in office, and died in 1732. He has descendants in this vicinity, who write their name Taylor.

Wm Taylor

‡ Gov. Shute belonged to a dissenting family: his father was an eminent citizen of Lon-

don, and his mother was a daughter of the Rev. Mr. Joseph Caryl, who wrote eleven quartos on the book of Job, whose portrait may be seen in Calamy's Nonconformist's Memorial. Lord Barrington, as the head of the dissenting interest in Parliament, was his brother. He served in the army under William III., who gave him a Captain's commission, and was a Colonel under the Duke of Marlborough, and wounded in one of that Duke's sanguinary battles in Flanders. He became tired of trying to reconcile a factious people, and returned suddenly to England, January 1st, 1723, and died there in 1742, aged 80. He left Boston so privately that not a member of the Government knew of his intention.

southerly end of Boston, for leave to erect a Meeting-house at said South End, and for a grant of that piece of land called Church Green, in Summer-street, for the said House, to be sixty-five feet long and forty-five broad; and by the situation and name of said land, it was no doubt intended by our forefathers for that purpose." The petition was signed by Thomas Peck, Nicholas Boone, Samuel Adams, Eneas Salter, Jr., Samuel Greenleaf, Henry Hill, Jonathan Simpson, Eleazer Derby, David Craige, William Engs, Eneas Salter, Thomas Salter, John Barton, Daniel Legre. Several of these were prominent men. Nicholas Boone was the bookseller of that name, whose "shop" was in Cornhill, "over against the Meeting-house," as early as 1701. Samuel Adams was the father of the Signer of the Declaration of Independence of the same name.

The petition was granted, and the house was finished and dedicated on the eighth of January, 1717. Mr. Wadsworth, of the Old South, and Dr. Cotton Mather, of the Old North, preached sermons on the occasion, which were printed. At first preaching was obtained by a Committee, who were authorized to pay twenty shillings for each sermon preached. There were in the mean time several candidates for settlement. The choice fell on Mr. Samuel Checkley, September the twenty-fourth, 1718, who was ordained on the fifteenth of April of the following year. On the same day these persons signed the Church Covenant, namely:—Henry Hill, Thomas Peck, John Clough, Thomas Salter, Samuel Adams, Samuel Bridgham, Benjamin White, and Thomas Doane.*



NEW SOUTH CHURCH.

The New South Meeting-house occupies one of the most beautiful locations in Boston. The house as it appeared after it was rebuilt in 1814, and as it now appears, is represented in the margin, from a view taken at the foot of Summer-street, near the site of the ancient Tavern, where its design originated. It is built of Chebmsford granite, under the architectural direction of Charles Bulfinch, Esq.†

* The succession of Pastors in the New South Church:—

Samuel Checkley, ord. 15 April, 1719, died 1 Dec. 1769.

Penuel Bowen, ord. colleague, 30 April, 1766, dismd. 12 May, 1772.

Joseph Howe, ord. 19 May, 1773, died 25 Aug. 1775.

Oliver Everett, ord. 2 Jan. 1782, dismd. 27 May, 1792.

John Thornton Kirkland, ord. 5 Feb. 1794, dismd. 4 Nov. 1810.

Samuel Cooper Thacher, ord. 15 May, 1811, died 2 Jan. 1818.

Francis William Pitt Greenwood, ord. 21 Oct. 1818, dismd. 24 Jan. 1821.

Alexander Young, ord. 19 Jan. 1825, died 16 Mar. 1854.

† The Building Committee consisted of Jonathan Hunnewell, George G. Lee, John Dorr, Stephen Higginson, and John Cotton, Esqs. The body of the building is octagonal, formed in a square of 76 feet diameter; four sides being 47 feet, and four smaller sides, 20 feet each. The height from the ground is 34 feet. The porch is of equal extent with one of the sides, and projects 16 feet, in front of which is a portico of four fluted Grecian Doric columns. A tower rises from its attic, in which is the belfry. The entire height is 190 feet. The pulpit is richly built of mahogany, supported by Ionic and Corinthian columns. On

In the course of May Session of the General Court there was passed "An Act for Building and Maintaining a Light-house upon the Great Brewster (called Beacon Island), at the extreme of the Harbour of Boston"; for the reason that the want of one "hath been a great discouragement to Navigation, by the loss of the lives and estates of several of his Majesty's subjects." It was ordered to be built "on the southernmost part of the Great Brewster, called Beacon Island, to be kept lighted from sun-setting to sun-rising." It was likewise ordered that all vessels, except coasters, should, after the Light-house was built, pay a duty of one penny per ton, inward and outward. Their tonnage to be ascertained by a method still in practice.* It was built at the charge of the Province, though Boston first moved in the matter, as appears from the records of the Town. John Hays, or Hayes, was the first keeper of it.

Two distinguished men died this year; Mr. Isaac Addington and Doctor Elisha Cooke. They had been long in public office, and may be considered as among the Fathers of the Town. Mr. Addington was Secretary of the Province before the arrival of the new Charter; was opposed to Andros, and appointed to office by the adherents to the old Charter, and received the same appointment under the Crown when the new Charter went into effect. Mr. Cooke was a popular leader in the General Court for above forty years; was an Agent when the new Charter was obtained. He was strenuous for the restoration of the old one, saying he would have that or none at all.†

Feb. 6. Died also this year the Rev. Grindal Rawson, a zealous and distinguished Minister to the English and Indians for about thirty-five years. He was born in Boston, on the 23d of Jan. 1659-60, and was named Grindal, for Edmund Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury, between whom and his father's mother there was a relationship.‡

the floor are 118 pews, and in the gallery 32.
— *Dedication Ser. of S. C. Thacher*, 29 Dec. 1814.

* *Colony Laws*, p. 233, edition 1726. — "It is about 8½ miles from the City." Sixty years ago the island on which it stood "contained about a quarter of an acre of soil. A bar, dry at low water, connected it with the Great Brewster. Between Point Alderton and Middle Brewster." — *Pemberton*. It is in Latitude 42° 19' 33.77" N. — *U. S. Coast Survey, Report* 1852, p. 202. Mr. Thomas Robie, Fellow of Harvard College, computed the Latitude of Boston to be 42° 25' N., Lon. 71° 30'.

† Hutchinson, and Eliot. — Mr. Addington lived in what was called "Half Square Court," near what is now the corner of State and Devonshire streets. He died on the 19th of March, aged 70. Dr. Cooke died May 31st, a. 78. A copy of the autograph of the former is given, *ante*, p. 472, and the latter, p. 484. After Mr. Addington's death, the Governor appointed his son Paul Dudley, and Addington

Davenport, Commissioners for keeping the Great Seal and the Public Records and Files, until His Majesty should appoint a Secretary for the Province. One arrived here, 22 Sept. following. His name was Samuel Woodward. Mr. Addington Davenport was grandson of Isaac Addington, Esq., by his daughter Rebecca, and Eleazer, son of Capt. Richard Davenport, killed by lightning at the Castle, as noted *ante*, p. 285.

‡ Dr. Cotton Mather preached a sermon on the death of Mr. Rawson, which he dedicated to Judge Sewall. In that dedication he copies the following from President Oakes' Commencement Oration: — "Tertius [having said something of two other persons] *Grande quidam Sonans, Grindallus Rawsonus est; Clarissimo quoque Genere natus; Nam Pater Ejus Honorandus illustrem in R. P. locum tenet: Pientissimus et Oratoratus; JOHANNES WILSONUS, Apostolicus plane Vir Proavunculus, Reverendissimusque EDMUNDUS GRINDALLUS, Archi-Episcopus olim Cantuariensis, Sanctissimus Vir, tantumque non in*

He married Susanna, daughter of the Rev. John Wilson, first Minister of Medfield, and grand-daughter of the Rev. John Wilson, the first Minister of Boston. He was settled at Mendon about 1680; in 1690 he went "as Chaplain with the fleet that went into Canada." Becoming greatly interested in the welfare of the Indians, he set about learning their language, that he might instruct them in Christianity and improve their temporal condition; and he so far mastered that barbarous tongue, that in nine months he was able to preach to them so as to be well understood; and he continued his labors among them about twenty-seven years.

Edward Rawson, the father of Grindal, came to Boston from Newbury, and was a long time Secretary to the General Court, having succeeded Increase Nowell in that office, in May, 1650.* He resided in the lane called from him Rawson's lane, afterwards Bromfield-street. He had before represented Newbury in the General Court several years. He died on the 27th of August, 1693, at the age of 78 years. Among his twelve children, Grindal was the fifth son, and youngest child. Another, a daughter, experienced a most singular fortune, and met with a tragical and melancholy end. Her name was Rebecca. Being accomplished and beautiful, she naturally attracted the attentions of many of the opposite sex, and in due time gave her hand to one, who, passing under an assumed name, deceived her and her friends. Her deceiver pretended to be Sir Thomas Hale, nephew of Lord Chief Justice Hale. After they were married she went with him to England, with a good outfit for those days. As soon as they arrived in London he plundered her of nearly all her valuable effects, leaving her destitute among strangers. She soon learned the name and character of the villain to whom she had been connected, and that he had a wife then living in Canterbury. She never saw him after. Thus abandoned she applied herself to various employments, as painting and needle-work, and being very ingenious, supported herself and child (for she had one by the wretch who had abandoned her) comfortably for about thirteen years. Although she had friends in England able to assist her, she would not apply to them; suffering too keenly from mortification and pride. At length, the long, tedious years having dissipated to some degree the latter, and overcome the former, she determined to return again to the place of her nativity. Accordingly, embarking for Boston in a ship bound thither by the way of the West Indies, with an uncle whose name is not mentioned, she arrived safely at Port Royal in Jamaica. And being there ready to proceed on her voyage on the morning of the ninth of June, 1692, an earthquake came, the sea where the ship rode opened under her, and she went down into a gulf of unknown depth with all on board!

Archi-Episcopatu Puritanus, Abavunculus, fuerunt. Deique Deus, ut Eruditione, Sanctitate, Moribus optimus, WILSONUM, et GRINDALLUM exprimat."

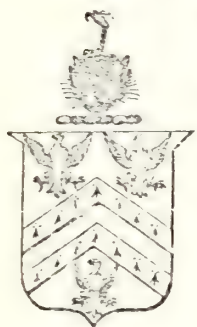
years. He was then removed by Edward Randolph, who came over with a Commission from the King.—See p. 468. There is in the *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, vol. iii., a minute genealogy of Secretary Rawson's descendants.

* Mr. Rawson continued in the office 36

This was the sad fate of Rebecca Rawson, who had been one of the ornaments of Boston. Her uncle, happening to be on shore at the time of the earthquake, was saved.

CHAPTER LVII.

Project of a Market-house Defeated. — Town Clock. — South Burying-place Enlarged. — Deer Island Hospital. — School-house. — Pirates. — Moll's Notice of Boston. — Fire Society Incorporated. — Death of aged Men. — Free Writings-school. — Fortifications. — Lotteries Suppressed. — New Brick Church. — Aurora Borealis. — Boston Gazette. — Bridge over Charles River Proposed. — Linen Manufacture. — Small Pox. — Inoculation. — New England Courant. — James Franklin. — Benj. Franklin. — Ministers Aggrieved.



PARSONS.

Feb. 20. IN February this year there fell such an immense quantity of snow, that it was referred to, for a long time after, as "the Great Snow." Many houses were entirely buried in it; all communication between neighbors was cut off; people in sickness could not be visited; vast numbers of domestic animals perished, and the wild animals, especially deer, were destroyed in great numbers.*

There had been frequent complaints among the inhabitants that they were imposed upon by Hucksters. The subject having been brought up in Town-meeting, the last year, a Committee was raised to consider the matter, and to report at the next meeting. Accordingly they reported that to remedy the evil it was necessary to erect a public Market.† By which it was understood that a Market-house was intended. The report was not agreeable to the majority of the voters, and an addition was made to the Committee, and they were requested further to consider the subject, and to report at the next meeting. It was, however, put over from one meeting to another, and was not finally disposed of until two years after the first report. Then "it was debated and voted disallowed."‡

* Dr. Cotton Mather gave an account of this Snow in a long letter, which goes considerably into particulars; much more so than any other writer which I have met with. Mr. Hanson has printed it entire in his *History of Danvers*. It will well repay a perusal.

† The original Committee consisted of Addison Davenport, Esq., Thomas Fitch, Esq., Elisha Cooke, Esq., Oliver Noyes, Esq., Samuel Keeling, Esq. To whom were now added, Thomas Hutchinson, Esq., Adam Winthrop, Esq., and Mr. John White.

‡ The building of Markets was kept in abeyance until 1734. Hence Capt. Uring's observations on the subject were correct, even if made in 1724, though Mr. Oldmixon, in his

attempt at exactness by correcting him, misleads his readers. This is Uring's amusing sketch: — "The Town of Boston is plentifully supplied with good and wholesome provisions of all sorts, not inferior to those in England. Though the town is large and populous, they could never be brought to establish a Market in it, notwithstanding several of their Governors have taken great pains to convince the Inhabitants how useful and beneficial it would be to 'em; but the Country People always opposed it; so that it could not be settled. The reason they give for it is, if Market Days were appointed, all the Country People coming in at the same time would glut it, and the Towns People would buy their provisions for

May 8. Four Representatives were chosen to serve in the General Court. The subject of a Town Clock to be placed in the Brick Meeting-house was introduced in Town-meeting, and postponed to the next. Then it was voted to request the Representatives to move the General Court for aid in the project. If they made the application it probably failed; for the next year the Town

June 12. "voted that the Selectmen be directed, at the Town's charge, to procure a good Town Clock, and to set up the same in some convenient place in Cornhill, for the benefit of the inhabitants."

1717.
May 15.

At this meeting the Selectmen were authorized, if they thought best, to enlarge the South Burying-place, by taking in part of the highway on the easterly side, if it could be done without "too much straitening said highway." And as to "erecting a row of tombs" in the same Ground, it was "voted in the negative." But persons might arrange for tombs with the Selectmen, at their own charge.*

The Selectmen were authorized to lease land on "Dere" Island, not exceeding one acre, for a Hospital or Pest-house, but for a period not to exceed ninety-nine years.

A School-house was located at the South part of the Town, "upon the Common, adjoining to Cowell's lott, over against Mr. Wainwright's." "Cowell's" was in West-street.

There was a proposal to repave Cornhill "from Mr. Boone's Corner to the gutter leading down to Spring Street." Mr. Boone's corner was where the apothecary shop now is, on the south corner of State and Washington streets.

April. A pirate ship called the Whidah, commanded by Capt. Samuel Bellamy, in cruising on the coast, captured several vessels, and putting seven of his men on board of one of them, is soon after cast away, by following this prize, "near the Table-land," and all the crew except two persons were drowned. One of these was an Englishman, and the other an Indian. The prize into which the seven pirates had been put was run on shore at Cape Cod by the captive Captain, who took advantage of his keepers in a drunken revel. Bellamy had 130 men, who were now reduced to nine.† These were tried at Boston in November by a special Court of Admiralty, and six of them were condemned and executed. Governor Shute issued an order for firing salutes in honor of His Majesty's birthday.‡

May 28.

what they pleased, so rather chuse to send them as they think fit. And sometimes a tall fellow brings in a turkey or goose to sell, and will travel through the whole Town to see who will give most for it, and it is at last sold for 3s. and 6d. or 4s.; and if he had stayed at home he could have earned a crown by his labor, which is the customary price for a day's work. So, any one may judge of the stupidity of the Country People." — *Voyages and Travels*. 111-12. Thus, if Capt. Uring's statements be correct, as to the opposition to a Market-house, and they probably are, a solution to the question is obtained, for which the Town-records furnish no clue.

In 1719, Dr. Benjamin Colman published a pamphlet in favor of the erection of a Market-house, "fairly representing the advantages thereof." — *Life by Turell*, p. 78.

* "Thomas Boylston may set his brick house partly on the northerly end of Pierce's Alley, so as he leave the Alley there full 6 feet wide betwixt his house and Dr. Noyes's brick walls."

† After Bellamy was wrecked above 100 dead bodies were washed ashore. An interesting account of the wreck of Bellamy and his companions may be found in *Mass. Hist. Colls.*, iii. 120.

‡ It is as follows: — "Boston, May 28th, 1717. To Capt. Clarke This being his

An intelligent Geographer,* speaking of Boston this year, says, it "is reckoned the biggest Town in America, except some which belong to the Spaniards. It lies on the coast, defended by a strong Castle in an island at the mouth of the harbor, and on the shore by forts on two or three neighboring hills which command the avenues. Here are abundance of fine buildings, public and private, as the Court-house, Sir William Phipps' house, &c. The inhabitants are reckoned about 12,000. Three or four hundred ships have been loaded here in a year, with lumber, fish, beef, pork, &c., for Europe and America. Here's a market every Tuesday, and two fairs in May and October, which last three days each."

Sept. 30. A Fire Society was incorporated this year, which was in existence many years after. In 1734 its regulations were printed in the form of a handbill. By these regulations the Society was to consist of but twenty members.†

Few years have been so remarkable as this in the death of aged people in New England. Among them were five belonging to the Council of this Province. These belonged to Boston:—Eliakim Hutchinson, Grove Hirst, Andrew Belcher, Wait Winthrop, Elisha Hutchinson. Henry Dering and his wife were buried in the same grave, also Robert Winsor and his wife, all over seventy years of age.‡

1718. The Town voted to raise a Committee "to inquire
Mar. 11. about encouraging the bringing in of Sea Coal." At the same Town-meeting Mr. Thomas and Mr. Edward Hutchinson offered to build a School-house at their own charge for a free Writing-school at the north part of the Town. Upon which it was voted that part of the land bought of Mrs. Susanna Love be taken for that purpose. At a meeting in June a Committee was raised to examine the state of the Fortifications, and to consider the expediency of
June 23. planting guns on the end of Long Wharf. In the reports at

Majesties Birth Day, you are hereby required to discharge the Guns upon the Batery's under your command, after you hear the Cannons at the Castle are Discharged.

Saml Shute

(Original Warrant, MS.) In justice to the Governor it should be stated that said warrant is only signed by him. It is probably in the hand of Secretary Woodward, who was superseded in his office this year by Mr. Josiah Willard. "Tired of his post," says Hutchinson, "of much labor and little emolument, disposed of it to Josiah Willard, Esq., who obtained the Royal Commission and arrived at Boston from London, December the 12th, 1717."

* Herman Moll. His work is entitled *Atlas Geographus*. He was an extensive publisher of maps.

† For a copy of the regulations (printed on

parchment) I am indebted to the Hon. FRANCIS BRIDLEY, of Boston. These parchments were probably equal to the number of the Members, and contained the names (in MS.) of those composing the Society. The one now before me contains the following names:—Wm. Winter, Andrew Craige, Arthur Savage, Thomas Handasyde Peck, John Moffatt, Allan Melvill, Wm. Murrey, John Cunningham, William Brattle, Thomas Tyler, Samuel Doggett, Samuel Bass, Jona. Simpson, Samuel Hill, Wm. Fairfield, Daniel Henchman, John Tyng, David Cutler, John Hunt, Shrimpton Hunt, Thomas Marshall, Daniel Rae, Thomas Symmes, *Samuel Holbrook, Thomas Fayerweather, William Andrus, Robert Williams, Bartholomew Rand.* These in italics are upon a part of the parchment so impervious to the ink, that there is some uncertainty respecting them. The first four names, also, Melvill, Murrey, Brattle, Simpson, Hill and Henchman, are erased.

‡ See Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 223. Hirst's *Remains*, Int. iv.

subsequent meetings, the subject of guns on that wharf is not mentioned, and none appear to have been placed there for defence. At a meeting in December, the Selectmen informed the Town that they had, in view of a scarcity of grain, "purchased 10,000 weight of bread, at forty shillings per hundred, for the supply of the inhabitants." It was ordered to be sold out in small quantities to such of the people of the Town as had a mind to purchase, for one month.

In the several Churches there were raised by contributions 483 pounds, to be applied to the conversion of the Indians.

At the March meeting of the inhabitants, a Committee was appointed "to consider what can be done for the relief of the Town under its present distresses;" while the nature of the distresses, so far as the records go, are left to be conjectured. They may refer to the "unhappy misunderstandings," as Governor Shute expresses it, between the Upper and Lower Houses* of the General Court.

Three pounds were voted to pay a Bell-ringer at the New South Meeting-house for a year. He was to ring at five in the morning, and nine at night, as other Bell-ringers did.

The General Court passed a law suppressing lotteries. They were declared "a public nuisance, mischievous and unlawful games," and forbidden under a penalty of 200 pounds.

Another Church was formed at the North End this year, to which the name of New Brick was given. It, like many other Churches, grew out of difficulties and disagreements among members of the same Church. The disaffections in the New North have been detailed in the account of that Church, and will not require to be repeated here. †

Those who had come off when Mr. Thacher was ordained, having enlisted a number of others with them, held a meeting for the purpose of taking measures to erect a House. They were Alexander Sears, Solomon Townsend, John Waldo, Owen Harris, James Tileston, Nathaniel Jarvis, Thomas Lee, Jonathan Mountfort, William Arnold, Thaddeus Macarty, James Pecker, Ebenezer Bridge, Benjamin Edwards, Peter Papillon, Thomas Dogget, Daniel Ballard, Robert Oring, Edward Pell, Samuel Burnell, Francis Parnell, James Barnes, James Halsey and Ephraim Moore. These voted to treat with Mr. Thomas Roby, of Cambridge, for land to build upon. About five weeks after a Building Com-

* The names *Upper* and *Lower* Houses seem to have arisen about this time. The Representatives gave the name *Upper House* to the Council "as a flier, and to intimate that they might consider themselves in another capacity than as a Privy Council." — *Hutchinson*.

† The following extract from Mr. Ephraim Eliot's work, before referred to, will convey a pretty correct idea of the state of feeling at the time the New Brick Church was formed. "The aggrieved Brethren," he says, "went off in bad humor, and proceeded to the gathering of another Church. In the plenitude of zeal, they first thought of denominating it the

Revenge Church of Christ; but they thought better of it and called it the *New Brick Church*. However, the first name was retained for many years among the common people. Yet their zeal was great indeed, and descended to puerility. They placed the figure of a *Cock* as a vane upon the steeple, out of derision of Mr. Thacher, whose Christian name was *Peter*. Taking advantage of a wind which turned the head of the *Cock* towards the *New North* when it was placed upon the spindle, a merry fellow straddled over it and crowed three times, to complete the ceremony." Remarks are unnecessary.

Dec. 20. mittee was appointed, and in a short time the number of Proprietors increased to forty. Mr. Edward Pell drew a plan of the building, and it was finished for dedication in May, 1721. In one year more the Church was regularly formed, and on the day
 1719.
 May 10. 23. of its formation Mr. William Waldron was ordained.*

Dec. 17. The Aurora Borealis, or Northern Lights, do not appear to have been observed here until this time. They were viewed by many, for a considerable period, as harbingers of some great calamity shortly to follow, and some believed they portended the end of the world. Their frequency has long since ceased to excite wonder or surprise, though at times they seem to break over ordinary bounds, and are the subject of conversation.

Dec. 21. Near the close of the year a second Newspaper was established in Boston. It was called the Boston Gazette, and the first number was issued on the twenty-first of December. Like other early Newspapers, one of them is strikingly curious at this day.† It was published "for William Brooker," who succeeded John Campbell as Postmaster, and James Franklin was the printer of it; a brother of the afterwards celebrated Doctor Benjamin Franklin. In this paper the year 1720 begun in March, but after that it begun with January. This was the first "Boston Gazette," but there were two others before the Revolution, of the same name. The establishment of a new Paper was looked upon by the Proprietors of the old one with jealousy, and a skirmishing between them soon commenced, and continued for some time.

Mr. Brooker continued to publish the Gazette but a short period. Philip Musgrave succeeded him as Postmaster, and became publisher of it, and Samuel Kneeland printed it. This arrangement continued till 1726, when it was printed for Thomas Lewis, Postmaster. The following year Henry Marshall was Postmaster, and Bartholomew Green printed the Paper for him. Marshall died in 1732, and Mr. John Boydell became its publisher, and the printing went again into the hands of Mr. Kneeland.‡

* The succession of Ministers has been given at p. 311. The signers of the Covenant on the 23 of May, 1722, were Alexr. Sears, Solomon Townsend, John Waldo, Moses Pierce, James Tileston, Josiah Baker, from the New North; and Wm. Lee, Nathaniel Loring, Daniel Pecker, Henry Wheeler, and Wm. Waldron. —Snow, 217.

† It was issued on a half-sheet of foolscap paper, and was continued thus for several years; excepting occasionally, when it was sent out on a whole sheet, a page of which often remained blank for want of matter to fill it. It purported to be "Published by Authority," and was "Printed by J. Franklin," and to "be had at the Post Office, where Advertisements are taken in." The head of the sheet was adorned with two engravings, an

inch and a half square; one representing a ship of clumsy proportions, the other a Post, sounding his horn, mounted upon a horse at full speed, more clumsily represented, if possible, than the ship; copied perhaps from some old chronicle of Flanders. On a number of that Paper, printed in 1736, now before me, other and larger cuts appear, but of no better workmanship than the others. Boydell issued it in quarto.

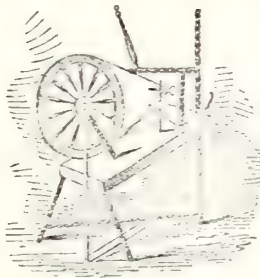
‡ Mr. Boydell died on the 11th of Dec. 1739, in the 49th year of his age. He came to Boston in 1716, as Secretary to Gov. Shute; was Register to the Court of Vice Admiralty for Massachusetts, N. Hampshire and R. Island, and afterwards Register of Probate for Suffolk, and Naval Officer for Boston. He appears to have been much respected.

On the death of Mr. Boydell, "Kneeland & Green" printed the *Gazette* for his heirs, till October, 1741, and then those printers became its proprietors, and incorporated it with "The New England Weekly Journal." It was continued in this way nearly fifteen years.

Mar. 15. Captain Joseph Wadsworth was chosen Treasurer, in place of Mr. Joseph Prout, who declined. The latter had served many years. Ames Anger was chosen School-master for the new Writing-school at the south part of the Town, at 100 pounds per annum.*

April 27. A Bridge over Charles River having been contemplated, the Town voted to instruct its Representatives in the General Court to move that body to promote the enterprise, but it was to be built "at the place where the Ferry hath been kept usually; namely, between Mr. Gee's and Hudson's Point, and at no other place." This appears to be the first movement upon record for a Bridge over Charles river. Of course it did not then succeed.†

About two years previous to this there arrived in the country a large colony of persons from in and about Londonderry in Ireland, denominated Scotch Irish, because they emigrated originally from Scotland to Ireland. The most of this colony settled in New Hampshire, but a considerable number of them fixed their residence in Boston. These emigrants were chiefly manufacturers of linen, and they brought their



SPINNING WHEEL.

utensils for that purpose with them.‡ The foot or linen wheel, since so familiar in the households of New England, was introduced by this colony, and the raising of flax and the manufacture of linen cloth was looked upon as of great importance to the country. The people of Boston took hold of the matter with great earnestness. The subject was put into the warrant for calling a Town-meeting, which assembled

Sept. 28. in September, and at which Judge Sewall presided as Moderator. A committee was appointed "to consider about promoting of a Spinning School or Schools, for the instruction of the children of this Town." The Committee, which consisted of seven persons,§ reported at the meeting in December, recommending

Dec. 27. the building a house for a School, "on the waste land before

* By vote of the Town the Selectmen were directed to put that piece of the Town's land nigh Mr. Belknap's, lying before Capt. Southack's, under some improvement. An order regulating trucks was passed. None to be more than eighteen feet long; to employ but two horses in one team; to carry no more than one ton at a load, and wheel tires to be 4 inches wide; the driver to go at the head of the thill horse, which he must govern by a halter to be kept in the hand.

† Charlestown does not appear to have participated in this affair of a Bridge. It is seen by the General Court Records, that the Coun-

cil were "ready to promote the attainment of so beneficial a work," but recommended it to be undertaken by private gentlemen, and sketched out various regulations about toll, and what part of it should go to the College, that that institution should receive more than it received from the ferry. Here the matter seems to have rested.

‡ They introduced the Potato. This valuable plant was probably first carried to England in 1573, by Sir Francis Drake.

§ Abijah Savage, Daniel Oliver, Wm. Payn, Esqrs., Mr. Francis Thrasher, Mr. Abraham Blish, Mr. John Colman, and Mr. Benj. Fitch.

Captain Southack's; because part of it is already built, a cellar almost made, and a well in Belknap's yard belonging to the Town."

The result of this extensive movement was the establishment of Spinning-schools. A large building was erected on Long Acre-street, which stood about where Hamilton-place now is, and was standing till long after the Revolution.*

Tea is said to have been about this time introduced into the country.

The Town was visited by the Small-pox with much greater severity than at any time before. The Selectmen were instructed by a vote of the Town to wait upon the Governor with a request that the

May 21. Sea-horse [Capt. Thomas Durell] should be sent down to Spectacle Island; but whether she was sent there is not stated, and if she were it was too late to keep the disease from getting into the Town.† It was on this visitation of that dreaded contagion, that Inoculation began to be practised; and Dr. Zabdiel Boylston was the man who, almost single-handed, stood forth and buffeted a storm which the practice called forth, the violence of which is hardly conceivable in this age.‡ The physicians were generally against him, § and Dr. William Douglass and others wrote with severity against Inoculation. There was at this time residing in Boston a Dr. Lawrence Dalhonde, who had considerable reputation for his knowledge of the disease, and of Inocula-

* Long Acre-street was that part of what is now Tremont-street between Winter and School streets. Mr. Pemberton has something to say about this Linen affair, but he has no dates or localities to elucidate it. He says: "The Manufactory-house, in Long Acre-street, is an handsome, large brick building, on the east side of the street. An act of the General Court laying an excise on carriages and other articles of luxury was appropriated to this building, designed originally for carrying on manufactures in the Town, particularly the linen manufacture, which was begun here with a spirit exerted too violently to continue long. Great show and parade were exhibited on the Common at its commencement. Spinning-wheels were then the hobby-horses of the Publick. The females of the Town, rich and poor, appeared on the Common with their wheels, and vied with each other in the dexterity of using them. A larger concourse of people was perhaps never drawn together on any occasion before. At the anniversary of its institution (for it continued three or four years), the trustees and company attended public worship, when a sermon was delivered suited to the occasion, and a contribution made to aid the business. But some untoward circumstances taking place, the linen manufacture was wholly set aside. The building was afterwards occupied for a short time for the manufacture of worsted hose, metal buttons, etc. The Massachusetts Bank was kept here for a time. It now [1794] belongs to that Corpora-

tion, and is let to private families, divided into separate apartments. At the west end, fronting Long Acre, was portrayed on the wall a female figure, holding a distaff in her hand, emblematical of industry, which is now [1794] effaced."

† By a publication which the Selectmen made on the 22d of July, it appears that the Small-pox was communicated to the Town "the middle of April" preceding; "being brought here then by the Saltertuda's [Saltortugas] fleet." Dr. Douglass confirms this in a letter of 23 July, 1721, to Dr. Cadwallader Colden, of New York. He says: "It was imported here about the middle of April last from Barbadoes via Saltertudas. It is now 19 years since we had it in Boston."—*Mass. Hist. Colls.*

‡ In the preface to his "Historical Account of the Inoculation," the doctor says: "I have been basely used and treated by some who were enemies to this method, and have suffered much in my reputation and in my business too, from the odiums and reflections cast upon me for beginning and carrying on this practice in New England."

§ Assuming every apothecary to have been a physician, there were then in the Town fourteen. This, however, is not given, as a supposition, even, that such was the exact number of the latter, while it is true of the former, according to Dr. Douglass. At which time he says there was not in the Town a thermometer nor barometer that he knew of.



tion practised many years before in Europe, and he gave it as his opinion that the practice was attended with the most pernicious consequences. By order of the Selectmen he made a deposition respecting cases which he had witnessed in the French army in Italy twenty-five years before ; and in Flanders and Spain at a later period, all of which went to prove the practice nothing better than murder. This deposition being published, and by authority of the Town, caused, says July 21. Dr. Boylston, "a melancholly day to Inoculation in its infancy ; and was sufficient to influence and set almost the whole Town and Country against me and this method."

It is remarkable that Dr. Cotton Mather was on the side of Inoculation,* and encouraged Dr. Boylston to put it in practice.† And it may be pretty safely inferred, that, without the countenance and influence of the former, the latter could never have succeeded ; ‡ and even his life would have been in as much jeopardy as his reputation. However, the result of this important undertaking proved that it was not always the surest way to prove one's self a prophet to attempt to destroy the chances of others for gaining a name, although appearances might seem to favor such a course. Out of 286 persons who were inoculated for the Small-pox, but six died ; while out of 5,759 who took it the natural way, 844 died. § Thus was exhibited the ben-

* "That eminent Person, the Learned Dr. Cotton Mather, Fellow of the Royal Society (also to his honor), was the principal Instrument in promoting this method among us." — *Vindication of the Boston Ministers*, p. 7.

† Dr. Douglass looked upon Mr. Mather as the cause of its being undertaken, at whom, with his accustomed moroseness, he levelled his blunt sarcasms. In writing to Dr. Colden, May 1st, 1722, he says : "Having, some time before the Small-pox arrived, lent to a credulous, vain Preacher, Mather, Jr., the Philosophical Transactions, Nos. 339 and 377, which contain Timonius' and Pyllarinus' accounts of Inoculation from the Levant ; that he might have something to send home to the Royal Society, who had long neglected his communications, as he complained, he sets Inoculation to work in June ; by 18 Nov. 100 were inoculated, and by January, in all, some few more than 250, in Town and Country." That the doctor here disguised the truth somewhat, will presently be seen. Dr. Boylston remarks :

"As the practice was new in Europe, so it must needs make a strange figure in New England, and more especially so when one or two of our learned Esculapian tribe had made the discovery how this practice would produce the Plague. They cavilled and said that Dr. Mather had not given a fair representation from Timonius' and Pyllarinus' accounts. I prayed that they might be read ; but Dr. Douglass, who owned them, and had taken them from Dr. Mather, refused to have them read, or even afterwards to lend them to the

Governor to read ; such was his extraordinary care, lest the People in time should have been reconciled to the practice, and taken the benefit of it."

Thirty years after, Dr. Douglass acknowledged that in 1721 he "was a sort of novice in the Small-pox practice, and that he confided too much in Dr. Sydenham's practice, which he gradually corrected." — *Summary*, ii. 394.

‡ Dr. Boylston speaks thus upon his entering upon Inoculation : "Dr. Mather, in compassion to the lives of the people, transcribed from the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, the Accounts sent them by Doctors Timonius and Pyllarinus of inoculating the Small-pox in the Levant, and sent them to the Practitioners of the Town, for their consideration thereon. Upon reading of which I was very well pleased, and resolved in my mind to try the experiment ; well remembering the destruction the Small-pox made 19 years before, when last in Boston ; and how narrowly I then escaped with my life." — *Histor. Account, Introd.* This agrees with the following :

On the 6th of June, 1721, Dr. Mather addressed the physicians of the Town, requesting them to meet and to consult whether Inoculation should be undertaken or not ; "that whoever first begins this practice," he concludes, ("if you approve that it should be begun at all) may have the concurrence of his worthy Brethren to fortify him in it." — *A Vindication of the Ministers of Boston*, p. 8. But "the Physicians never met nor consulted about it." — *Ib.*

§ There were 10,568 inhabitants in Boston,



effit of Inoculation in the most striking manner. And Doctor Boylston very clearly demonstrates that the six lost under Inoculation were so circumstanced, that, had they lived, their recovery might well have been classed with miracles.* That he was both sincere and confident in the outset, is proved by his beginning the practice with inoculating his own family. His little son Thomas, only six years of age, June 26. was the first upon whom the great experiment was tried. Then his negro man, aged thirty-six, and a negro boy only two and a half years. Before proceeding with others he waited to see if the effect would be satisfactory. It proved eminently so. "It was plain and easy to see," he observes, "with pleasure, the difference between having the Small-pox this way, and that of having it in the natural way."

With that singularity for which Dr. Cotton Mather was so remarkable, he proclaimed, in the Life of his Father which he published soon after this visitation of the Small-pox, that that Minister "expressly foretold that an heavy judgment was impending over Boston that would speedily be executed." This prophecy the Son says the Father made "in an awful sermon" which he preached in September, 1720.† The Author might with as much propriety have claimed the gift of prophecy for himself; for, only one year before the Small-pox broke out, he preached from a Text which he characterized as "a very Awful Text;" on which occasion he gave his hearers to understand that "the people were a languishing if not a perishing people," about "to fall into very grievous Distresses." However, he was content on this occasion to give the credit to another.‡

The Small-pox was a serious check to the prosperity of Boston; but in the midst of its ravages James Franklin commenced a Newspaper,

4,549 of whom lived in the north part of the Town, that is, north of the Mill Creek; and 6,018 to the south of it. — *Snow*. Dr. Douglass says: "In the Spring of 1722, by order of the Select-men, Mr. Salter made a perustration of the Town of Boston. He reported 10,670 souls." He gives the number of those who died of the Small-pox as in the text, and adds: "About the same number fled from Boston [to avoid it]; thus we may estimate about 12,690 people in Boston at its arrival." — *Summary, &c.*, i. 530.

* Of the 286 persons who received Inoculation, 36 lived in the vicinity of Boston. Of the 36, Dr. Thomas Roby, of Cambridge, inoculated about 11, and Dr. Thompson, of Charlestown, about 28. Dr. Roby was a son of William Roby, of Boston, and was a distinguished mathematician, and had been a Professor in Harvard College. He was of the same family as Judge Samuel Roby, of Hampton, N. H. He died at Salem, 28 August, 1729, in the 41st year of his age.

† As it was almost a constant practice with the ministers of those days to preach "awful sermons," there is nothing very remarkable in

that a sickness, a fire, or other misfortunes, should happen after some of them.

‡ It is a curious fact that Inoculation was begun in England the same month it was begun in Boston. — *Hutchinson*. It is equally worthy of remark that it was introduced by the celebrated Lady Mary Wortley Montague. She "observed the Turkish invention" in her then late travels in the East, and had suffered from the effects of the contagion herself. But she met with almost as much trouble as Dr. Boylston. She began, like him, with her own child too, — a little daughter, Mary, aged about six years. "What a thankless enterprise it was, nobody is now in the least aware." "Four great Physicians were deputed by the Government to watch its progress with her daughter, with an evident unwillingness to have it succeed; manifesting a spirit of rancor and malignity." — *Letters and Works of Mrs. Montague*, ed. Paris, 1837, i. 64—5. The little girl on whom the experiment was made, was afterwards Lady Bute, wife of the celebrated minister of George III., so conspicuous in advocating the measures against the Colonies which brought on the Revolution.

called the New England Courant, which was the third established in the Town.* The general opinion then appears to have been that a third Newspaper was altogether unnecessary; and some believed Franklin commenced it to be revenged on the publisher of the Gazette, the printing of which he had taken from Franklin. In the Courant appeared papers rudely attacking the practice of Inoculation; and essays, which in these days would be denominated rather *liberal*, while at that time they were denounced in severer terms. The clergy took offence, and Dr. Increase Mather came out against the Courant in the Gazette, calling it the "Vile Courant," and said "he could well remember when the Civil Government would have taken an effectual course to suppress such a cursed libel."† The Doctor had commenced taking it, but after a few numbers he refused it indignantly.

It was to James Franklin, then a young man only twenty-five years of age, that Benjamin Franklin was apprenticed, and it was in his Paper, the Courant, that the latter, about sixteen years of age, begun his career as a writer. The Courant appears to have been very well patronized, but it was as much in advance of the age as Dr. Mather's "Thunderbolt" was behind it; and some reflections contained in it being construed into "a high affront to the Government," its publisher was imprisoned, though his Paper went on under the management of Benjamin.‡ Franklin was imprisoned about four weeks, and then, upon an apology, and bonds for his good behavior for twelve months, he was set at liberty, and his paper was put under the supervision of Mr. Willard, the Secretary of the Province. Franklin, however, published his

* Its imprint is, "Boston: Printed by James Franklin, in Queen Street, where Advertisements are taken in." Franklin's shop was on the north side of what is now Court-street, near the easterly corner of Franklin-avenue. Here, long within my recollection, stood a Bookstore, over the sign of which was a bust of Franklin. Wells & Lilly were many years Booksellers at 18 Court-street, to whom succeeded S. Burditt and F. Sales, about 1832; J. W. Burditt's, No. 27, was the Franklin Bookstore, 1828-35.

† Mr. Everett, in his *Boyhood and Youth of [Dr.] Franklin* (Works, ii. 26), says: "The Thunderbolt of the offended Patriarch fell as harmless at young Franklin's feet, as the grenade had at [his] son Cotton's. It was behind the age." Mr. Everett had previously mentioned the fact that in the time of the excitement against Inoculation, a "*grenado*" was thrown into one of Cotton Mather's windows. Consult Hutchinson for other particulars.

‡ The proceeding against Franklin was of the most arbitrary kind, because the "reflection" complained of would hardly have furnished a pretence in a far more despotic age than this was. But the government had taken offence, and were determined to crush the Paper at all events; it therefore seized upon the matter in question, fearing, probably, that

none better would offer. The offensive matter was contained in an article purporting to have been written in Newport, R. I., and related to an expedition to be sent from Boston in pursuit of pirates, who had been seen in the beginning of June, 1722, about Block Island. The government at Boston had had timely notice of the pirates, and appear to have used the utmost despatch in fitting out a vessel to go in pursuit; while, in the Newport communication, printed in the Courant of 11th June, occurred these words: "We are advised from Boston, that the Government of Massachusetts are fitting out a ship to go after the pirates to be commanded by Capt. Peter Papillon, and 'T IS THOUGHT HE WILL SAIL SOME TIME THIS MONTH, WIND AND WEATHER PERMITTING."

Notwithstanding it was said in the same number of the Courant, that above 100 men had been enlisted, and that Capt. Papillon would probably sail that day, the General Court on the next day proceeded to prosecute Franklin as above stated, and for the words I have printed in capitals. See *Mr. Everett's Address, as before cited*, p. 44, who has corrected an important inadvertence of Doctor Thomas, in his excellent History of Printing, and added much valuable new matter, and to whom I am much obliged for kindly directing my attention to them.

Paper without the approval of his articles by the Secretary, and consequently "a bill of indictment was some months after preferred against him." To relieve himself from this dilemma, James Franklin published his Paper in the name of his apprenticed brother, Benjamin. This apparent change was made about the middle of January, 1723, and, from anything which appears to the contrary, the *Courant* continued to be so published until the beginning of 1727, when it ceased.*

Of Franklin's *Courant* no perfect file or series is known to exist. Copies of this and similar papers and other documents would not only be of immense value in the Archives of Boston, but in those of every town in New England. Has even Boston to this day any Archives, properly so called? Not any! The Inhabitants must look to this. The Authorities have never yet looked to it. There are good records of what *they* have done; but what do those records tell else? It is by the Newspapers, Pamphlets, Handbills — every kind and description of them — that the rise, progress and importance, of a place is to be learned. Can the Authorities or anybody else point to the building in the City containing anything of the kind? † Let those answer who can. But this is not the place to speak of the subject as it should be spoken of. It may in due time be urged elsewhere, in a manner demanded by its vast importance.

The "Ministers of Boston" were so seriously aggrieved by the "Abuses and Scandals lately cast upon them, in Divers Printed Papers," that they came out in January with "A Vindication," purporting to have been written "By some of their People." Though Franklin's *Courant* was evidently the chief source of annoyance to them, yet there had been some "foolish" pamphlets issued equally annoying. ‡ The pamphlets were chiefly upon the Inoculation question, of which there were several.

* James Franklin subsequently settled in Newport, R. I., and there, on the 27th of Sept., 1722, issued a Newspaper, the first ever published in that Colony, which he called the "Rhode Island Gazette." — *Thomas*. From an advertisement in the *New England Weekly Journal* of 11 Dec. 1727, it appears that Franklin printed the first Almanack in that place; or, as the advertisement says: "Being the first that was ever published for that meridian." Sold by him in Newport: "also by John Franklin, Tallow Chandler, in Cornhill, Boston." This John was the oldest brother of James, by Abiah Folger, the second wife of his father.

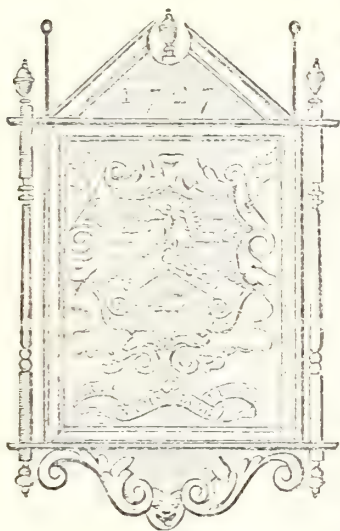
† This in reference to anything provided by and for the City. There are indeed a few small collections in private hands, but they are nothing compared with what might and should be.

‡ The Authors of the *Vindication* say, "Above all, we wonder at a *Weekly Paper*, which has been, and now is, Published, either

designedly to affront our Ministers, and render them Odious; or else, it has hitherto wretchedly deviated from its *ultimate Intent*, and been notoriously prostituted to that *Hellish Servitude*. We know no Nation under the Sun, that has so openly and assiduously insulted the Ministers of their GOD; and been so strenuous, in their Endeavors, to make them despicable and detestable to their *People*, as the Authors of this scandalous *Libel*." They directly charge "John Williams, tobaccoconist," of saying, "The Ministers have generally revolted from the good old way, and have set up a way that their Fathers knew not of * * * They are revolted and gone * * Defective in *Morals*." In the *Courant*, No. 23: "Most of the Ministers are for it, and that induces me to think it is from the Devil." In No. 25: "The Instruments of mischief and trouble both in Church and State, from the Witchcraft to Inoculation." This the "*Vindication*" thought was enough "to make the most professed *Libertine* blush."

CHAPTER LVIII

Singing in Churches. — Town Surveyed by Bonner. — Map. — Christ's Church. — Great Inundation — Way on the Neck Fenced. — An aged Indian. — Death of Increase Mather. — Destruction of Pirates. — Indian War. — Capt. Cornwall. — Great Storm. — First Insurance Office. — Capt. Lovewell. — Indian Treaty. — Depopulation. — Execution of Pirates. — Hoop Petticoats. — The Pirate Fly. — Death of Benj. Franklin. — Trade in Slaves. — Another Newspaper Established. — Death of the King. — A Violent Storm. — Earthquake of 1727. — Scotch Irish Arrive. — Church in Long-lane.



PHILLIPS.†

THE subject of singing in Churches was at the same time making considerable talk both in Town and Country. Some thought it a great innovation, and not to be tolerated. The Society in Brattle-street, however, had been singing for several years; but it was many years after this before singing anything except paraphrased Scripture was allowed, as may be observed in its proper order.*

An accurate Survey was made of the Town this year, from which an elegant Map was engraved. The enterprising undertaker was "Capt. John Bonner," and his Map was the basis of all other plans of the Town for many years.† William Price was interested in the sale of the Map, and had a shop "against y^e Town-House" as late

as the year 1727, and perhaps later.

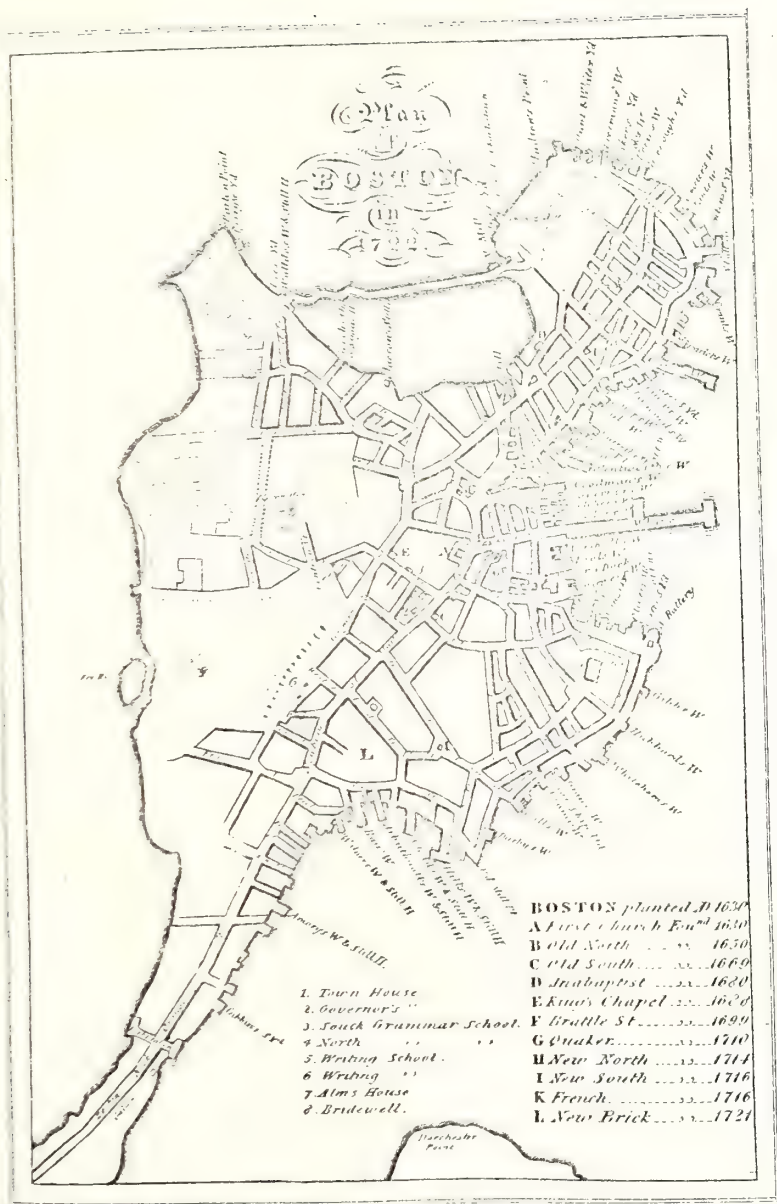
* The Rev. Thomas Symmes, of Bradford, wrote this year a tract in favor of "regular" Singing. It was not printed, however, till the next year. It was accompanied by a recommendation as follows: — "We the *Subscribers*, willing to Countenance and promote *Regular Singing*, or Singing by Note, Do signify our Approbation of the Substance and Design of the *Ensuing Dialogue*." Signed by Thomas Blower of Beverly, Samuel Moody of York, John Rogers of Bradford, John Tufts of Newbury, and Thomas Foxcroft of Boston.

† It is entitled "The Town of Boston in New England, By Capt. John Bonner, 1722. *Ætatis Sux 60.*" At the foot is the following: "Engraven and Printed by Fra: Dewing. Boston, N. E., 1722. Sold by Capt. John Bonner and Will^m Price against y^e Town House, where may be had all sorts of Prints, Maps, &c." Its scale is that of 10 inches to the mile, nearly. It also contains these interesting statistics; that the Town contains "42 streets, 36 lanes, 22 alleys, near 3000 houses; 1000 brick, rest timber; near 12,000 people." In 1835 GEORGE G. SMITH, Esq., caused a beau-

tiful fac simile of Capt. Bonner's map to be made. In 1743 "Capt. John Bonner" was living in Mackerel Lane [Kilby-st.], near the foot of Milk-st., "in a good double house, late the estate of Deacon Samuel Marshal."

‡ This was the Sign of "John Phillips, Book-seller, at the Stationer's Armes on the South-side of the Town-House." It is taken from a copper-plate shop-bill, struck on paper 7 by 4½ inches. The Sign occupied the top of the bill, and underneath it Phillips says he "Sells Bibles large & small, Testaments, Psalters, (Psalm books with Tunes or without) Singing books & School books, with Books of Divinity, Philosophy, History, Navigation, Physick, Mathematicks, Poetry, &c., also Pressing Cartridge & Writing Paper, Books for Accounts or Records, Ink, Quills, Sealing-wax, Inkhorns, Spectacles, Letter-cases, wth other Stationary wares and all sorts of Cutlery ware, at y^e lowest prices by *Wholesale or Retail*. Old books are also new Bound." For a copy of this curious shop-bill I am indebted to ANDREW JONNOT, Esq.

John Phillips died in Boston, 30 March, 1763, a. 62, and was buried with great cere-



July 26. War was proclaimed at Boston against the Eastern Indians, which has been denominated "The Three Years' Indian War."

The Episcopalians had become so numerous that the King's Chapel could not contain them, and another Church was therefore resolved upon. Agreeably to notice given by Mr. Miles of the Chapel,

Sept. 2. a meeting was held in that house on the following Wednesday, at which Mr. John Barnes was chosen Treasurer, Thomas Graves, Esq., Mr. George Cradock, Mr. Anthony Blount, Mr. John Gibbins, Mr.

Thomas Selby, and Mr. George Monk, were chosen a Committee to receive Subscriptions for a building. A piece of ground had already been purchased at the North End, and in the

1723. following April, the Corner Stone of the
April 15. Second Episcopal Church was laid by

Dec. 29. Mr. Myles, and in December following it was dedicated by the Rev. Timothy Cutler, who was its first Rector.* Such was the origin of Christ's Church.

The architecture of Christ's Church has been much admired, and justly so; and it still stands a fine ornament to the north part of the City, though changed by various repairs, to some ex-



CHRIST'S CHURCH.

room. See *Naes-Letter*, 23 April, 1763, where there is a long account of him. In 1734, Nathaniel Belknap and John Phillips, "stationers in Cornhill," were executors to the will of Mrs. Abigail Belknap.

* The succession of Rectors:—

Timothy Cutler, settled 29 Dec., 1793, d. 17 Aug., 1795.

James Groaton, settled 30 May, 1759, left 31 Aug., 1767.

Mather Byles, Jr., settled 22 April, 1768, left April, 1775, d. in St. John, N. B., 12 Mar., 1814.

Stephen Lewis, settled Aug., 1778, left Sept., 1784.

William Montague, settled April, 1786, left May, 1792.

William Walter, settled 29 May, 1792, died 5 Dec., 1800.

Samuel Haskell, settled May, 1801, left Sept., 1803.

Asa Eaton, settled 23 Oct., 1803, left May, 1829.

William Crosswell, instituted 24 June, 1829, left June, 1840, d. 9 Nov., 1851.

John Woart, instituted 1 Nov., 1840, left 1851.

William T. Smithett, instituted 1851.

When this Church was founded, it is stated that there were about 400 regular attendants on its services; while the purchasers of pews were but 53, of whom Dr. Snow gives the following list:—

William Abraham,
Joseph Amey,

Anthony Blount,
Bissell,

[Joseph?] Ballard,
Bedgood,

Thomas Bennet,
Walter Brown,
George Barrow,

Boulderson,
Daniel Crackford,
William Clarke,
Isaac Dickenson,

Timothy Daniel,
Thomas Graves,
Mary Gibbs,

Increase Gatchell,
[John?] Hooton,
John Howard,

Robert Harris,
William Hislop,
Robert Harrison,

Hender,
North Ingham,
[Robt.?] Jenkins,

William Jones,
James King,
Lawlor,

Moall,

Gillam Phillips,
William Patton,

William Priggs,
John Petell,
William Price,

Thomas Price,
George Pemberton,
Henry Pigeon,
Stephen Perks,

John Rachell,
Nicholas Roach,
William Rideout,
George Skinner,

Edward Stanbridge,
John Sowerby,
Arthur Savage,

Adam Tuck,
Robert Temple,
Thomas Tippen,

Mary Tomlins,
Henry Venner,
Maj. [Leonard] Vassall,
Robert Ward,

Abraham Winter.

The earliest Wardens, according to Dr. Eaton, were:—

1724-5 Thomas Graves, 1741 John Hammock,

1726 Anthony Blount, John Joanes,

1727 Edward Watts, 1742 Robert Temple,

1728 Leonard Vassal, 1743-6 Robert Jenkins,

1729 Gilliam Phillips, Robert Gould,

1730 George Monk, 1747 John Baker,

1731 William Patten, 1747 Alex. Chamberlain,

1732-4 William Price, 1748 Capt. Grushea,

1735 John Hooton, 1749-50 John Gibbs,

1736 Robert Jervis, 1751 Joseph Ballard,

1737 Robert Jenkins, 1752 John Pullen,

1738 Edward Lutwyche, 1753 Giles Tidmarsh,

1739-40 Hugh McDaniel. Then the same names

tent. Its original steeple was blown down in the violent gale of October, 1804; but it was soon rebuilt under the direction of Charles Bulfinch, Esq., who preserved the proportions and symmetry of the old one, as far as practicable.* There is in this Church a bust to the memory of Washington, — the first monument ever erected to his memory in the Country.

In 1744, Christ's Church was furnished with a "Peal of eight Bells," and it was for a long time the practice to chime them several nights previous to Christmas, — "ringing the Old Year out and the New Year in."†

The death of Mr. Robert Calef occurred this year. His name has descended to this age, and will always be remembered for the able manner in which he exposed the absurd proceedings against persons accused of witchcraft. Justice was withheld from him in his day, and traces of his unpopularity are discoverable in several proceedings of the Town. His work exposing the witch delusion was published in London in 1700; probably no Bookseller in Boston would undertake it, from fear of sharing with the Author in his unpopularity. To expose a delusion in which almost the whole community were believers, was an undertaking requiring not only a mind of firmness, but one of conscious rectitude also. These were attributes, it is believed, of the mind of Robert Calef.‡ Another circumstance shows him to have been in advance of his age, which was his favoring Inoculation for the Small-pox; several of his children being inoculated by Dr. Boylston, in 1721.

recur to 1760, when Thomas Ivers came in; 1763, Francis Shaw; 1767, Daniel Malcolm; 1782, James Sherman and George Bright.

* The Church is 70 feet long, 50 wide, and 35 high; walls 2½ feet thick; area of steeple 24 feet; brick tower 78 feet high; spire 97 feet; in all, 175 feet. The amount of the original subscriptions towards its erection was £737, 18s. sterling, contributed by 214 persons.

† The aggregate weight of these bells is 7272 pounds. On each of them is an inscription, showing that they were presented in 1744, "by a number of generous persons." On one is this valuable piece of history: — "We are the first Ring of Bells cast for the British Empire in North America. A. R. 1744." On another, "William Shirley, Esq., Governour, 1744." The subscription for their purchase was obtained in 1743 and 4 by "John Hammock, Robt. Temple, Robert Jenkins and Ino. Gould, Church Wardens." On another, "Abel Rudhall, of Gloucester, cast us all. Anno 1744."

On the 28 Dec., 1823, Rev. Asa Eaton, D. D., preached a Century Discourse in Christ's Church, which was published; from which the above is taken.

‡ He was 2d son of Robert Calfe of Rox-

bury, who died 13 April, 1719, and was a merchant of Boston, and died after April, 1722, and before Feb., 1723. He m. Margaret Barton, 23 Dec., 1699, who d. before 11 Sept., 1744. They had eight or more children, most of whom died young. James was living, though not in the Province, when his mother died. Ann married — Green, and had several children; Margaret m. — Star, and had four or more children. Our Robert Calfe left a will, dated 2 Jan., 1720, proved 18 Feb., 1722-3. He wrote his name *Calfe*, when he signed his will, and elsewhere, although in his "More Wonders of the Invisible World" it stands as in the text. He had a sister Martha, m. to Solomon Hews, 28 Sept., 1700, and Mary, m. to Mr. Samuel Stevens, 9 Oct., 1712. Joseph Calfe of Boston, tanner, nephew of our Robert, was appointed administrator of his grandfather's estate, 3 June, 1720. This Joseph was son of Joseph, who was the eldest son of Robert of Roxbury, clothier. The Autograph accompanying is copied from the will above mentioned.

Jo: Calfe

Feb. 24. An exceeding high tide overflowed all the low parts of the Town and did great damage.*

To avoid accidents to travellers by losing their way in coming and going over the Neck, the Town made an effort to have the road fenced in. The General Court, having been applied to, caused it to be done. It cost about fifty pounds, which was put into the hands of William Payne, Esq., "to satisfy the labourers, and to pay for the posts and rails used therein."

Aug. 25. An Indian named John Aquittamong, a Nipmuck, residing near Woodstock, visited Boston in August of this year, having attained the great age of 112 years. He was entertained at Judge Sewall's and Judge Dudley's; and notwithstanding his great age he was intelligent and active. He remembered coming to Boston the year it was settled by the English; saw them digging a cellar for the first house. Hence he was born in 1611, and was nineteen years old in 1630. He lived about two years after this visit; dying on the twenty-first of July, 1725.† When he last visited Boston he was able to walk ten miles a day.

Aug. 23. The death of Dr. Increase Mather marks an era in 1723. He was in the eighty-fifth year of his age; had preached sixty-six years, and presided over Harvard College about twenty. He was a voluminous Author, though his works are generally small, chiefly Sermons and Essays.‡

The play of "throwing the long bullets" on the Common is forbidden; and no person to dig sand, earth or stones, at Fox-hill, or "the Ridg near thereto, between that and Windmill-hill in the Common."

* It is thus described by Dr. Cotton Mather: "It rose two feet higher than ever had been known unto the Country, and the City of Boston particularly suffered from it incredible mischiefs and losses. It rose two or three feet above the famous Long Wharf, and flowed over the other wharves and streets to so surprising an height, that we could sail in boats from the Southern Battery to the rise of ground in King-street, and from thence to the rise of ground ascending toward the North Meeting-house. It filled all the cellars, and filled the floors of the lower rooms in the houses and warehouses in Town." — *Hist. Colls.*, ii. 11. It was very common in those days to call Boston a City. Dr. Holmes thinks this inundation happened in 1724, and that Dr. Mather used the old style; but I think, had that been the case, Mather would have written 1723-4. Besides, I find no allusion to the matter in some Newspapers consulted, printed then in Boston. Again, Dr. Mather says it was on "the Lord's day," and Lord's day did not happen on Feb. 24th, 1724, but it does fall on the 24th of 1723.

† "Forty years before [this] he had been remarked as an old Indian. He constantly affirmed that in 1630, upon a message from the English that they were in want of corn, soon after their arrival, he went with

his father to Boston, and carried a bushel and a half of corn all the way upon his back; that there was then only one cellar begun in the Town, and that somewhere near the Common." — *Hutchinson*, ii. 306. Not knowing, perhaps, that Aquittamong lived two years after this visit, Mr. Hutchinson compares his death to that of the famous Thomas Parr; inferring that it happened immediately after his journey, which is not correct, and the cases are not at all parallel. Parr is said to have been killed by being feasted during a visit to London.

‡ The last of his publications was in 1722, according to his Biographer. For many years he used to speak in his discourses "as a dying man." In a Preface which he wrote to Mr. Webb's "Sermon to a Society of young men" in 1718, he says, "Seven and fifty years are the next week expired, since I began my ministry in Boston. It is matter of constant humiliation that I have done so little good in so long a time. It is also matter of rejoicing, that I shall leave those to succeed me, who I hope will exceed me in serviceableness to Christ and his People. The Lord grant it may be so. Boston, Aug. 28, 1718." There is a pedigree of the family in the *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.* for 1852.

March 9. The Selectmen begin the practice of opening Town-meetings with prayer. Dr. Cotton Mather at this time officiated.*

May 3. On the third of May the Town was thrown into much surprise by the arrival of an unknown vessel in the harbor, and it was soon found that it had been captured from pirates. A few young men, who, having been forced into the service of the dreaded sea-rover, Capt. John Phillips, seizing an opportunity, killed him and his principal men, somewhere about the Banks of Newfoundland, and sailing hence, succeeded in reaching Boston in safety with their prize, and six of the pirates as prisoners. The names of the courageous men who had thus ridden the seas of one of its worst scourges, were Capt. Andrew Harridon, of Boston, Edward Cheesman, ship carpenter, John Fillmore, of Ipswich, a Spanish Indian, taken with Harridon, and two or three others not mentioned by name. These men were chiefly taken out of fishing-vessels. They found great difficulty in making the arrangements to effect their liberty, but after a captivity of near nine months, they succeeded as already intimated.†

There appears to have been but three principal actors in the tragedy on the part of the liberators; namely, Cheesman, Fillmore and the Indian. Harridon was so overcome with fear that nothing was allotted to him to perform. At twelve of the clock at noon the attempt

April 14. was to be made, as then the officers were usually upon deck. The signal was given by Cheesman, which was to seize the Master, named Nutt, and throw him into the sea, which he did; at the same moment, Fillmore split out the brains of Phillips with an axe, and the Indian seized Turrell, the boatswain, around his arms, and so held him till his head was cleft with the axe. All was the work of a minute; the rest of the pirates were secured, six in number, all of whom were afterwards tried, condemned and executed.‡

John Fillmore, so conspicuous in this capture of pirates, was the great grandfather of Millard Fillmore, ex-President of the United States.§

The American seas continued to be almost constantly infested with pirates. The Sea-horse man-of-war, Captain Durell, was stationed here, and made occasional expeditions in pursuit of them; but with what success is not mentioned. || There was at the same time a dis-

* I do not remember to have noticed any earlier mention of the custom upon the records.

† This account of the pirate Phillips is deduced from the Narrative of John Fillmore and the Boston Gazette of 1724. There is considerable discrepancy between them. Fillmore's was drawn up many years after the occurrence, and apparently from memory, altogether. It is destitute of dates, and contains but few names, and I have regarded the Gazette as more accurate in these respects.

‡ The following, taken from the Boston Gazette of June 8th, probably has reference to the

fate of two of Phillips's men: "On Tuesday the 2d instant, were executed here, for piracy, John Rose Archer, Quarter Master, aged about 27 years, and William White, aged about 22 years. After their death they were conveyed in boats down to an island, where White was buried, and the Quarter Master was hung up in Irons, to be a Spectacle, and so a warning to others." Bird Island is believed to have been the usual place for burying and gibbeting such malefactors.

§ This information I had direct from Mr. Fillmore himself, several years ago.

|| On the 25th of July, "Mr. William

trekking Indian war in the eastern coasts, attended with the usual miseries, and loss of life and property. Soon after war was declared, the Government offered 100 pounds bounty for every Indian scalp, or for every Indian killed, and occasionally scalps were brought into Boston, exhibited on poles, and the reward claimed. Towards the end of December, Capt. John Lovewell, of Dunstable, brought in one scalp and a captive, and received the bounty.*

Aug. 10. A fire destroyed a large warehouse near Oliver's Dock, but it was prevented from spreading by several buildings being pulled down. The loss was considerable, and several men were much hurt.

Aug. 21. The man-of-war *Sheerness*, Capt. James Cornwall, arrived in port. She was the "station-ship." How long Captain Cornwall continued here is not known. He was afterwards actively employed in various expeditions until 1743, when he was killed on board his ship, the *Marlborough*, of 100 guns, while gallantly supporting Admiral Matthews in his bloody engagement with the Spanish and French fleets off Toulon.†

Nov. 23. In the end of November, a storm of great violence from the south-east did immense damage to the wharves and shipping, "some vessels being wholly ruined, others had their heads or sterns broke, some their masts, and several boats stove in pieces. A boat was overturned in the harbor, and one man drowned. A barn was blown down, and a horse killed in it. Several chimneys were also blown down."‡

Mr. Joseph Marion established an Insurance Office in Boston, which appears to have been the first in the Town, and probably the first in New England.§

Chambers, Lieut., Mr. Gilfoy, Master, and Mr. Roberts, Master's Mate, of His Majesty's Ship *Sea-Horse*, sailed from this port to the Eastward in quest of the Indians; the former, Commander of a Sloop, and the two latter, Commanders of two Schooners with 4 men each." — *Gazette* of 27 July, 1724. Nothing appears to have been collected by this expedition. — *Hutchinson*.

"Aug. 1st being the Anniversary of His Majesty's happy accession to the Throne, the Guns at Castle William and on board His Majesty's Ship *Sea-Horse* were discharged, and the Day concluded with Demonstrations of Joy on so joyful an occasion." — *Id.*, Aug. 3d.

How long Capt. Durell remained on this station is not mentioned; but in 1731 he commanded the *Exeter* of 60 guns, and was with Sir Charles Wager in the Mediterranean. Afterwards he had command of the *Kent*, a 70 gun ship, and was ordered with Admiral Vernon against Porto Bello; but the order as to him was countermanded, and he was sent on other service. In an action with a Spanish 70 gun ship he lost one of his hands. He died at sea 23 Aug. 1741. — *Charnock*, iv. 82-3.

* According to Hutchinson, Lovewell arrived in Boston June 5th, 1725. He made a second

expedition soon after, in which he killed 10 Indians, the scalps of all which he brought to Boston on March 3d following. A more full and particular account of Lovewell's last and famous expedition may be found in the *Gen. Regr.* for 1753, than in any other work.

† A costly monument was erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey, the inscription on which, among other things, details that he was "the third son of Henry Cornwall, of Bradwarden Castle, in the County of Hereford, Esq., who was descended from the very old and illustrious stock of the Plantagenets." — *Biographia Navalis*, iv. 131, and Schomburgk's *Naval Chronology*, i. 206.

‡ *Boston Gazette*, 30 Nov. 1724. No. 262.

§ The General Court Journal of Dec. 1720, contains the following interesting facts respecting Mr. Marion: "A Memorial and Representation of Joseph Hiller and Samuel Tyley, Publick Notaries for the County of Suffolk, shewing that Mr. Joseph Marion, of Boston, Scrivener, takes upon him the character and office of a Public Notary, under pretence, as is commonly said, of a Commission from his Grace the Arch Bishop of Canterbury, request the Court to interpose, and do therein as may seem meet, etc. Ordered, that the said Marion

Mar. 30. Early this Spring died Mr. Ambrose Vincent, a gentleman of note and much respected. He was for many years "A Waiter of the Customs," and at his decease was "Marshall of Admiralty." *

The Indian war continued with great fierceness throughout most of the year 1725, but in the beginning of May the hostile Indians met with a blow from which they never recovered. Capt. John Lovewell, May 8. at the head of about forty men, penetrating far into the northern wilderness, met the main body of the enemy upon their own ground, at a place called Pigwacket, when there followed one of the most bloody encounters, considering the numbers engaged, anywhere recorded. The leaders on both sides were killed, as were their principal followers, yet the Indians were beaten, and in October following, a large deputation from the eastern Tribes proceeded to Boston, where, by previous arrangements, they had agreed to appear to make a treaty of peace.

Dec. 15. A formal Treaty was signed in the Council Chamber, to which the names of Sauguaaram, Arexus, Francis Xavier, and Magunumba, on the part of the Indians, appear. Lieut. Gov. William Dummer signed on the part of Massachusetts, Lieut. Gov. John Wentworth on the part of New Hampshire, and Major Paul Mascarene as Commissioner on the part of Nova Scotia.

Bears were uncommonly numerous this autumn. In the month of September it was stated that not less than twenty had been killed in the course of one week within two miles of Boston.†

A case of singular depravity was detected and summarily punished. In the course of the preceding October, "a lad of about seventeen years of age" enticed into by-places three little children, barbarously whipped and otherwise abused them. Some days after he was accidentally seen passing along the street by one of them, who gave timely notice, and he was arrested and put into bridewell. On his trial in Feb. 26. the Superior Court, at the February term, the severe sentence decreed to the culprit may be taken as an indication of the enormity of his offence. He was ordered "to be whipped thirty-nine

be notified, that he may be heard before this House to-morrow at 9 o'clock." Mr. Marion having appeared according to this order, and being requested "to produce his Commission from the Arch Bishop, did so; whereupon the Court resolved that no one had authority to grant such license of Notary except this Government, and the said Marion was accordingly ordered not to practise as Notary any further."

In 1728 Mr. Joseph Marion's office was near where the Globe Bank now is, in State-street, where he advertised that proposals might be seen "for the erecting an Assurance Office for houses and household goods from loss and damage by fire, in any part of the Province, by the name of the *Sun Fire Office in Boston*." — *Weekly Jour.*

Joseph Marion was son of Dea. John M., who d. 3 Jan., 1728, in his 78th year, whose wife was Anna, dau. of John Harrison, rope-maker. Deacon Marion belonged to the First Church. Marion-street, I suppose, perpetuates the name.

* He was in his 47th year. He left a wife, Sarah, who died very suddenly 14 March, 1728; "as she was walking home from making a visit, dropped down in the street," and died soon after. Mr. Charles Apthorp was one of the executors of Mr. Vincent's will. There was an Ambrose Vincent living in Bromfield's Lane in 1743. The same, perhaps, who died 16 Mar. 1800, Æ. 87, and was buried in King's Chapel burying-ground.

† *Newspaper.*

lashes at the cart's tail, twelve at the gallows, thirteen at the head of Summer-street, and thirteen below the Town-house; and to be committed to bridewell for six months."*

This was the age of "Hoop Petticoats," but, judging from an advertisement in Franklin's *Courant*, they had been pretty severely attacked, and the assault was probably continued until they surrendered without conditions.†

July 12. Three men were executed for piracy; the principal of whom was William Fly, the tragical story of whose life and death has been often published to the world. He was boatswain to the *Snow Elizabeth*, of which John Green was commander. In May preceding, as they were upon their voyage from Jamaica to Guinea, Fly, May 27. having united with him several of the crew, cast the captain and mate into the sea, took the *Snow*, changed its name to the *Fame's Revenge*, and "set out pirating." Their career was short, however. Having coasted up into the New England seas, and captured several vessels, they made a pilot of one William Atkinson, whom they took out of a sloop on the coast of North Carolina. Atkinson submitted quietly to a fate he could not avoid, and, though closely watched by Captain Fly, he succeeded in organizing a mutiny to rescue the vessel out of the hands of the pirates, and to liberate himself and the other captives. Only three are named whom he enlisted in this dangerous service. Their names were Samuel Walker, Thomas Streaton, and James Benbrook. The plan succeeded, and the ship was retaken without bloodshed, and soon after arrived in Boston, where the pirates were tried, condemned and executed. Four were sentenced to die, but one was reprieved at the place of execution.

The dead bodies of the pirates were, as was then the custom, carried to an island about two miles from the Town, and there buried, except that of Fly, which was hung in chains upon a gibbet.‡ Six of the piratical crew had been put on board a prize shortly before Atkinson's successful attempt, and were absent, or he very probably could not have effected it.

The well-known and worthy inhabitant, Mr. Benjamin 1727. Franklin, died this Spring. He came to this country in 1715, Mar. 17. and was brother of Mr. Josiah Franklin, and uncle of Doctor Benjamin Franklin; of whom the latter made honorable mention in his

* Franklin's *Courant* of 26 Feb. 1726, as quoted by Mr. Buckingham in his *Specimens*, etc., i. 87.

† "Just published, and sold by the Printer hereof. *† Hoop Petticoats. Arraigned and Condemned by the Light of Nature and Law of God. Price 3d."

‡ It was customary then to preach sermons to condemned criminals. Sometimes they were taken into the Meeting-house and seated upon a stool in the broad aisle. Dr. Colman preached to these, except Fly, who would not attend with the others. The discourse is entitled "A Sermon preached to some miserable Pirates,

July 10, 1726. On the Lord's day, before their Execution." To the sermon is appended a Narrative of the affair, from which the facts in the text are taken. The names of those executed with Fly were Samuel Cole and Henry Greenville. "Fly, at his trial, as well as before and after it, behaved boldly and impudently; and when the cart came to take him to execution, he briskly and in a way of bravery jumped up into it, with a nosegay in his hand, bowing with much unconcern to the spectators as he passed along; and at the Gallows he behaved still obstinately and boldly till his face was covered for death."

autobiography.* He was by trade a silk-dyer, at which business he served an apprenticeship in London.

This year opened with a melancholy occurrence; the accidental death of several young persons.†

The traffic in Slaves appears to have been more an object in Boston, than at any period before or since. For a time dealers had no hesitation in advertising them for sale in their own names. At length a very few who advertised would refer purchasers to "inquire of the Printer, and know further." This indicated an early prejudice against the trade; and in a few years dealers suppressed their names altogether.‡

Mar. 20. A fourth Newspaper was commenced, called "THE NEW ENGLAND WEEKLY JOURNAL." Its imprint reads, "Boston. Printed by S. KNEELAND, at the Printing-House in Queen Street, where Advertisements are taken in." It was issued on a half sheet of foolscap, two pages, two columns on a page, chiefly in brier type. When the Journal had been published four months, the name of "T. GREEN" was associated with that of Kneeland as one of its publishers, and it was thus continued till it was united with the Gazette in 1741. The Gazette was discontinued in 1752. The Rev. Thomas Prince is thought to have had a good deal to do with the starting of the Weekly Journal. It advocated the Rev. George Whitfield in the controversy which was

* He is thus handsomely and respectfully spoken of in the *N. Eng. Weekly Journal* of 27 March, 1727:—"On Monday last was decently Interred the Remains of Mr. Benjamin Franklin, who dyed here on Friday the 17th Instant, in the 77th Year of his age. A person who was justly Esteemed and valued as a rare and exemplary Christian; one who loved the people and Ministers of CHRIST: His Presence in the House of GOD was always solemn and affecting, and though he courted not the observation of men, yet there were many that could not but take notice of, and admire the peculiar excellencies that so vividly adorned him." Mr. Sparks gives the time of his birth (22 Mar. 1659) but not that of his death. He was probably born 1650-1, which agrees with his age as given at his death.

† How these deaths occurred has not been ascertained. They are thus mentioned in a note to a Sermon on the death of two of them, by Rev. Thomas Prince. In the title-page of his Sermon, Mr. Prince says it was "Occasioned by the very Sudden Death of two young gentlemen in Boston, on Saturday, January 14th, 1726-7."—The Note referred to follows: "On January 14th, Mr. Samuel Hirst, aged 22, and Mr. Thomas Lewis, aged 32. Besides these two that were the occasion, a third falls out this very day, a fortnight after, viz.: Mr. Simon Bradstreet, aged 20." Mr. Hirst was a son of Grove Hirst, Esq., a grandson of Judge Sewall. Mr. Bradstreet was probably son of Dudley Bradstreet, who married Mary Wainwright, grandson of Dudley B.

of Andover, and great-grandson of Gov. Simon Bradstreet.

‡ A few advertisements as specimens follow:—"A likely young Negro man for sale by John Brewster, at the Sign of the Boot near the Draw Bridge." May 15th, 1727.

Benony Waterman had "a parcel of likely Negroes" for sale, to be seen at Capt. Nathaniel Jarvis's house, near Scarlett's wharf. June 12th.

Andrew Treat, "several likely young Negroes" for sale at "Mr. Brownes on Milk St." But if anybody wanted to see him, "he might be enquired for at Capt. Nath. Jarvis's at the North End."

"John Miliken, in Hanover St." offered a very likely young Negro woman. June 19th. — Benj. Poole, of Reading, advertised a Negro man who had run away from him. — Benj. Muzzy, of Lexington, suffered in the same way. His slave spoke "very good English, about 26 yrs. of age; had no hat on, but a horse-lock on the small of one of his legs, and was lately a servant to Mr. John Muzzy, of Mendon."

Mr. James Lubbeck, of Boston, chocolate grinder, living near Mr. Colman's Meeting-house, offered £3 reward to anybody who would catch his Negro.

Jo Daniels, an Indian man-servant, ran away from Mr. Josiah Bacon, of Boston, sawyer. Said Daniels was a tall, slim fellow, and had on a pair of leather breeches. Oct. 16th.

Mr. John Plaisted, near the Mill-bridge, wanted to sell a Negro, lately arrived from

raised by his preaching here and elsewhere in New England.* Mather Byles, then a young man, wrote much for it, in prose and poetry. He was at this time the greatest poet in New England; or, at least, he wrote the greatest amount of poetry of any one.

News reached Boston that the King was dead. He died on Aug. the night of the tenth of June, at Osnaburgh, in Westphalia, at the age of sixty-seven years and thirteen days. He was succeeded by his only son, as George the Second. Mr. Prince was invited to preach a sermon on the occasion, which he did, "In the Audience of the Great and General Assembly of the Province," and which was "Published at the Desire of the Honorable House of Representatives." Mr. Byles published a Poem on the same occasion, surcharged with that kind of panegyric so common at that day. †

Sept. 18. On the eighteenth of September occurred a violent storm, which caused very considerable damage to the wharves and shipping. A kitchen chimney of Mr. Sheafe's blew down and beat in the roof, which killed a child about seven years of age, wounded two others, broke Mrs. Sheafe's leg, and otherwise bruised her, to that degree that her life was in danger.

Oct. 29, 30. The greatest Earthquake which had ever occurred in New England, since it was known to Europeans, was probably that which happened on the night of the twenty-ninth and the thirtieth day of October. There were two great shocks; the first was about a quarter before eleven o'clock at night, "which was the most surprising and awful for the space of about two minutes, when the earth shook and trembled to a very great degree. The houses rocked as if they would have fallen down, and the people, being amazed, ran out into the streets, calling upon the Lord for mercy." The doors, windows and movables, "made a fearful clattering." The pewter and china were thrown from their shelves. Stone walls and the tops of chimneys were thrown down, doors were unlatched and thrown open, and people with difficulty kept upon their feet. It extended all along the coast, and in the West Indies it did great damage.

Dec. 11. Governor Burnet appointed a Fast to be kept on the twenty-first of December, "throughout this Province, on account of the late surprising and amazing Earthquake; and the repeated shakings of the Earth."

A Church of Presbyterians was this year established in Boston; at the head of which was the Rev. John Moorhead, a young man about twenty-three years of age, who arrived from Ireland with a considerable number of followers, chiefly Scotch, but who had lived some time

Guinea. Oct. 23. At the same time Augustus Lucas, of Newport, offered a Negro man and woman for sale, both young and strong.

Col. Penn Townsend died in Aug., a. 75; he had long been a distinguished Magistrate.

* See Thomas, *Hist. Printing*, ii. 225-7.

† "Thee every muse and every grace deplores,
From Thames' banks to these Atlantick shores.
Each bard his grief in gliding accents shews,
And fairest eyes distil their crystal dews.
O! were my breast flushed with an equal fire,
Vast as my theme, and strong as my desire!" &c.



FEDERAL-STREET CHURCH.

in and about Londonderry in Ireland.* They were driven from the latter Country by the impositions of exorbitant landlords; and although they were a good acquisition to this place, being industrious and orderly, and in time introduced several valuable arts and improvements among the people, yet they at first met with a cold reception, being viewed as inferiors and intruders.

These emigrants purchased a lot of ground at the corner of Berry-street and Leng-lane, and converted a barn which stood on the ground into a Meeting-house. This was in 1729, and this humble edifice served them for a place of worship until 1744; although in the mean time two small additions, in the shape of wings, were added to it. In the year last mentioned a substantial and convenient Church was built, after the fashion of the Churches of that time, as represented by the engraving annexed.† And with that old Church there is much of interest associated; it was within its walls that Delegates met in Convention to decide whether Massachusetts should accept of the Federal Constitution proposed for the United States; and it was here that it was finally accepted, on the seventh of February, 1788. It was owing to this circumstance that the name of Long-lane was changed to that of Federal-street.

The old or second House was of wood, the tower fronting on Federal-street. The present Gothic structure was completed, on the site of the old one, in the course of 1809.

The Rev. David Annan was the next Pastor after Mr. Moorhead. He was installed in 1783, and was dismissed, at his own request, by the Presbytery, in 1786, and was afterwards settled over a Church in Philadelphia. In the period succeeding the death of Mr. Moorhead and the settlement of Mr. Annan, occurred the war of the Revolution, during which regular preaching was interrupted. After the evacuation of the Town by the British in March, 1776, the Rev. Andrew Croswell was employed to preach to this Society. In 1787, Dr. Jeremy Belknap was installed over this Church, he having taken a dismission from

* Mr. Moorhead was born near Belfast in Ireland in 1703; was an honest, blunt man, much beloved and respected. He died on the 2 December, 1773, having preached the Sunday preceding. He married, here, Miss Sarah Parsons, an English lady, who survived him about a year. One of their children, Mrs. Agnes Wilson, widow of Capt. Alexander Wilson, was living in Boston in 1824.

† There was in this Church, probably at an early period, an inscription giving some historical facts respecting it. It was a mixture of

Latin and English, and may be seen in Dr. Douglass' *Summary*, i. 368. Dr. Channing gives it the following intelligible reading:— "This Church of Presbyterian Strangers was congregated Anno Dom. 1729. This building was begun Anno. Dom. 1742, and finished Anno. Dom. 1744, by a small but generous number. (Hujus fundamen saxum est. Domus illa manebit. Labilis è contra si sit arena peribit. Gloria Christi lex nostra suprema. Desiderio J. M. Anjus ecclesiæ, Christique pastor) and first preached in May 6th."

a Parish in Dover, New Hampshire, for that purpose. He was an eminent Scholar and Historian. "Before the settlement of this gentleman, but not at his instance, or with any view of inviting him in particular, the Society, which had become reduced to a small number, had relinquished the Presbyterian regimen, and embraced the Congregational order."

Dr. Belknap died suddenly on the twentieth of June, 1798, aged fifty-four.* He was succeeded by the Rev. John Snelling Popkin, D.D., who, in 1802, being appointed to the Greek professorship in Harvard College, was succeeded by the Rev. William Ellery Channing, D.D., who was ordained June the first, 1803. The Rev. Ezra Stiles Gannett was ordained there in 1824.†

The General Court projected a bill for fortifying the Sea-ports of the Colony. Owing to the scarcity of money, a new emission of bills of credit was proposed; 30,000 pounds of which was to be loaned to Boston for a term of thirteen years, 10,000 pounds of which it was to lay out on the forts and in stores.

The Act of 1716 having proved insufficient to cause a proper observance of Sunday, additional Acts were this year passed. Transgressors were to be fined, which if they would not or could not pay immediately, they were to be put into jail, "or set in the Cage or Stocks." People were forbid keeping open shops "the evening preceeding the Lord's day or evening following." Swimming "in the water," unnecessary "walking or riding in the streets, lanes or highways, or Common Field of the Town of Boston," &c., were in like manner prohibited, under stipulated penalties.‡

Several arrivals on the closing days of the year brought the most appalling intelligence of the destructions by the late earthquake in the West Indies. Captain Cooper came in from Barbadoes on the 25th of December, with the news that "the day before he left there the houses were in great convulsion, and the streets arose and fell like the waves of the sea." Six days after, Captain Wickham arrived in about thirty days from Martinico, with the report that on the 27th of October, at noon, many buildings were shaken down and several Negroes killed. At four o'clock the same day there "was another terrible shock; which were repeated almost every day till the 10th of November, on which day, being in a boat," he thought the whole Island would be swallowed up. The hills and mountains upon it rose and fell in a surprising manner. The damage sustained was "estimated at 40,000 millions of livres."

* There is an interesting reminiscence of Dr. Belknap in Dr. Griswold's late magnificent work, "The Republican Court." — Belknap-street at the westerly part of the city was so named from the grandfather of the Doctor. Dr. Belknap was born in Boston, 4 June, 1744. He died of paralysis, having been attacked about 4 o'clock in the afternoon of 19th, and died a few minutes before 11 the next day. His wife was Ruth, dau. of Samuel Eliot, bookseller, and his mother was a niece of Mather

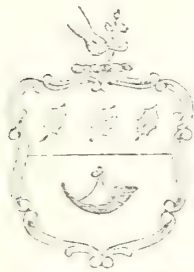
Byles. His father was a leather-dresser, whose place of business was in Ann-street. Dr. Belknap lived in Lincoln-street. There is a fine tribute to his memory in the *Columbian Centinel* of July 4th, 1798.

† For the principal facts in this account of the Federal-street Church I have been chiefly indebted to the Appendix to Dr. Channing's Sermon on the Ordination of Mr. Gannett.

‡ *Province Laws*, edition 1742, p. 266—8. Was this law ever literally executed?

CHAPTER LIX.

Accidental Deaths. — Death of Dr. Cotton Mather. — Duel on the Common. — Its Cause, and Circumstances attending. — Arrival of Gov. Burnet. — His Family. — His Reluctance of Catholicism. — His Death. — Number of Inhabitants. — Tenure in Slaves continued. — Trinity Church. — Stamp Office. — Old South Church Rebuilt. — The General Court removed to Salem. — Gov. Dunmore. — Gov. Edenham. — Small-Pox. — Death of Judge Sewall. — Termination of the First Century. — Discourse relating to the Event. — Heirs of Thomas Gole. — Hollis-street Church founded. — Powder Regulation. — Lotteries Suppressed. — Deaths of Daniel Oliver, Bartholomew Green, John Jolly.



WILLIAM BURNET.*

THE year 1728, like the last, commenced by several accidental deaths. Two boys, George and Nathan Howell, skating "at the bottom of the Common," were drowned. Being the only children of Jan 8. highly-respected parents, great sympathy was expressed by the inhabitants for the severe bereavement; and when the news of it was carried to Dr. Watts, on the other side of the Atlantic, he sent the mother a beautiful letter of condolence.†

Feb. 13. Another death, though not casual, happened early this year, which occasioned a greater sensation throughout the Town than almost any other since its settlement. This was the death of the Rev. Cotton Mather, D. D. and F. R. S., a man possessing extraordinary endowments of mind. His faculty for acquiring all kinds of knowledge has seldom been equalled; but his credulity led him into extravagances, which some have used to his discredit; and his want of judgment in ordinary things has subjected him to severe censures, which time may materially soften. ‡

* The family of Burnet, to whom our Governor of the name belonged, though originally Scottish, traceable to high antiquity in the south of Scotland. Burnard, Barnard, Burnet, Burnett, &c. appear to have the same origin. Alexander Burnet, the great-grandfather of the Governor, was the tenth proprietor of Inverness. In 1673, there was living at New-Marshall, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, William Burnet, Gent., who bore the same arms as the family of the Governor. There is an interesting notice of Gov. Burnet in Dr. Elliot's *N. Eng. Biographical Dictionary*; also in Dr. Allen's work.

† The parents of these children were Nathan and Catherine (George) Howell. The boys were, one about 14, and the other about 15 years of age. Portraits of them are in the Library of the N. Eng. Hist. Gen. Soc. — See *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, i. 191, and *N. Eng. Week. Jour.*, 15 Jan. 1728.

‡ The decease of Dr. Mather is thus noticed at the time of its occurrence. "Last Tuesday in the Forenoon, between 8 and 9 o'clock, died here, the very Reverend COTTON MATHER,

Doctor in Divinity of Glasco, and Fellow of the Royal Society in London, Senior Pastor of the Old North Church in Boston, and an Overseer of Harvard College; by whose Death Persons of all Ranks are in Concern and Sorrow. He was perhaps the principal Ornament of this Country, and the greatest Scholar that ever was bred in it. — But besides his universal Learning; his exalted Piety and extensive Charity, his entertaining Wit, and singular Goodness of temper, recommended him to all, that were Judges of real and distinguished Merit. After having spent above Forty-seven years in the faithful and unwearied Discharge of a lively, zealous and awakening Ministry, and in incessant Endeavors to do Good and spread abroad the Glory of CHRIST, he finished his Course with a Divine Composure and Joy, the day after his Birth-Day, which completed his Sixty-Fifth year, being born on Feb. 12, 1662-3." — *N. Eng. Weekly Journal*, 19 Feb., 1728. A very particular pedigree of the Mather family has appeared in a new edition of the *Magnalia*, published at Hartford, by Messrs. Andros & Son, this present year, 1855.



COTTON MATHER, D. D.

Born, 9 Feb. 1661 in Dorchester, Mass. A.B. 1683.

As the death of Dr. Mather caused universal emotion, so the extraordinary marks of honor and respect paid to his memory, at his funeral, are additional proofs of the high consideration in which he was held by his contemporaries. The publications of the time, Newspapers and Funeral Sermons, bear ample testimony both to his worth and renown.*

While upon the subject of deaths, notice may be taken of one other in this place; which was that of a young man, Benjamin Woodbridge, who fell in a duel.† It being the first death thus brought about in Boston, so far as can be ascertained,‡ created a great excitement. His murderer was also a young man, whose name was Henry Phillips. They were both merchants, and belonged to very respectable families. The immediate cause of the encounter which resulted in the death of Woodbridge, and "which set the Town in mourning," was a falling-out between him and Phillips at the tavern of Luke Vardy in King-street, called the Royal Exchange Tavern. A number of young men had been in the habit of assembling at that noted house for the purpose of gaming and drinking.§ Here, on the night of the third of July, the before-named individuals were fitted for shedding each other's blood. Accordingly, between ten and eleven of the clock in the evening, they met alone on the Common, "near the water side," fought

* In the *Weekly Journal* is given the following account of his funeral:—"On Monday last the Remains of the late very Reverent and Learned Dr. Cotton MATHER, who dec'd on Tuesday the 13. Instant, to the great Loss and Sorrow of this Town and Country, were very honorably interred. His Reverend Collegue in deep Mourning, with the Brethren of the Church walking in a Body before the Corps. The Six first Ministers of the Boston Lecture supported the Pall. Several Gentlemen of the bereaved flock took their turns to bear the Coffin. After which followed, first, the bereaved Relatives, in Mourning: then his Honour the Lieutenant Governor, the Honourable His Majesty's Council, and House of Representatives; and then a large train of Ministers, Justices, Merchants, Scholars, and other principal Inhabitants, both of Men and Women. The Streets were crowded with People, and the windows filled with sorrowful Spectators, all the way to the Burying place: Where the Corps was deposited in a Tomb belonging to the worthy Family."—*Id.*, 26 Feb., 1728.

The burial place of the family is at Copp's Hill.

Cotton Mather.

† He was a son of Hon. Dudley W., of Barbadoes, the same mentioned by Hutchinson, probably, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 402; and therefore grandson of Rev. Benjamin W., of Medford, by Mary, dau. of Rev. John Ward, and great-grandson of Rev. John Woodbridge of Newbury, by Mercy, dau. of Gov. Thomas Dudley.—*Memoranda* of Mr. JOHN DEAN, a descendant of

Rev. Benj. Woodbridge.—See *N. E. H. and Gen. Reg.*, ix. p. 93.

‡ "This new and almost unknown case (in this country) has put almost the whole Town into great Surprise."—*N. E. Weekly Journal*, 8 July, 1728.

§ Three days after the tragical event, Dr. Cushman preached a Sermon on "the late bloody Duel," which he introduces with the words "Death and the Grave without any order." His Text was (Prov. ii. 15, 16), "My son, walk not thou in the way with them," &c. With his accustomed ability he treated the subject of intemperance and its consequences. Addressing himself to young men especially, he said, "But the sad and dismal disorder which the righteous God permitted to fall out among us the last week, horrible to mention, and to be bewailed with tears of blood, leads me into a more particular Address unto our Young People, and to the Elders with them.—See the hasty and cursed fruit of criminal Disorders, in a double murder of a late hopeful and promising youth, who was heretofore of us, a child of great expectation; but he went out from us, and ran himself into the paths of the Destroyer, and an untimely death.—Duels are the Devil all over, who was a murderer from the beginning.—CHILDREN, beware of forming yourselves into nightly or daily *Tavern-clubs*; or even into such weekly or monthly Societies for meeting and spending your evenings in drinking together and gaming.—Gaming and Wine incite and inflame to Duels. So it was in the late lamented calamity. What a hideous story is it!" &c. p. 14-15.

with swords, and Woodbridge was run through the body and immediately killed. Phillips fled at once to his brother Gillam Phillips, who, with the aid of their kinsman, Peter Faneuil,* Adam Tuck† and Capt. John Winslow,‡ conveyed him on board the man-of-war Sheerness, then ready to sail. The murderer thus escaped. He got to Rochelle, in France, the home of some of his relatives, but he lived only a year to reflect on the deed which had not only made him the most wretched of all the wretched, but to reflect also upon the distress and anguish his conduct had carried to the bosoms of all his friends and the friends of his victim.

July 4. The body of Woodbridge was not found until the next morning. A Coroner's inquest was immediately held upon it,§ and Governor Dummer issued a Proclamation for the apprehension of Phillips.|| A new law was made to prevent duelling, providing that persons engaged in any way in a duel, though no injury was done to either party, should, upon conviction, "be carried publicly in a cart to the gallows, with a rope about his neck, and set on the gallows an hour, then to be imprisoned twelve months without bail." The person who should be killed to be denied "Christian burial," but to be buried "near the usual place of execution," "with a stake drove through the body." The survivor to be treated as a wilful murderer, and to be buried in like manner, "with a stake drove through his body."

* Peter was brother-in-law of G. Phillips. — Sargent in *Ec. Trans.*, 26 April, 1851.

† Tuck and Gillam Phillips belonged to Christ Church, or owned pews there. The former is styled farrier, and died in 1739, intestate. He appears to have had an extensive business, and the inventory of his estate amounted to about £1300. He had a brother John, and a Robert (Tuck) is mentioned in the probate account.

‡ Capt. Winslow allowed them the use of his boat to convey Phillips on board the Sheerness.

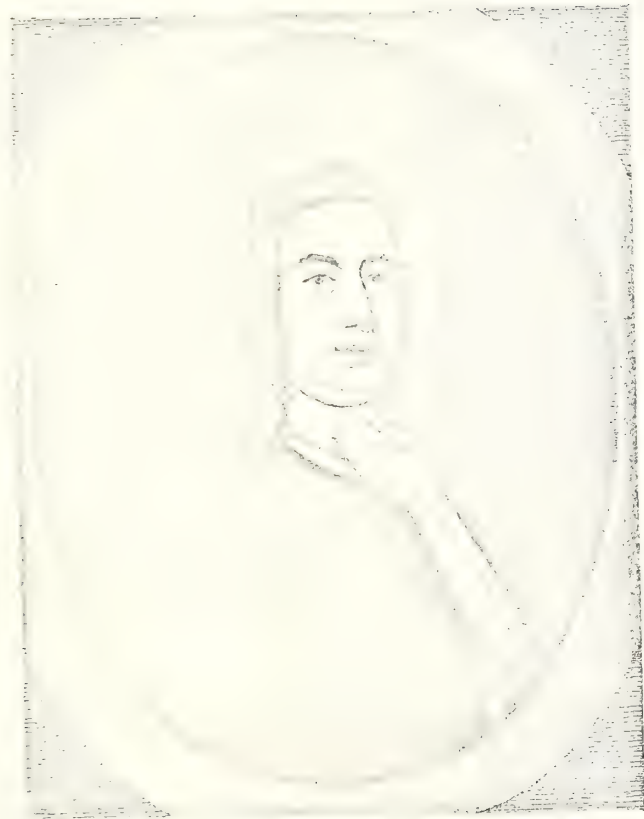
§ The original *finding* of the Jury being brief, and at hand, is here copied: —

"*Suffolk ss.* An Inquisition Indented, Taken at Boston," &c. "Before William Alden, Gent., One of the Coroners of Our said Lord the King," &c., "upon the view of the Body of Benjamin Woodbridge, then and there being dead, by the Oaths of Daniel Powning, William Wheeler, Giles Dulake Tidmarsh, William Randall, John Taylor, Sam'l Oakes, Jacob Sheafe, Wm. Young, Sam'l Torrey, Josh. Blanchard, William Rand, Sam'l Kneeland, Benj. Bridge, James Boyer, Wm. Lambert, Abraham Wendell, Jr.; Good and lawful men of Boston," "who being sworn, upon their Oaths say, that Benjamin Woodbridge came to his death with a Sword run through his Body by the hands of Henry Phillips of Boston, Merchant, on the Common in s^t Boston, on the 3d of this inst., as appears to us by sundry evidences. — July 4th, 1728."

|| The Proclamation was published in the *Weekly Journal* of July 8th. The preamble is thus expressed: — "Whereas a barbarous Murder was last night committed on the body of Mr. Benjamin Woodbridge, a young gentleman resident in the Town of Boston, and Henry Phillips of said Town is suspected to be the Author of the said Murder, and is now fled from Justice; I have," &c. At the close the Proclamation states, — "The said Henry Phillips is a fair young man, about the age of 22 years, well set and well dressed, and has a wound in one of his hands."

The age of Woodbridge was but about 19; presuming him to be the same person mentioned by Dr. Boylston in 1722, and who was inoculated by him for the Small-pox on the 11th of May of that year. The connections of Phillips being rich and influential, he was easily conveyed away by them, and they were not called to account for it.

It is mentioned, in the account of the Duel in the *Weekly Journal* above cited, that the body of Woodbridge was found "about 3 in the morning, after some hours' search, near the Powder-house in the Common. The body was carried to the house of Mr. Jonathan Sewall (his partner), and on Saturday last [July 6th] was decently and handsomely interred; his funeral being attended by the Commander in Chief, several of the Council, and most of the Merchants and Gentlemen of the Town."



WILLIAM BURWELL.

July 19. Governor Dummer being succeeded by William Burnet, Esq.,
 July 25. as Governor, the latter soon after entered upon the duties of
 the office.* His arrival was enthusiastically hailed, but his administra-
 tion was full of difficulty; not, however, from any faults of his. The
 people had long since determined never to submit quietly to Royal Gov-
 ernors.† His troubles here were brief. He died on the seventh of
 September, 1729.‡ He was son of Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salis-

* Mr. Mather Tyles issued a Poem on the
 Governor's arrival, which thus opens:—

"While rising Steeds a martial Train proclaim,
 And every Tower, O' Beacon, tops thy name;
 To view thy Banners, while crowding Armes run,
 Whose waving Troops shew a first the van,
 And deep-mouth'd Cannon, with a third Train run,
 Sound thy Commission stout and brave to Shew."

This is tame compared with the following:

"Welcome, Great Man, whose dazzling eyes
 Thine Earth's profusion, and its soul, ye Shies!
 And considering Viceroy what Counsel best,
 The Hills all echo, and the Woods repeat:
 And Ocean, O' the Coast, Mistress of the waves,
 Whom the great Lord, with his glorious Arms, surrounds,
 Let thy waves Transported show in numerous Fines,
 And bearing Glories shout in thy praise;
 Let Rocks, strewn, up the Water shore,
 At thy rising Serpents show the Air," &c.

No person had hitherto made a public entry
 into the Town, probably, when there had been
 anything like the honors shown him that
 were now exhibited for Mr. Burnet. The
 following notice of it, written at the time,
 gives a vivid picture of what the Bostonians of
 that day did to honor a Royal Governor's
 arrival.

His Excellency arrived at Newport on the
 11th of July, "about ten at night," in a
 schooner from New York. Here the next
 day he was received with great ceremony. On
 the following Monday [July 15th], a writer at
 Newport says, "His Excellency took his leave
 of our Gentlemen, acknowledging his very
 handsome reception; which put the Govern-
 ment to the willing expense of about £500;
 for the Taverns where His Excellency was en-
 tertained were ordered to keep open house all
 day, and the Governor [of R. I.] ordered the
 Treasury to lie open also. In short, this Gov-
 ernment never more exerted itself than on this
 occasion."

His Excellency proceeded the same day to
 Bristol, "and was entertained at Colonel
 Paine's." On the 17th he set out for Bos-
 ton, "accompanied by the Gentlemen who
 went from hence on the 15th, and several
 others. All along the road there was hand-
 some provision made for him and his company,
 who had a comfortable journey. The next
 night, Thursday, July 18th, they came to Ded-
 ham, where he was received with all possible
 preparations at the house of the Rev. Mr.
 [Samuel] Dexter.* On the morning of the

* He was ordained over the First Church in Dedham in
 1724. The end of the first century from the establishment
 of the Church occurred on the 24 Nov. 1738, upon which
 occasion Mr. Dexter delivered a Discourse which contains
 many important facts. It was printed the same year.
 Mr. Dexter died 29 Jan. 1755. His family pedigree is in
 the *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, viii. 243.

following day the house was surrounded with
 a vast collection of gentlemen, to attend and
 guard His Excellency to Boston; in his pro-
 gress to which he was met near the George [a
 Tavern having a sign of the King, in Boston,
 near the line dividing Roxbury from Boston],
 by the Honorable Lieut. Governor, the Gentle-
 men of the Council, etc., who all stepped out
 of their coaches and congratulated His Excel-
 lency's arrival with all the expressions of an
 undissimulated joy. Here His Excellency was
 received and welcomed by Col. Dudley's regi-
 ment. About twelve o'clock, with the attend-
 ance of five troops, a vast number of gentlemen
 on horseback, and a great number of coaches
 and chaises, he was ushered into Boston, with a
 splendor and magnificence superior to what has
 ever been known in these parts of the world.
 At one of the clock, His Excellency was re-
 ceived by the Boston militia, with a train of
 Magistrates, etc., and conducted to the Court-
 house, where His Commission was opened and
 received with uncommon joy. Then the artil-
 lery at the Castle and forts, and the cannon
 in the ships were discharged amidst the
 shouts and huzzas of an almost numberless
 multitude. After this His Excellency was
 conducted to the Bunch of Grapes a few doors
 from the Town-house." He issued his procla-
 mation the same day. The Province House not
 being ready for his reception, he was accom-
 modated at the house of Elisha Cooke,
 Esq.

† His successor told the General Court,
 "that the King considered them as having
 attempted, by unwarrantable practices, to
 weaken, if not to cut off the obedience which
 they owed to the Crown." And yet Mr.
 Brock said, in his Election Sermon of the 29th
 of May of this year, "At the demise of our
 late most gracious Sovereign, of blessed mem-
 ory, none paid a larger tribute of tears" than
 this Province, and "none more heartily re-
 joiced at the accession of his present Sacred
 Majesty."

‡ His wife had died in New York at the
 close of the last year. News reached Boston
 in June, that by a ship at that port Mr. Bur-
 net had received a Commission transferring
 him to the Government of Massachusetts and
 New Hampshire. On the 20th of the same
 month the "General Assembly" appointed a
 Committee "to repair to the confines of that
 part of the Government which it may appear
 probable His Excellency may first arrive at,"
 to escort him to Boston, and £200 were voted
 to be put into the hands of Mr. Sheriff

bury; the since well-known author of "Memoirs of his own Times," "The Thirty-nine Articles," "Life of the Earl of Rochester," and other works of less note.

Governor Burnet possessed good literary attainments, and, though he made considerable pretensions to a knowledge of theology, he was tolerant and liberal for the times. While he resided in Boston he wrote and published an "Answer to a Letter of a Romish Priest," which was viewed as a triumphant refutation of Popery.* Five years after the Governor's death, the General Court voted his children the sum of 3000 pounds as justly due their father.

The ratable polls in Boston were at this time estimated at 3000.† The number of burials for the year ending in March was 379 whites, and 106 blacks. Early in the year a Mr. Nathaniel Pigot proposed to open a school near Mr. Checkley's Meeting-house for the instruction of Negroes. A good deal of business continued to be carried on in the Town in buying and selling slaves.‡

Winslow to be used in defraying the expenses of his reception, etc. The Committee of reception consisted of the "Hon. William Tudor, Esq., Nathaniel Byfield, Esq., Samuel Thaxter, Esq., Spencer Phelps, Esq., Mr. Secretary Willard, William Dudley, Esq., and John Wainwright, Esq."

His demise is thus noticed in the *New Eng. Weekly Jour.* of Sept. 8th:—"Last Tuesday [Sept. 2] Gov. BURNET was taken ill at his house in Boston, of a feverish distemper, which quickly threw him into a degree of the coma; and last night, at 25 minutes after 10, to our very great surprise, he expired, in the 42d year of his age."

The funeral of Governor Burnet was a great display of respect to his memory, and cost the Province about eleven hundred pounds. It was conducted in the manner of such observances in England. From the arrangements it appears that he had in his family two sons, a daughter and "sisters," a steward named George Burnet, and a French instructor. These were to be dressed in mourning. Gloves and rings were distributed to a large number, and gloves only to still larger numbers. Among the former were included the members of the General Court, ministers of King's Chapel, three doctors, the bearers, President of the College, and the women who laid out the body. Among the latter were the twelve Under Bearers, Justices, Captains of the Castle and Man-of-war, Custom-house Officers, Professors and Fellows of the College, and Ministers of the Town, who attended the funeral. Wine "needful" for the Boston regiment was furnished. The Castle and Battery guns were discharged.

Giving scarfs at funerals had been prohibited by the General Court in 1724, "because a burdensome custom."

* The Refutation in question was printed without the Governor's name. Its title is "A Letter from a Romish Priest in Canada,

to One who was taken Captive in her Infancy, and Instructed in the Romish Faith, but Sometime ago returned to this her Native Country. With an Answer thereto, by a Person to whom it was communicated."

It may be interesting to the readers of the History of Boston to have an explanation of the Letter above referred to. Fifteen years ago (18 April, 1810), my then venerable friend, Dr. T. M. Harris, of Dorchester, put into my hands a copy of the Jesuit's Letter, etc., upon a blank leaf of which was written, in the autograph of Dr. Belknap, the historian, the following, which he extracted from the "Evening Post" of 15 March, 1773: "Died at Dover, Mrs. Christina Baker, born there in March, 1688-9; and when the Town was taken and destroyed by the Indians in June following, she was carried captive with her mother to Canada, and there brought up in the Romish faith; married and had several children; but upon her husband's death, a strong desire led her to return to the land of her nativity, upon an exchange of prisoners in 1714. Upon her return she married Capt. Thomas Baker, then of Northampton, where she renounced the Romish religion, and joined with the Church under the care of the Rev. Solomon Stoddard. An attempt was made to recover her by Mons. Siguenot, a Romish priest, who sent a long and affectionate letter to her from Canada; which being laid before the late Governor Burnet, his Excellency wrote a solid and judicious confutation of the erroneous principles therein advanced." The person which the Jesuit endeavored to reclaim was a daughter of Richard Otis.—See *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, v. 181, etc.

† Douglass, *Summary*, i. 521.

‡ The dealers mentioned last year continued to advertise Negroes, and there were often new arrivals: April 1st. "Mr. Henry Richards" wanted to sell "a parcel of likely Negro boys,

Steps appear to have been taken about the end of April for the formation of a third Episcopal Church.*

Land was at this time purchased of William Speakman at the corner of Summer-street and Bishop's-alley, now Hawley-street, by Leonard Vassall, John Barnes, John Gibbens, apothecary, who were "with all convenient speed immediately" to erect a Church on it, to be contrived



TRINITY CHURCH.

in a manner "most conducing to the decent and regular performance of divine service, according to the rubrick of the Common Prayer Book, used by the Church of England, as by law established."

The advance of this Church was, however, very slow. Six years elapsed before its corner-stone was laid.† The pulpit was supplied by the Ministers of the other two Churches generally, until 1740; in which year, on the eighth of May, Mr. Addington Davenport became its regular Minister. It had received the name of Trinity Church. The first

officers were William Speakman and Joseph Dowse, Wardens; Lawrence Lutwych, Charles Aphorp, William Coffin, James Griffin, John Marrett, Henry Laughton, Peter Kenwood, John Arbuthnot, Benjamin Faneuil, Rufus Green, Philip Dumaresq, Thomas Aston, and John Hamaek, Vestry-men; John Crosby, Clerk; John Hooker, Sexton.‡

Stamp offices were expected to be established in New England. News had reached Philadelphia, about the end of December, that Sir William Keith had obtained the grant of a commission to set up such offices. This unwelcome news was published in Boston in the course of the following month. §

and one girl, arrived from Nevis, and were brought from Guinea." "To be seen at the house of Mr. Elias Parkman, mast-maker, at the North End." April 22d. "Two very likely Negro girls. Enquire two doors from the Brick Meeting-house in Middle-street. At which place is to be sold women's stays, children's good callamanco stiffed-boddy'd coats, and children's stays of all sorts, and women's hoop-coats; all at very reasonable rates." These are merely given as a specimen from a large number; but I do not remember to have seen any other notice of Hoop-coats and Negroes being for sale at the same shop.

*"By reason that the Chapel is full, and no pews to be bought by new comers."

†Upon which was engraved, "TRINITY CHURCH. THIS CORNER STONE WAS LAID BY THE REV. MR. COMMISSARY PRICE, the 15th April, 1734." Commissary (Roger) Price derived his commissaryship from the Bishop of London. He preached the first sermon in the Church, August 15th, 1735; Gov. Belcher being present. The Bishop of London was at this time Edmund Gibson, since so favorably known as an accurate antiquary, and for his edition of the celebrated Camden's Britannia.

Boston then was within the Diocese of London. Mr. Price was rector of King's Chapel. He returned to England in 1747.

‡Succession of Rectors, after Mr. Davenport:—

William Hooper, inducted 28 Aug. 1747. d. 5 April, 1767.

William Walter, Asst. Oct. 1763, Rector 1767, left 1775.

Samuel Parker, Asst. 1774, Rector. 1799, d. 7 Dec. 1804.

John Sylvester John Gardiner, Asst. 1792, Rector. 1805, d. 1830.

Geo. W. Doane, Asst. 1828, Rector. 1830, left 1833.

John H. Hopkins, Asst. Feb. 1831, left Nov. 1832.

Jona. Mayhew Wainwright, Rector. Mar. 1833, left. Jan. 1838.

John C. Watson, Asst. 1 June, 1836.

Manton Eastburn, Rector. 1843.

John Cotton Smith.

Thomas M. Clark, Asst. 1847, left 1851.

Henry Vandyke Johns, Asst. May, 1851.

§ *New England Weekly Journal*, 27 Jan. 1729. — "All Bills, Bonds, Deeds, Writs, etc., as in England," were to pay stamp duties.

Mar. 3. The South Church was begun to be taken down, after having "stood for about threescore years." The event was looked upon as one of great and reverential interest.* A "Publick Fast" was kept, agreeably to the proclamation of the Governor; in which proclamation, as in others of the time, the divine blessing was "particularly" besought in favor of "our Sovereign Lord the King, with his Royal Consort our most Gracious Queen, the Royal Issue, and the rest of the Royal Family." On the first of the month the anniversary of the birth of Queen Caroline "was observed with abundant demonstrations of loyalty and joy." The guns of the Castle were discharged, and the Governor and Council "with many other gentlemen repaired to the Town-house, where suitable provision was made for celebrating the same at the public charge."

The General Court having been transferred to Salem in October last, the people of Boston were displeased at the measure, and a motion was made at their Town-meeting in March, "That the Town would take into consideration the extraordinary circumstances of their present Representatives."† Their "respective allowances, as stated by law," were voted them, "and the further sum of 120 pounds to be equally divided between them." There had been a difference between the Representatives and the Governor, chiefly arising from the subject of a salary for the latter. But no Royal Governor was prepared to meet a people so different from the subjects he had left at home. Here they were *subjects* only in name, notwithstanding their pretensions to, and protestations of, loyalty. Consequently difficulties increased. Salaries had been fixed for Governors in all the Colonies but in those of New England. In his Speech at the opening of the Session at Salem,

* The following notice of it appeared in the *New England Weekly Journal* of 3d March, 1729: "The last Friday was kept as a day of prayer by the South Church and Congregation in this Town, upon occasion of taking down their Old Cedar Meeting-house, and building a new one of brick; which is to stand in the same place. The Rev. Mr. Prince preached in the forenoon, and the Rev. Mr. Sewall in the afternoon. Yesterday was the last time of meeting in their Old House, which has stood for about threescore years, it being built in the beginning of 1669. This day they begin to take it down." The "stone foundation was begun to be laid, March 31, 7 foot below the pavement of the street." The old house "was near 75 feet long, and near 51 wide; besides the southern, eastern, and western porches; the length of this is near 95 feet, breadth near 68, besides the western tower, and eastern and southern porches."—*Ibid.*, 28 April.

While the new house was in building, the South Society were accommodated in that of the First Church. The season for building was a remarkably fine one. — See Wisner, *Hist. Old South*, 26-7.

† "After mature deliberation" upon the

motion, the records express that, "Forasmuch as the last Session of the General Court was continued to an unusual length, (viz.) from the 24th of July last to the 20th of December following, and from the 31st of October last was held at Salem, which necessarily exposed the said Representatives to unusual charge as well as great fatigue and hardships. And whereas the said Members have behaved themselves as very loyal Subjects to our most Gracious Sovereign King George the Second, and steadfastly adhered to the rights and privileges of the people of this Province, and have been hitherto extraordinarily prevented any allowances; Therefore," the vote, as recorded in the text. It should be remembered that the Governor, being thwarted in his demand for a fixed salary, would not execute the necessary documents to enable the Representatives to draw their pay; and it is well known that the Boston members were the great cause of the opposition to fixing a salary for their Chief Magistrate; and that they were instructed to persevere in their opposition by a Committee raised by the Town for that purpose; hence, to obviate the influence of Boston over the Court, the Governor convened it at Salem.

the Governor said he expected a compliance with the King's instructions in that particular, but nothing was done, and he adjourned the Court to meet in Cambridge in August following. This increased his troubles, for it was complained that he adjourned the Court from one place to another, to harass them into a compliance with his measures. Meantime he fell sick of a fever, and died, as already stated, in Boston. Some attributed his death to a severe cold which he took, a little time before, from the overturning of his carriage on "Cambridge Causeway;" by which accident he fell into the water. Others insinuated that the perplexities he had met with in his government brought on the fever of which he died.

On the nineteenth of July deceased William Welstead, Esq., July 19. "a considerable merchant of this place, and late one of his Majesty's Justices for the County of Suffolk; a person of singular worth and usefulness."* When a young man he came near being swallowed up by an earthquake;† "he saw the Point at Jamaica sink down in a moment into the Sea, and was himself drawn out of the boiling waters by a gracious Providence for a blessing and honor to his Country."

Mr. Dummer re-assumed the administration of affairs, but was superseded by Mr. Belcher‡ in August of the following year. The latter applied himself with "all his powers" for the office, and succeeded in

obtaining a commission for it, with August. which he arrived in Boston in the small man-of-war Blandford, of twenty guns, Capt. George Protheroe, who had distinguished himself in the Mediterranean under Admiral Bing. Mr. Shute might have returned and taken upon him the office of Governor, but his experience of governing people here admonished him to decline it, which he very prudently did.



GOV. BELCHER.

* He was the father of the Rev. William Welstead of the New Brick Church (see page 311), who was ordained 27 Mar. 1728, died 29 April, 1725. "Mrs. Mary Welstead, the mother-in-law of the Rev. Mr. Welstead, who attended his remains to the grave, was taken ill a few days after, and died on Thursday last [25 April], and was buried yesterday." — *Boston Gazette*, 1 May, 1753.

Dr. Samuel Mather preached "A Funeral Discourse after the decease of the Rev. Mr. Welstead, who died April 29th, and Mr. Ellis Gray, who died on Jan. 7th preceding it;" but it contains no facts relative to the former, but of the latter he says he was in his 37th year. The wife of Rev. Mr. Welstead was Mary, sister of Governor Hutchinson. See p. 227.

† See *ante*, pages 490, 493 and 521.

‡ Col. William Tailer had, however, a brief

authority; his commission of Lieut. Governor having been received and published before Mr. Belcher's arrival.

The residence of Gov. Dummer was in Orange-street, near Hollis. — *Shaw*.

"At the beginning of Orange-street, next to Mr. Henshaw's, northerly, before you come to Bennet-street." — *Ibid.*, 291.

Gov. Belcher resided in Orange-street in 1732. Shaw says he resided in King-street, and that the State Bank occupied the site of his residence. I locate him by the Selectmen's books, in which they record, Jan. 12th, that "His Excellency Gov. Belcher had liberty granted him to dig up the pavement to carry a drain from his house in Orange-street," etc.

Dr. Colman preached the Lecture-sermon, Aug. 13th, following Mr. Belcher's arrival, at which the Governor was present. The day before, viz., Aug. 12th, the "Associated Pas-



The case was different with Mr. Belcher; for, though he came as the King's Governor, he was a native of Boston, and he thought perhaps, that if the emoluments of the office did not make up for the 500 pounds which he had advanced to secure the appointment of Mr. Shute, thirteen years before, which he was still out of, perhaps it might be made up in honors.

The Small-pox again visited Boston, and its ravages were extensive. It was brought here by a vessel from Ireland the preceding autumn, but was kept within the bounds of a few families until the beginning of March of this year, when, "the watches being removed, it had free course, and Inoculation was allowed." It continued till October. In consequence of which the General Court was convened at Cambridge. About 4,000 had the disease, of which about 500 died; or about one fell a victim of every eight who were seized with it. At this time, again, Inoculation was shown to be of great advantage; for those who opposed the practice hitherto, allowed that but one in thirty-three of those inoculated died.* The measles were also severe in the preceding year, and in this also, which was fatal to many, especially to the young.

Jan. 1. The very beginning of the year 1730 is marked by the death of an extraordinary man. This was the Hon. Samuel Sewall, Chief Justice of the Province. He was a scholar, possessed remarkable industry, and sterling integrity. Few men of that age, few indeed, have left to posterity a memory so fondly to be cherished, as that of Chief Justice Sewall. He was in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and had lived in New England about seventy years. Seven days after his decease, Mr. Prince of the Old South, whose parishioner the deceased was, preached his funeral sermon.† And it must be allowed that it

tors of the Town waited on His Excellency" with an Address, which, being full of loyalty, was replied to by him in a corresponding strain. The Sermon and Addresses were printed.

* Dr. Douglass, who says there was never any exact account taken of the number who had the Small-pox, or those who died of it.

† A copy of this excellent Sermon is now before me, to which is appended "An Account of the Deceased from the *Weekly News-Letter*; No. 158. CORRECTED. Boston, January 8, 1729-30." This account, although extracted from the *News-Letter*, was no doubt by Mr. Prince, who had had the substance of it, probably, from time to time, from the Chief Justice himself. The length of the "Account" excludes it from this note, excepting in a brief abridgment. "On the first of this instant, at half an hour past five in the morning, after about a month's languishment, died at his house here, the Honorable SAMUEL SEWALL, Esq., in the 78th year of his age; who has for above forty years appeared a great ornament of this Town and Country."

Henry Sewall, Mayor of Coventry, in the County of Warwick, England, was his grand-

father. The oldest son of the Mayor, also named Henry, was the father of the Judge, and came to Newbury in 1634. Mr. Henry Sewall married (25 March, 1646) Jane, the oldest child of Mr. Stephen and Mrs. Alice Dummer, of Newbury. Mr. and Mrs. Dummer returned to England in the winter of 1646-7, and Mr. and Mrs. Sewall with them. There, at Bishop Stoke, in Hampshire, March 28th, 1652, SAMUEL SEWALL was born. His father returned to New England in 1659, and, having sent for his family, they accordingly came over, and landed in Boston on the 6th of July, 1661.

Samuel Sewall grad. H. C. 1671. On 28 Feb. 1675-6, he married Hannah, the only dau. of Hon. John Hull, by whom he inherited a large estate for that day, upon which event he settled in Boston. In 1684 he was made a magistrate. In the time of the Revolution of 1688 he was in England, but returned the next year. In 1692 he received the appointment of Counsellor, to which he was annually chosen till 1725, when he resigned; "having outlived all the others nominated" under the new Charter. He was Judge in 1692, Chief Justice in 1718, in which he con-

could have fallen to the lot of no one to perform that duty better qualified for it. He not only possessed a congenial mind with the deceased, but he had enjoyed a long acquaintance with him, and his special friendship. Judge Sewall had known Boston since 1661; he had known personally many of its Fathers, and had inquired of them concerning their first coming to settle here. Much of the information thus obtained he had noted down, and much of it he communicated to Mr. Prince.

At the May session of the General Court the same able Minister May 27. preached the Election Sermon. Whether his appointment was made in expectation that he would review the Century now about to close since Boston was settled, does not appear. Certain it is, however, the discourse then delivered is replete with historical information, and a better Century Sermon would hardly be expected, had this at the Election been so denominated. "How extremely proper it is," he said, "upon the close of the FIRST CENTURY of our settlement in this chief part of the Land, which will now within a few weeks expire, to look back to the beginning of this remarkable transaction."* It has been generally said, that, owing to the Small-pox, the expiration of the century was not observed in Boston. It does not appear that the Government of the Town did take any action for its celebration or observance. But, besides this Discourse by Mr. Prince, there was one by Mr. Foxcroft to the First Church, expressly for the occasion.†

The Thursday Lecture of Mr. Webb, in 1730-1, is much of the nature of a Century Sermon. It was preached "in the Time of the Sessions of the Great and General Court," and has for its introductory title, "The Great Concern of New England."‡

tinued till 1728, when he resigned. He was also Judge of Probate 1715 to 1728. His wife died 19 Oct., 1717. He m. secondly, Mrs. Abigail Tilly, and thirdly, Mrs. Mary Gibbs, who survived him. He had children only by the first, viz., seven sons and seven daughters; of whom but two of the former and one of the latter survived their father. — *Ibid.* He kept a Diary, soon to be published, it is hoped.

*To this passage the Author makes the following note: — "On Saturday, June 12, 1630, arrived in Salem river the Arrabella, with Gov. Winthrop and some of his Assistants, bringing the Charter of the Massachusetts Colony and therewith the Government transferred hither. The other ten ships of the fleet, with Deputy Gov. Dudley and the other Assistants, arrived in Salem and Charles rivers before July 11th. In the same month the Governor, Deputy Governor and Assistants, came with their goods to Charlestown. And the first Court of Assistants was held there on Aug. 23, the same year." See *ante*, p. 93.

†It is thus entitled: "Observations Historical and Practical on the Rise and Primitive State of New England. With special reference to the OLD or first gathered Church in Boston. A Sermon preached to the said Con-

gregation, Aug. 23, 1730. Being the last Sabbath of the first CENTURY since its settlement." His text was Psalm 80. By a reference to a former page (548) it will be seen that Mr. Foxcroft had preached to the First Church about 14 years. In a note to his Preface he says, "Feb. 1716-17. By Vote of the Church I entered on stated Preaching."

‡In this Lecture Mr. Webb lays down the following propositions: "I. We are the Posterity of God's Covenant People; and may with humility call the Lord God of our Fathers, our God. II. This God was in a very peculiar manner present with our Fathers. And therefore, III. It highly concerns us, at this day, earnestly to desire and endeavor, that the Lord our God may be with us, as He was with our Fathers; and that He would not leave us, nor forsake us." Notwithstanding he afterwards says: "There are many awful signs of God's gradual withdrawing from us." — Among the "signs" he mentions "a flood of irreligion and prophaneness come in upon us. So much terrible cursing and swearing, pernicious lying, slandering and backbiting, cruel injustice and oppression, rioting and drunkenness," etc.



The town was divided into eight Wards, in 1715. This year the matter of wards was again considered by the Selectmen, but no alteration was made in their number or boundaries; while both were enumerated and confirmed, and reëntered upon their records, "according to the assessment then agreed upon." At that time gentlemen in each ward were appointed "to visit the families in the several wards, to prevent and suppress disorders, to inspect disorderly persons, the circumstances of the poor, and the education of their children." The manner of visiting remained the same, and was performed by "the Justices, Selectmen, Overseers of the Poor, Assessors and Constables," probably without regard to their being residents of the wards assigned them.*

There had been a claim of an interesting nature hanging over the Colony many years, which was now revived. It was first urged, perhaps, in 1718, by "one Sarah Watts," of London, as heir-at-law to Deputy Governor Thomas Goffe, one of the twenty-six original Patentees of Massachusetts, in virtue of his advances to the Massachusetts Company. She claimed a twenty-sixth part of the Province; but, being baffled and foiled by the Massachusetts Agent in London, expenses were incurred, until "the poor woman was at last arrested and thrown into Newgate for debt, where she perished."† The claim, however, did not end with the life of the "poor woman," though it appears to have lain dormant until the present year. In the mean time a son of Sarah Watts had emigrated to New England and settled in Boston. He bore the name of Robert Rand, and was in the humble occupation of sail-making. He petitioned the General Court for "a grant of a quantity of the waste lands" on account of the claim; setting forth that "he was the eldest son of Sarah Watts, and next of kin, by the mother's side, to his uncle, Thomas Goffe, Esq." No notice appears to have been taken of the petition at this time. He petitioned again in 1734, at which time he says "that his great-uncle, Thomas Goffe, Esq., after large adventures and great expense in bringing forward and planting this Colony, took a voyage hither, but died in the passage.

* These early Wards were thus named and numbered: *North Ward* was No. 1; *Fleet*, No. 2; *Bridge*, No. 3; *Creek*, No. 4; *King's*, No. 5; *Change*, No. 6; *Pond*, No. 7; and *South*, No. 8.

The *North Ward* comprised all north of Fleet and Bennet streets. *Fleet Ward*, all between Fleet and Bennet streets, and Wood and Beer lanes. *Bridge Ward*, northerly by Wood and Beer lanes, and southerly by the Mill Creek. *Creek Ward*, from the Mill Creek, and southerly by the north side of Wing's lane, and from the upper end thereof, the north side of Hanover-street to the Orange Tree and the north-east side of Cambridge-street, southerly by the north side of King and Queen streets to the southward of the Writing-School house, Mr. Cotton's house the southernmost house.

Change Ward, northerly by the south side of King and Queen streets, by the north side of Milk-street, thence the west side of Marlborough-street as far as Rawson's lane, the north side thereof and the north side of the Common. *Pond Ward*, northerly by the south side of Milk-street, thence the east side of Marlborough as far as Rawson's lane, the south side thereof, southerly by the north side of West and Pond streets, Blind lane, and thence to the north side of Summer-street. *South Ward*, northerly by the south side of Summer, down to Church Green, the south side of Blind lane, of West and Pond streets, and southerly by the Town's southern bounds.

† Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, ii. 225, who appears to have known nothing further about the matter; or he takes no further notice of it.

That the Petitioner's grandmother was sister to Mr. Goffe; and that he is eldest son to her daughter, and is now in low and necessitous circumstances." Thus the case stood in the beginning of March, 1734; and in the next month his petition was granted, by allowing him 1000 acres of the unappropriated lands of the Province;—by which grant the justness of the claim may be considered as established.

May 23. On the opening of the General Court, Mr. Samuel Fisk, of the First Church of Salem, preached the Election Sermon.*

Sept. 27. Another newspaper, called "The Weekly Rehearsal," was commenced in September of this year. It was established by the afterwards well-known Jeremy Gridley, who, however, continued it but about a year. The Printer was "J. Draper," who "took in" advertisements. In 1733, Thomas Fleet became its proprietor, who kept at the "Heart and Crown" in Cornhill. The Rehearsal was discontinued in August, 1735. It was of the usual size of papers of that time, already described.†

Notwithstanding public schools had been established from time to time, thought sufficient for the accommodation of the children of the Town, private individuals often undertook to add to those advantages by setting up others. At the beginning of this year Mr. Richard Champion was allowed to open a School, in which he proposed to teach "writing, arithmetic, navigation, and other parts of mathematics." What success he met with does not appear.‡

As the southerly part of the Town increased in families, the want of another Church began to be felt. Governor Belcher was one of the foremost for a new Church, and proposed to give a piece of ground in Hollis-street on which to erect one. Accordingly, a meeting was held at the house of Mr. Hopestill Foster, where a Society was Jan. 21. formed. This was the origin of Hollis-street Church. § The

*That of the previous year, at Salem, was by Mr. Jeremiah Wise, of Berwick. It was a very elaborate performance,—54 close 8vo pages. He strongly recommended a compliance with the requests and requirements of the Rulers; spoke with enthusiasm of the late reigning Monarchs of England, whom he prayed might "live forever." Mr. Fisk's was much in the same strain. "What Province," he asks, "subject to the British Crown, more values the Royal Family and Succession, or more constantly and heartily prays for the King, than this?"

†Fleet began another paper the following week, namely, Monday, August 18th, which he called "The Boston Evening Post," said by Dr. Thomas to be the best Newspaper then published in Boston. "Fleet," he says, "was a wit and no bigot, was not a great friend to itinerant preachers, etc. He continued it till his death in 1758, and his two sons, Thomas and John carried it on till the war stopped it, in 1775."

‡About fifty years after this, "Richard

Champion, Esq., late Dep. Paymaster General of his Majesty's Forces," published "Considerations on the Present Situation of Great Britain and the United States of America," in which he pretty ably attacked Lord Sheffield's "Observations."

§ The street was named in honor of Thomas Hollis, Esq., of London, a great benefactor to New England, and especially to Harvard College; and it is remarkable that he died in the early part of this year (22 January, 1731), in honor of whose memory the Church now erected also bears his name. There were three sermons published, preached on the news of Mr. Hollis's death being received here, but neither of them contain the date of his death. Dr. Colman's was the first, being "preached at the Lecture," April 1st, "Before His Excellency the Governor, and the General Court, upon the News of the Death of the much Honored Thomas Hollis, Esq., the most generous and noble Patron of Learning and Religion in the Churches of New England." Mr. Hollis's age was 72.

first meeting was composed of William Payn, Samuel Wells, John Clough, Caleb Eddy, John Bennett, Silence Allen, Thomas Walker, John Walker, Israel How, John Blake, Henry Gibbon, Joseph Payson, James Day, Hopestill Foster, Ebenezer Clough, Thomas Trott, Thomas Melvin, Thomas Clough, Sutton Byles, Alden Bass, Benjamin Russell, Joseph Hambleton, Nathaniel Fairfield, John Goldsmith, Isaac Loring, and William Cunningham.

April 21. In April following, a petition was presented to the Selectmen, signed by Samuel Wells, William Payn, Caleb Eddy, John Clough, and Henry Gibbon, asking for liberty to build a Meeting-house and house for the Ministry, near the Main street leading to Roxbury, of timber, which was granted. A house was commenced, forty by thirty feet, with a steeple, and was finished and dedicated on the eighteenth of June, 1732. On the fourteenth of November following, the Church was formed, and their Covenant was drawn up by the Rev. Dr. Joseph Sewall, of the Old South.

Three years after the House was finished, a bell was given by Mr. Thomas Hollis, of London, a nephew of the great benefactor of the same name. Its weight was 800 pounds. The ship in which it came was commanded by Capt. John Homans, who arrived on Sunday, April 14th, 1734, and the bell was soon after placed in the belfry. This donation is said to have been made at the suggestion of Governor Belcher.



HOLLIS-STREET CHURCH.

The first Meeting-house in Hollis-street was burnt in the extensive fire of the fourteenth of April, 1787.* The following year another was completed, on the same spot, and like the former was constructed of wood, but it had two steeples instead of one. It is this Church a view of which is given in the margin. It stood until 1810, when it was taken down and removed to Braintree. The House now standing is of brick, and was consecrated on the 31st of

January, 1811. It is about seventy-nine by seventy-six feet, exclusive of the tower, and contained 130 pews on the floor, and thirty-eight in the gallery. The Steeple is 196 feet in height.†

The first Minister was the Rev. Mather Byles, who was ordained December 20th, 1732. He continued its pastor till 1777, when he was dismissed; being one of the very few Tory Ministers of the country. He was succeeded by the Rev. Ebenezer Wight, who was ordained February 25th, 1778, and was dismissed, at his request, in September,

* Miss J. Fenn, in her volume of Poems, p. 65, has one "On the Dreadful Conflagration in Boston in 1787," and thus alludes to the burning of the Church:

"Wide and more wide, the glowing flames did spread,
As if in fire we must have made our bed;

The House of God, wherein our friend did preach,
A solemn lesson unto us may teach," etc.

† It was struck by lightning on the 8th of April, 1837, when fire was communicated to the wood-work supporting the iron spire, which was not quenched until the vane had fallen.

1788. The third Minister was the Rev. Samuel West, who was installed March 12th, 1789, and died April 10th, 1808, at the age of seventy. To him succeeded the Rev. Horace Holly, installed in March, 1809, who was dismissed 24 August, 1818. He died on the 31st of July, 1827, at the age of forty years and five months. The Rev. John Pierpont was ordained April 14th, 1819, dismissed May 10th, 1845. Rev. David Fosdick, Jr., ordained in 1846, dismissed in 1847. In 1848 Thomas Starr King was settled there, and is the present Minister.

May 31. The Act providing for the safe keeping of powder "being found not sufficient to prevent the breaches of that Act," an explanatory Act was passed, "for erecting a Powder-house in Boston." It was now provided that if any persons were found to have powder in their possession, without license, above a stipulated quantity, the whole should be forfeited, and the former penalties were doubled.

An additional law was also made for the suppression of lotteries; "the good and wholesome design and true intent of the aforesaid Act being very much eluded and evaded, to the great discouragement of trade and industry, and grievous hurt and damage of many unwary people."

July 23. The Town met with a severe loss this year in the death of the Hon. Daniel Oliver, one of his Majesty's Council, "and one of the most considerable merchants of this place." He was in his sixty-ninth year. Of the Third Church he was one of the principal founders. He was distinguished for eminent piety, humility and charity.* He was a great promoter of Schools, and of means for benefiting the poor.†

Aug. 11. Mr. Jonathan Bowman was ordered to take care of the Water-engine that stands near the Old North Meeting-house. He lived in Lynn-street.

Dec. 23. Mr. Bartholomew Green died in his sixty-fifth year. He was the Publisher of the Weekly News-Letter, and Printer to the House of Representatives. Mr. Green was held in much esteem; was one of the Deacons of the Old South Church, "and one who had much of that primitive piety in him which has always been the distinguishing glory of New England."‡

Dec. 30. On the 30th of December occurred the death of John Jekyll, Esq. He was about forty-nine years of age, and had been Collector of this Port twenty-five years; having been appointed in 1707.

* *Funeral Sermon* by Rev. Thomas Prince. See also *ante*, p. 203, for an account of his family.

† "In his will, among other legacies, he bestowed a pretty large house, called the *Spinning School*, for which use he first designed it, and which cost him £600. This house, with the profits (about £40 a year), he gave forever to support a school, to learn poor children to read the Scriptures, etc." — *Prince*. See *ante*, p. 560-1.

‡ *News-Letter* of 1 Jan. 1733. — Mr. Green had been the Editor of this paper for about ten years, "and the principal printer of this Town and Country near forty years." Samuel Green was his father, also a printer, who came to New England in 1630, in the same ship with Gov. Dudley. He lived in Cambridge, and died there, Jan. 1, 1701-2, aged 87. John Draper, who continued the *News-Letter* on the death of Bartholomew Green, was his son-in-law. Samuel Green, Jr., brother of Bartholomew, whose wife is so much praised by John Dunton, has been no-

The well-known Thomas Jekyll, D. D., was his father, and he was nephew to Sir Joseph Jekyll. His disease was consumption.*

CHAPTER LX.

Death of Joseph Maylem. — Order respecting Trees on the Common. — Respecting a Fence. — Seven Fire Engines. — Valley Acre. — Death of Judge Byfield. — First Prayer at a Funeral. — Granary at the North End. — Death of John Dunton — of Thomas Fayerweather. — First Appearance of Free Masons. — Gen. Oglethorpe expected. — Numbers Taxed. — Death of Samuel Granger — of the Gunner of the Castle. — Light-house repaired. — Market-houses established. — Paper-Money Troubles. — Overseers of the Poor. — Work-house. — Death of Edward Bromfield. — Another Newspaper. — Town Library. — A Dancing School. — New Instrument for Surveying invented. — Town Divided into Twelve Wards. — Watchmen to cry the Time of Night. — Porters Regulated. — A Fast. — West Church founded. — A Work-house. — Death of Benjamin Wadsworth — of Elisha Cooke. — Quakers relieved. — Death of Nathaniel Williams. — Hospital at Rainsford's Island. — Chelsea set off. — Duty laid on Negroes. — Death of Elisha Callender. — Bridge to Cambridge proposed.



BYFIELD.†

Jan. 29. ON the 29th of January, Mr. Joseph Maylem died, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. "He kept a noted (private) house in School-street for the entertainment of strangers. By his will he left five pounds to each of the Rev. Ministers, and twenty to the poor of the South Church."† His sons, Mark and John, were executors.

March. At the Town-meeting in March it was voted that "the row of trees already planted on the Common should be taken care of by the Select-men," who were at the same time instructed to plant another row at a suitable distance from the former, and to set up a row of posts with a rail on the top of them; which posts and rails were to extend "through the Common from the Burying-Place§ to Colonel Fitch's fence, leaving open-

tiaced. That probably justly-admired lady was Elizabeth, daughter of Capt. Joseph Sill, an officer in Philip's war. — Thomas, *Hist. Print.*, i. 281, and MS. notes of MELVIN LEAD, Esq.

On the 30th of Jan. 1734, the "Printing-House belonging to the widow and children of the late Deacon Green, at the South End," was burned. In it two printing-presses were destroyed, also a great quantity of type; very little saved. The fire took about 12 o'clock at night. No other buildings burned.

* Mr. Jekyll was a gentleman much respected. He was born in England, and was for a time in the retinue of Lord Paget, in which capacity he resided at the Court of Vienna. He married first a dau. of Mr. Thomas Clark, of New York; second, the widow of Archibald Cumming, Esq., Surveyor and Searcher of the Port of Boston. Mr. Jekyll left five sons and two daughters. — *Weekly Journal*, 1 Jan. 1733, and *News-Letter*, Jan. 4th. The island near Savannah, called

Jekyll's Island, was so named by Gen. Oglethorp, in honor of Sir Thomas Jekyll, Master of the Rolls, mentioned in the text. Sir Joseph died about 1739. — *Leycester Corres. in Camden Soc. Introd.*, p. iii. John Jekyll, second son of the late Collector, succeeded his father in the Collectorship. He was married in Philadelphia, 20 Oct. 1734, to "Mrs. Margaret Shippe, a beautiful young lady."

† *Weekly Rehearsal*, 5 Feb., 1733. (No. 71.) — His widow, "a very discreet, industrious woman," died on the 6th of March following. The John Mylam, heretofore mentioned, may have been the father of Joseph Maylem whose decease is noticed in the text.

‡ The Arms of Byfield are copied from the tomb-stone of the family in the Granary Burying-ground; not as it now appears, but as it was. The tomb having passed into the Lyde family, as hereafter may be seen, the name of Lyde was engraven on the shield, in chief.

§ The Granary is here meant.



ings at the several streets and lanes." * It was five years before a similar fence separated the Granary Burying-ground from the Common; then (in 1739) one was ordered to be "set up" from Common-street to Beacon.

July 27. At this period there were seven engines for extinguishing fires in the Town. One was kept under the Town-house; one at the North Watch-house; one in Summer-street; one at the Prison; one at the Dock; one near the New North Meeting-house; one, "the Copper Engine," by the North Meeting-house. †

Oct. 19. A Committee of the Selectmen, consisting of David Colson, ‡ Joshua Winslow, and William Downe, was appointed "to see that Capt. Cyprian Southack secure his hill near Valley Acre, by rails or otherwise, that people may not be in danger." §

June 6. On the sixth of June occurred the death of Judge Nathaniel Byfield, in the eightieth year of his age; a gentleman of great worth, with whose name the readers of this History have already become familiar. He was a grandson of Mr. Richard Byfield, who, in Shakspeare's time, preached at Stratford-upon-Avon, and son of Mr. Richard Byfield, Pastor of Long Ditton, in Surrey, || who, being ejected upon the restoration, spent the remainder of his days at Mortlake, rendered somewhat famous as the residence of the celebrated astrologer and physician, Dr. John Dee.

* A similar fence was kept up until 1836, when the present iron one was substituted, at an expense of \$2,159.85 dollars; 16,292 dollars of which were raised by private subscription. Its length is 5,932 feet, or a mile and one eighth, nearly, and encloses 48½ acres. The Common is usually said to contain 50 acres.

† The names of those who had charge, or were Captains, of the engines, are as follow (in the order of the text):—James Reed, with 12 men; Mr. Jona. Bowman, with 16; Wm. Wheeler, with 13; Wm. Young, with 15; Thomas Pain, with 13; John Earl, with 11; Joshua Baker, with 9 men.

To form a correct idea of what sort of machines, "Water Engines," as they were then called, were, the following notice is extracted: "There is newly erected in the Town of Boston, by Messieurs John and Thomas Hill, a Water Engine at their Still-house, by the advice and direction of Mr. Rowland Houghton, drawn by a horse, which delivers a large quantity of water twelve feet above the ground. This being the first of the sort in these parts, we thought taking notice of it might be of publick service, inasmuch as a great deal of labor is saved thereby."—*News-Letter*, 25 Jan., 1733.

‡ Mr. Colson was many years an active Selectman. His business was leather-dressing. "Collson's Stone House," before mentioned (p. 542), was probably his place of business before this time. In the beginning of the next

year he had liberty to build a house of wood on his land, on the corner of Newbury-street and Frog-lane. In March, 1733, he was "to have the old buildings upon the Dock for £28, taking them down as soon as may be, and leveling the rubbish." Dr. Adam Collson was of Boston, 1746.

§ Valley Acre, as appears from an early map of the Town, was adjacent to a spur of Beacon Hill, which extended north-easterly from the main hill, terminating abruptly not far from the present northern termination of the iron fence in Pemberton square.

|| Mr. Nicholas Byfield, Vicar of Isleworth, in Middlesex, was his half-brother, and hence, uncle to our Judge Byfield. Adoniram Byfield, the distinguished Puritan Divine and Author, was cousin to the Judge, being a son of the Vicar of Isleworth by a previous marriage. For his zeal in promoting Puritan principles, he was transfixed for all coming time by the pen of the author of *Hudibras*. But to be posted there by the side of Nye, Owen, and Calamy, was certainly no dishonor:

"Where had they all their gifted phrases,
But from our Calamities and Cases?
Without whose sprinkling and sewing,
Whoe'er had heard of Nye or Owen?
Their dispensations had been stifled,
But for our Adoniram Byfield."

There is in some editions of this author a most ludicrous portrait of "our Adoniram," which, if it does him no credit, can do him no harm, while it displays no little ingenuity on the part of the artist.

The mother of Judge Byfield was a sister of William Juxon, Bishop of London, and the Judge was the youngest of twenty-one children. He emigrated to this country in 1674, and settled in Boston, where, in the following year, he married Miss Deborah Clarke, daughter of Capt. Thomas Clarke, who dying in 1717, he married for his second wife Miss Sarah Leverett, in 1718, the youngest daughter of Governor Leverett. She died on the 21st of December, 1730. At her funeral a prayer was made, which was the first introduction of the practice in the Town.*

Mr. Byfield had held the important office of Judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty "for this and the neighboring Provinces, and first Justice of the Court of General Sessions, and was for many years one of His Majesty's Council of this Province."† He had five children, three of whom died in infancy. The youngest married Lieut. Gov. Tailor, "who quickly departed without issue;" the other, Catharine, who was the oldest, married Edward Lyde, Esq., of Boston. They had children, Byfield, Mary, and Deborah. Byfield Lyde graduated at Harvard College in 1723, and in the Revolution adhered to the cause of the King, left Boston with the royal troops, and died in Halifax in 1776. His wife was Sarah, only daughter of Governor Belcher. She died in Boston October tenth, 1768, aged sixty-one. To this son-in-law Mr. Byfield "left the bulk of his estate."‡

Judge Byfield was one of the founders of Bristol, in Rhode Island in 1680, § and settled there, but returned to Boston in 1724, where he died, as has been mentioned, and was interred in the Granary Burying-ground. || He left no male descendants.

There is in the *Magna Britannia* an interesting anecdote of the father of Judge Byfield, in which Cromwell and Sir John Evelyn figure. — See that work, v. 404.

* "Before carrying out the corpse [Dec. 28th], a Funeral-prayer was made by one of the Parsons of the Old Church, to whose communion she belonged; which, though a custom in the Country-towns, is a singular instance in this place. The Pall was held up by the Honorable the late Lieut. Gov. Dummer, with other gentlemen of His Majesty's Council. Among the mourning relatives went His Excellency, Gov. Belcher, and His Honor, Lieut. Gov. Tailor, followed by a long train of persons of public distinction." — Chauncy's *Funeral Sermon*, Appendix.

† "He had the honor of five Commissions for Judge of the Vice Admiralty, from three crowned heads: William, in 1697; Anne, in 1702, 1703, and 1709; and from George II. in 1728; was first Judge under our present Charter, and never once had a decree reversed upon an appeal home" to England. — *Appendix to Chauncy's Funeral Sermon*. The autograph of Judge Byfield has been given on page 481.

‡ Byfield Lyde's sister Mary married George Cradock, Esq., of Boston, who had been a merchant in London, and subsequently Vice-

Judge of Admiralty here, Collector of the Port, &c. He died in Boston 29 June, 1771, aged 87. He had five daughters; Mary m. 1. Hon. Joseph Gerrish, of Halifax; 2. Rev. Dr. John Breynton, Rector of St. Paul's Church in that city. They died in London. Deborah m. Judge Robt. Auchmuty, the younger, of Roxbury. Elizabeth m. her cousin, Thomas Brinley, Esq., of Boston. Catharine m. her cousin, Nathaniel Brinley, Esq., of Boston. Sarah d. in Boston, unmarried. Deborah Lyde, the other sister, m. Col. Francis Brinley, of Roxbury.

§ "In the memorable Indian war of 1675, the territory of King Philip, the great Sachem of Mount-Haup, who was slain in 1676, was vested by right of conquest, in the Colony of New Plymouth; whereupon the Governor and Company of New Plymouth, in the year 1680, granted and sold unto four proprietors, viz. Messieurs John Walley, Nathaniel Oliver, Nathaniel Byfield, and Stephen Burton, all the part of the conquered lands called Mount Hope Neck, since called by the name of Bristol." — Stiles' *Account of the Origin and Settlement of Bristol*, p. 3. Of this Town Judge Byfield was said to be "the head and glory."

— *News-Letter*, 14 June, 1733.

|| The stone, which bore the following inscription to his memory, has long since disap-

At a Town-meeting, on the 16th of October, a vote passed for erecting a Granary at the North End ; the charge not to exceed £100.*

Oct. 20. A very serious accident occurred on the 20th. Mr. Commissary Price's horse, a very unruly one, attached to a chaise or chair, being left standing in the alley leading from Milk-street to Justice Clark's corner in Summer street, † from some affright, started and ran through the alley. One Mrs. Stevens, "a very ancient woman," being then in the alley, was run over, and so injured that she survived but a few hours. A child was much hurt at the same time.

Mr. John Dunton is said to have died in obscurity in London this year. He was full of schemes and projects, which seem uniformly to have failed to realize his anticipations. ‡

Nov. 20. On the 20th of November, Thomas Fayerweather, Esq., died at the early age of forty-four. He was a merchant highly respected. His wife was Hannah, daughter of Jonathan Waldo, Esq., "a pattern of every female virtue." She died on the 27th of January, 1755, aged fifty-two, leaving a son and two daughters surviving.

Free-masonry was first introduced into the Colonies, this year ; the first lodge met in Boston on the 30th of July. The first Grand Master received his power from Lord Montague, Grand Master of England.

May 30. On the opening of the General Court this year, Mr. Samuel Wigglesworth, of Ipswich, preached the Election Sermon. The following gentlemen were appointed to the "command of the regiment of militia in Boston : " Edward Winslow, Esq., Colonel ; Jacob Wendell, Esq., Lieutenant Colonel ; and Samuel Sewall, Esq., Major.

June 19. Information having been received that Gen. James Oglethorpe would visit Boston this summer, the General Court, "on a motion made and seconded by many members," ordered that "Mr. [Elisha] Cooke, Mr. [Thomas] Cushing, Mr. [Samuel] Wells, Major [William] Brattle and Mr. Thacher, be a Committee to prepare a vote for his reception, that so the Government may express their grateful sense of his good services to the public interest of the Province."

peared, and is supposed to be destroyed. This copy is from the *Boston Gazette* of 30 July, 1733. It is doubtless the production of the Rev. Mather Byles, as nearly the same thing is found in his Poems, page 95 :

"RYFIELD beneath in peaceful slumber lies,
BYFIELD the good, the active and the wise.
His MANLY FRAMES contained an EQUAL MIND,
FAITHFUL to GOD, and GENEROUS to MANKIND.
High in his Country's Honours long he stood,
Succour'd DISTRESS, and GAVE the HUNGRY FOOD.
In JUSTICE steady, in DEVOTION warm,
A loyal SUBJECT and PATRIOT firm.
Through every AGE his DARELESS soul was try'd
GREAT while he lived, but GREATER when he dy'd."

* In the Selectmen's Records the building to be erected is called a Meal House. It was to be built "on a piece of land belonging to the Town near the North Mill." John Jeffries, Esq., and Mr. David Colson, two of the Selectmen, were to contract for the work.

† Then usually called Bishop's-alley, since, Hawley-street.

‡ For many years before Mr. Dunton's arrival in Boston, as well as for many years afterwards, it was a standing order of the Town, that every person who came in, with the intention of stopping above a certain number of

Fran. Burroughs

John Dunton

days, must give security that they might not come upon the Town for support. Hence this record is found : "February 16th, 1685 [1685-6], Fran. Burroughs became security for John Dunton, Bookseller, in £40." Signed by both Dunton and Burroughs. — See *ante*, chap. xlix., p. 459, etc.

But the people of Boston did not have an opportunity to pay their respects to the founder of Georgia, "one driven by strong benevolence of soul;" for, though he intended to come here, he was diverted from his purpose by the arduous duties in which he was engaged.*

The number of tax-payers was now about 3500. This was the number on the "Alarm-list," which pretty nearly corresponded with that of taxables. The "Church of England people" were at the same time said to pay "not exceeding one-tenth of the taxes of the Town."

Mr. Samuel Granger, a worthy School-master, died suddenly of
1734.
June 11. apoplexy. He was about 48 years of age, some fifteen of which he had been a teacher in Boston. His funeral was attended by "the principal persons of the Town, and about 150 children, who were under his tuition, walking before the corpse." †

Feb. 9. Mr. William Barnsdell died suddenly at Castle William, at the age of 80. He had been Chief Gunner there for about thirty years. The corpse was brought up to the town for interment.

Jan. 30. The Light-house, which was built in 1715, being out of repair, the keeper, Robert Ball, petitioned the General Court for an appropriation to put it in order, and likewise the dwelling-house belonging to it, which had gone to decay. Ball succeeded Captain Hayes this year, who had requested to be discharged, as he had become old and infirm. ‡

Mar. 11. The establishment of Markets in the Town had hitherto been successfully opposed, but at the present Town-meeting, although a majority appeared in favor of the measure, yet the opposition was pretty strong against it. § At the next meeting three places

April 24. were assigned on which Market-houses were to be erected, and 700 pounds was appropriated for the object. This sum was placed at the disposal of Thomas Fitch, Edward Hutchinson, Thomas Palmer, and Jacob Wendell, Esquires; Mr. Nathaniel Cunningham, Mr. James

* A Spanish and Indian war was probably the chief cause. He was compelled to take the field in person against them. See *New England Weekly Jour.*, 27 Aug., 1733 (No. cccxxvi.), *idem*, 13 May, 1734 (No. cccxxi.), and Harris' *Life of Oglethorpe*.

† *Weekly News-Letter*, 17 Jan., 1734 (No. 1564). In the notice in this paper, he is styled "the ingenious and learned Mr. Granger." He began an evening school "for writing, accounts, and the mathematics," in Sept., 1724. Five days after he died, the Selectmen directed that "his son and Usher, Mr. Thomas Grainger, be allowed to go on with the school, under the oversight of Mr. Andrew Le Mercier." Mr. Granger lived in Marlborough-street, "near to the Governor's." At the time of his death the house in which he lived was advertised for sale by Mr. Jahleel Brenton, of Newport, R. I. Only the June previous to his decease, the Society for Prop. the Gospel in Foreign Parts had appointed "Mr. Grainger School-master to succeed Mr. Edward Mills, Sen., lately deceased, to instruct the children of such indigent members of the

Church of England gratis, as are not able to pay for the same." — *Ibid*, 23 June, 1733, and other sources.

‡ The appearance of a Polar Bear in Boston, in 1734, attracted great attention, and called forth the following notice in the *News-Letter* of 28 Feb. "Yesterday, in the afternoon, the great White Bear, which was about a year ago brought hither by Capt. Atkins from Greenland, was carried in his cage on trucks from the White Horse at the South End, to the Long-wharfe, followed by a multitude of spectators, where he was shipped on board Captain Walker, bound for London." The "White Horse" tavern was established before 1724. In 1768, Mein and Fleming's Printing-Office was "almost opposite."

§ The votes stood, 517 for and 399 against. Hence the number of voters is pretty nearly approximated, viz., 916. At the meeting (May 24), the vote stood 364 yeas and 339 nays. "On which important occasion the Assembly was so very numerous, it was adjourned over to the Old Brick Meeting-house."

Watson, Mr. Francis Willoughby, and Mr. John Steel. The three places designated for the buildings were, one in "Orange-street, over against the house and land of Mr. Thomas Downe, there measuring seventy feet;" one "on the Town's ground, or open space on the Town dock or wharf, commonly called Dock Square." The other was to be upon "the open space before and about the Old North Meeting-house." *

An Order was passed authorizing the Markets to be kept open every day in the week, except Sundays and such other days as the Government might appoint, in which religious services were to be observed. Market hours were from sunrise to one o'clock, afternoon, and a bell was to be rung at the time of opening. The fourth day of June was set for the first Market-day, which took place accordingly.† But so strong was the prejudice against regular Markets, that, in less than four years from their establishment, the houses were abandoned by the market-men, and they fell quite into disuse. That at the North End was eventually taken down, and the timber used in the construction of a Work-house; that at the South End was converted into stores, and that at Dock Square was demolished by the populace.‡

Mar. 21. From a Fast sermon, preached by Dr. Colman, there appears to have been much distress in the Town, partly arising from the depreciation of the paper currency. "I fear," he observed, "we of this Town and Land are coming apace into too much the like circumstances, both the Rich and the Poor. The poorer Brethren have, too many of them, run themselves into bonds for moneys taken up of the rich. The rich are alike to suffer much in that part of their estates that lies in bonds. We are going, I fear, into excessive usury, which may not seem so, considering the yearly fall of our paper-currency."

May 19. In the preamble to "An Act for employing and providing for the Poor of the Town of Boston," it is said that the "Town is grown considerably populous, and the Idle and Poor much increased;" therefore the Town was empowered "to choose twelve Overseers of the

* Proposals about a market were published as early as 1st Feb., 1733. On the 28th of the preceding July, in Town-meeting, "Messieurs Joseph Marion, Edward Durant, Theophilus Lillie, William Stoddard and Jeffry Redgood," were appointed a Committee to receive proposals "touching the demolishing, repairing or leasing out the old buildings belonging to the Town in Dock Square." The Committee to give their attendance at Mr. William Coffin's, the Bunch of Grapes tavern, on Thursdays, weekly, from six to eight o'clock in the evening.

† There was something of ceremony on the occasion, as appears from the *News-Letter*, published on the 6th of June, from which the following is taken: "On Tuesday morning last, being the 4th of June, at sun-rising, the Bell rang for the first time, for opening the public Markets the first time, in this Town, at the three several places assigned. The course of people (sellers, buyers and spectators)

was very considerable; abundance of provisions were brought for sale. Those that exceeded in goodness and cheapness went off quick, but these that were poor or dear, more slowly."

‡ Dr. Douglass considered the tendency of the people to mobs in his time quite alarming; and that severer acts against them ought to be made. A few days before the Market was torn down, the doctor says, a mob demolished a notorious house of ill fame, under the countenance "of some well-meaning Magistrates," and that "the consequence was, a few days afterwards, they demolished the public Market-house, and carried off the materials for their own private use." To this he adds, "For some years past, upon the 5th of November, being the anniversary Gunpowder Treason day, several mobs have carried about pageants of the Pope, the Devil and pretender. These gunpowder-treason mobs yearly increase." — *Summary*, i. 238.

Poor, from twelve several Wards, into which the Town is or shall be divided." The Town was at the same time authorized to build a Work-house, to be under the direction of the Overseers of the Poor, and to receive donations for its endowment, "to the value of 3000 pounds per annum."

June 2. The loss of the Town in the death of the Hon. Edward Bromfield, on the second of June, 1734, was as severely felt as almost any which had occurred since its settlement. Though he was far advanced, being in his 86th year, yet his loss was not the less, but the more regretted. He was born at Haywood House, near New Forest, in Hampshire, the seat of his ancestors, on the 10th of January, 1648-9, and was the third son of Henry, and grandson of Arthur Bromfield, Esq. Being bred a merchant in London, he went to Jamaica, and, afterwards, came to Boston, where he arrived in the year 1675, and being a pious Puritan, decided to spend his days here.* He belonged to the Old South Church, and was forward in all charities for the advancement of religious purposes as well as others. His residence was in Rawson's-lane, since called Bromfield-street after him, and his mansion stood where the Bromfield House now stands. Here afterwards was the noted Indian Queen tavern.

Oct. Another Newspaper, called "The Boston Weekly Post Boy," was started in October of this year, by Mr. Ellis Huske,† the Post-master, who continued it about twenty years. The name of the printer of it is not given, but John Bushel is supposed to have printed it at some part of the period of its existence. As hitherto "Advertisements were taken in at the Post Office."

About the commencement of the year the Selectmen voted that "Speedy care be taken to fit up a proper Office for the Town Clerk, for reposing and securing his books, and that it be in part of the Green Chamber; that the ninety pounds in the hands of Nathaniel Green,

* In the *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, v. p. 100, is some account of the family of Mr. Bromfield, extracted from the newspapers of that day, but chiefly from the *New England Week. Journal*, of 10 June, 1734 (No. 374), probably written by the Rev. Thomas Prince. In the Journal it is said, that, for a retired recess from worldly noise and business, "he turned the pasture behind his house into a very shady grove, where, in the midst, he built an Oratory, into which he used to retire several times a day, in his most flourishing circumstances and heights of business," to enjoy pious meditations, &c. In a copy of "The Morning Exercises at Cripple Gate," 4to, 1671, in the Author's Library, is the autograph of "Edward Bromfield, Jr.," to which is added, "his book ex Dono Francisci Burroughs, 1712;" and on a fly-leaf is written a brief Family Record in this order: "Edward Bromfield, Senr., Marye B., Senr. [parents], Elizabeth, Sarah, Frances, Edward, Junr., Mary, Junr., Henrye. In una Familia." The autograph of the Hon.

Edward Bromfield, as found to a receipt in 1718, is here copied. There was a Thomas Bromfield, glover, at the Town Dock, 1734.

Edw: Bromfield

† "Afterwards Deputy Post-master General for the Colonies. He was a brother to General Huske, who distinguished himself at the battles of Dittengen and Culloden. He had a son bred a merchant, in Boston, who was afterwards a member of Parliament. Huske was superseded in the Post Office by Franklin and Hunter."—Thomas, ii. 231. He is the same, I presume, who published a work entitled, "The Present State of North America." 4to, London, 1755, which was re-printed in Boston the same year.



Esq., given by Col. Fitch and others, in order to procure books for the Town Library, "be secured by bond to Mr. Joseph Wadsworth, the Town Treasurer." Bakers were ordered to stamp their loaves "with the first and last letters of their names." *

A Dancing School was allowed. It was kept by Mr. George Brownell.† But an application for an exhibition of Rope Dancing was refused.‡

Mr. Rowland Houghton, of Boston, a merchant, invented an instrument for surveying land, which he called "The New Theodolite," the making and vending of which was secured to him by a special Act of the General Court. In the Preamble to the Act, it is said that by it "land could be surveyed with greater ease and dispatch than by any surveying instrument heretofore projected or made within this Province, which, upon careful view and examination, appears to be a projection tending to public benefit and service." His privilege was limited to seven years.

Much attention had for some time been given to the cultivation of Flax and Hemp in New England. To extend a knowledge of their culture, Col. Daniel Henchman, bookseller in Cornhill, re-published Lionel Slaton's work upon the subject, which had been issued in Dublin in 1724.§

Watchmen were required "in a moderate tone to cry the time of night, and give account of the weather, as they walk their rounds, after twelve o'clock."|| The practice was continued about one hundred years.

The Selectmen were not unmindful of the importance of recording the births and deaths which occurred in the Town, and gave notice that there was a great neglect on the part of the inhabitants to comply with a law made for that purpose.¶

"Mr. John Bowles, Mr. Thomas Tileston and others," having petitioned to have Boston made a County by itself, a Committee

* The weight of bread was prescribed as follows: "The penny white loaf, 3 oz. 5 dw.; wheaten, 4 oz. 15 dw.; household, 6 oz. 10 dw.; sixpenny wheaten loaf, 1 lb. 13 oz. 13 dw."

† There was considerable opposition to such a school, and his application was previously refused by the Selectmen. The school was not merely for dancing; as, doubtless, for that alone liberty could not have been obtained. "A school for reading, writing, cyphering, dancing and the use of the needle," are set forth in the application.

‡ To the Petition of Mr. John Bradley (with others in his behalf) for liberty to entertain the Town with the diversion of Rope Dancing, the Selectmen say, "Fearing lest the said divertisement may tend to promote idleness in the Town and great mispense of time, the same is disallowed."

§ The title of the work is "Instructions for the Cultivating and Raising of Flax and Hemp,

in a better manner than generally practised in Ireland. By Lionel Slaton, of Cabraugh, in the County of Cavan, Flax and Hemp Dresser to the Honourable Thomas Coote, of Coote Hill, in the said County." There is an Introduction, signed by Mr. Coote, addressed "To the Honourable the Trustees of the Flaxen and Hempen-Manufacturers of Ireland." He was probably of the same family of Coote noticed in page 516 of this history.

|| The watch was at this time maintained at an expense of about £12,000 per annum.

¶ Mr. Samuel Gerrish, the Town Clerk, made a record of the negligence complained of, from which it appears that, for the fourteen months preceding, "more than 950 births and deaths" had occurred in the Town, of which no record had been handed in; "which neglect of theirs," he very sensibly added, "may prove to be of ill consequence to their posterity."

is appointed by the town to draw up a remonstrance, and the proposition was laid aside.* Mr. Joseph Marion recommended that certain papers on file should be entered in the records of the Town, "that so the Town may have recourse to them."†

1736.
Mar. 8. A proposition to divide the Town into twelve Wards, having been previously made at the Town-meeting in March, 1736, it was voted to submit the subject to the Overseers of the Poor; who, at an adjourned meeting on the ninth of the same month, reported a division, which was accepted. The names given to the former Wards were disused, and the new ones were designated by numbers only. The Committee who made this division consisted of Jacob Wendell, William Tyler, Jeffery Bedgood, John Hill and Thomas Hubbard.

May 21. At a Town-meeting in May, Nathaniel Cuninghame, Hugh Vans, Samuel Waldo, Cornelius Waldo and James Peirpoint, were appointed a Committee to instruct the Representatives.

May 26. Province bills were ordered to be received in payment of taxes at the rate of twenty shillings for one ounce of silver.

Porters' fees were regulated by law. The Selectmen were authorized by the General Court to fix "the number of Porters, and the rate or price they should ask, according to the distance of place or other circumstances; all which persons shall, at all times, when in the service, or doing the business of Porters, wear a badge or ticket, with the figure of a Pine-tree marked thereon, on some part of his upper garment or girdle; which badge or ticket shall be numbered, and a fair entry of each Porter's ticket made in the Selectmen's books." Any one undertaking the business without license, to be fined twenty shillings; and any Porter charging more than authorized by the Selectmen, to be fined ten shillings.

Dec. 3. The Council of the Province, "taking into consideration the many and pressing difficulties the public affairs now labor under, and likely to increase, unless the Government be speedily led into some happy methods for the remedy thereof," voted that the Governor be desired to appoint a day of Fasting and Prayer, and that the reverend Ministers of Boston be desired to assist in the solemnity. The Governor

Dec. 10. accordingly appointed the tenth of December to be kept as a Fast. On that day Dr. Colman preached a Sermon in the Council Chamber before his Excellency and the Members of the General Court.

* The Committee consisted of Mr. Joseph Marion, William Stoddard, Esq., John Fayerweather, Esq., and Robert Auchmuty, Esq. Mr. Fayerweather and Mr. Marion were active men in Town affairs. The former subscribed £50 towards the Work-house.

† Mr. Marion's recommendation is entered upon the records, and consists of several able articles. Among them "The Release of Mr. Blackston, the first Proprietor of the Town of Boston," is mentioned as "now on file in the Town Clerk's Office, and also the Indian Deeds to the Selectmen." I have never met with the originals here referred to, nor does it appear that Shaw or Snow ever saw them.

John Fayerweather

The cause of sufferings at this period appears mainly to have been occasioned by the bad state of the currency of the country, by which its business relations were deranged in a manner not easily conceivable at this day.*

The winter of 1736-7 was one of intense cold, occasioning great sufferings everywhere, especially among the poor and improvident; not a few of whom perished from the effects of its severity. Sermons were preached upon the occasion, some of which were published.



THE WEST CHURCH.

Jan. 3. The West Church was organized this year, at the instigation, it was said, of the Rev. William Hooper, who, on the 18th of May following, was ordained over it. He preached his ordination Sermon, Mr. Foxcroft and Mr. Sewall made prayers, Mr. Prince gave the Charge, and Dr. Colman the Right Hand of Fellowship.†

Mr. Hooper continued in his office about nine years, when, having embraced Episcopacy, he abruptly left the Church, and went to England to receive ordination in the established Church.‡ He was afterwards Pastor of Trinity Church, which station he held till his death in 1767, at the age of about sixty-five. He was native of Edenham, in Scotland, possessed more than ordinary powers of mind, of a noble aspect, an eloquent and popular preacher. He married the daughter of Mr. John Dennie, an eminent merchant. His son William, the oldest of five children, read law with James Otis, set-

* Something may be gathered from Hutchinson's History relative to the currency difficulties, but he jumps entirely over the period from 1733 to 1737, the years of the greatest trouble. From Dr. Colman's Fast Sermon some valuable hints may be obtained upon this particular period. I have room but for the following brief extracts: "And now, my honoured Fathers, having said enough to raise your just detestation of the sin of injustice, and to excite your compassions to your sinful, suffering people, may the righteous God direct you what should or can be done by you in the present unhappy juncture of our affairs."—"It ought to be very pleasing to us, and we should be very thankful to God for it, that we have a Governour who can heartily join with us, and go before us in seeking to God for help in this open manner."—"I will presume to propose to the honourable Court, that if there should sooner or later come any great loss, thro' the miserable pass that our tatter'd Bills of Credit are come to, will it not be highly just that the Public should bear it in an equal tax? as I saw the damage easily borne and repair'd by the justice and wisdom of the Parliament of England, when their coin was

reduc'd to a like scandalous state, that our currency now is, Anno, 1695." The historian of Massachusetts should read this Discourse.

† The Church was formed by seventeen individuals, whose names follow: "Hugh Hall, William Stoddard, from the South Church; James Gooch, Jr., John Darroll, John Daniels, from the First Church; Joseph Ricks, John Pierce, Samuel Sprague, Joseph Badger, from Brattle-street Church; William Williams, from the First Church in Cambridge; Ephraim Copeland, Abijah Adams, John Scot, from the New North; William More, from the North Church; James Watson, Robert Watt, John Moffatt, noncommunicants."

‡ Dr. Lowell's Cent. Discourse, p. 11. My author says, "Mr. Hooper resigned, or rather abdicated." But eighteen members appear to have been added to the Church during Mr. Hooper's ministry. Their names are "Thomas Chapman, Ebenezer Messinger, Harrison Gray, Alexander Gregory, John Smibert, John Little, James Scholie, Henry Berry, Ebenezer Berry, Jeremiah Gridley, Stephen Greenleaf, Mr. Franklin, Stephen Whiting, William Winslow, Mr. Colburn, Story Dawes, Robert Glen, Mr. Keys."

tled in North Carolina, was a member of the Congress of 1776, and signed the Declaration of Independence.

To Mr. Hooper succeeded Jonathan Mayhew, "a name," it is justly said, "which cannot be pronounced without emotion by any friend of civil liberty, or the right of private judgment in matters of religion; second to none in his profession, whom our country has ever produced."* Mr. Mayhew was ordained June 17, 1747, on which occasion the Rev. Ebenezer Gay, of Hingham, preached the Sermon. The Rev. Experience Mayhew, father of the candidate, gave the Charge, and the Rev. Benjamin Prescott, of Salem, the Right Hand of Fellowship. His ministry continued about nineteen years, when it was terminated by his sudden death, on the ninth of July, 1766. On the following Sunday, Dr. Chauncy preached a funeral Discourse in the West Church, and six weeks after, the Rev. Mr. John Browne, of Hingham, preached another, both of which were printed.

The next Minister of the West Society was the Rev. Simeon Howard, who was ordained on the sixth of May, 1761. He died August 14th, 1804, aged seventy-one. He was a native of Bridgewater.†

The Rev. Charles Lowell, a native of Boston, succeeded Mr. Howard, and was ordained January first, 1806; Eliphalet Porter, of Roxbury, preached the ordination sermon. Dr. Lowell is one of the present Pastors. On the first of March, 1837, the Rev. Cyrus Augustus Bartol was ordained as junior pastor of the same Church.

The formation of a Society at what was then called West or New Boston, had been more than a year in agitation, when the Church was formed, and the frame of a Meeting-house had been set up about the first week in September, 1736; but it was not finished until the following April. It was of wood, and had a steeple. In 1775, the British used it for a barrack, and took down the steeple, because it had been used, as was said, by the Rebels, to make signals in to their friends in Cambridge. The old or first house was taken down in March, 1806, and on the fourth of April following the corner-stone of the present edifice was laid, which was ready for dedication on the day of the annual Thanksgiving of the same year. It was furnished with an Organ in 1817. It stands in Lynde-street, fronting on Cambridge, with a beautiful open square before it. In this square, which has

* Dr. Mayhew died at the early age of forty-six. He was born on Martha's Vineyard in 1720, was grandson of Mr. John Mayhew, of that place, who died in 1698, aged 37; great-grandson of Thomas Mayhew, who was the only son of Thomas, the original emigrant. This (emigrant) ancestor of the Mayhews lived to be ninety-two, dying in 1681. His only son died at sea in 1657, aged thirty-seven. Dr. Mayhew's father was the author of the "Indian Converts," 8vo, London, 1727; who, in a petition to the General Court in 1739, said, "he had labored in the work of the Gospel

ministry among the Aboriginal Natives for 45 years successively, and had spent of his own estate about £1500, by which he was brought into great straits and difficulties." Dr. Mayhew's wife was a daughter of Mr. John Clark.

† During Mr. Howard's ministry, "A Collection of Hymns" was published, "more particularly designed for the use of the West Society in Boston." It was a duodecimo of 162 pages, and was printed in 1783. No author's name is given in the work, nor is there anything by way of preface or introduction to show whether they are original or selected.

recently been surrounded by an iron fence, there is a fountain, and it is susceptible of being further beautified.

The subject of a Work-house had for several years been agitated, but its expense had been the main obstacle to its erection. Two years before, a subscription in aid of the object was circulated among the inhabitants, to which some one hundred and twenty-three persons subscribed about 4368 pounds, chiefly in small sums. Thus encouraged, the Town committed the matter to several gentlemen, with instructions to fix upon a location, and to recommend such building as they judged necessary. Accordingly those gentlemen made a Report at the
Mar. 29. Town-meeting in March, 1737, which was accepted without debate. The location recommended was on Common-street, on or near where the Granary stood, and the Granary was to be removed down to the corner of Tremont and Common-streets.

Harvard College suffered a great loss in the death of its
Mar. 16. President, the Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth, who died on the sixteenth of March, aged about sixty-eight. He was the seventh son of Capt. Samuel Wadsworth, of Milton, who was killed in a battle with the Indians; or who, in the language of a Sermon preached at his funeral, "was slain with others, on the high places of the field, bravely fighting, at the head of his company, against the Indian enemy." His connection with the First Church has been mentioned.

A distinguished and leading man, the Hon. Elisha Cooke, died
Aug. in August, at the age of fifty-nine. He was the son of a former agent of the Province, the Hon. Elisha Cooke, who died in 1715, and, like him, was true to that policy which led to the Independence of the Country.* His son Middlecott Cooke, Esq., was many years Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas for Suffolk. Mr. Cooke was a Member of the General Court at the time of his death, and in September following John Wheelwright, Esq., was chosen in his place.

* An interesting notice of the political character of the Cookes, father and son, is given by Hutchinson. In 1734, a story was got up to prejudice the election of Mr. Cooke, who was a candidate for the office of Councillor. From the following extracts of a handbill issued by Mr. Cooke's friends, the nature of the case may be learned, and the manoeuvres of political parties of those days: "Whereas it is industriously reported (as I imagine with design, at this juncture, to prejudice the Hon. Elisha Cooke, Esq., in the good opinion of the Freeholders and Voters of this Town) that on Tuesday evening last, being the 30th of April, he proposed or drank the health of Col. [David] Dunbar as Governor of this Province," &c. "Now these are to certify that Mr. Cooke and several other gentlemen, being at my house, I proposed to drink the health of Col. Dunbar, and Mr. Cooke drank

his health as a private gentleman, and not as Governor of this Province, and to this I am ready to make solemn oath.

"SAMUEL WALDO.*

"Tuesday, 7th of May, 1734."

Ebenezer Holmes and Benj. Pollard, "being present at Mr. Waldo's," made a similar statement, to which the three made oath before "Nathaniel Green, J. Pac."

Accompanying the above, Gov. Shirley made a statement over his own signature, the purport of which is, that he did not arrive at Mr. Waldo's till the healths were drunk, but had heard Mr. Waldo decline drinking Col. Dunbar's health, on other occasions, as Governor; that he made this statement, because it had been reported that he heard the health so drunk on this occasion. — *Original Handbill in possession of Mr. J. W. PARKER, of Roxbury.*

* Samuel and Cornelius Waldo were eminent merchants of Boston. Their place of business was for a considerable period in King-street, near the Crown Coffee House. About the close of 1733, they removed to Merchant's Row, near the

Swing Bridge. Lucy, wife of Mr. Saml. Waldo, died 7 Aug., 1741, in the 28th year of her age. Cornelius Waldo lived in Leverett's Lane, now Congress-street. Judge Samuel Waldo died at Falmouth, Casco Bay, Me., April, 1770.

This year is remarkable for some advancement of free principles in the public mind. Quakers were to be exempted from taxes to support the Clergy, provided they attended their own meetings. Large buckles began to be worn on shoes, a practice which continued in use among some aged people till within a few years.

In answer to a petition from Boston, dated in 1735, for a grant of unappropriated lands, the General Court ordered two Townships to be set off the following year. This year, being in straitened circumstances, "owing to the decline of trade," those tracts of land were ordered to be sold at auction. In the mean time, a third tract having been acquired, all were disposed of; the first to John Reed, Esq., for 1020 pounds; the second to Col. Joseph Heath, for 1320 pounds; and the third to Col. Jacob Wendell, for 1320 pounds. Towns in the Commonwealth bear the names of Heath and Wendell, but they were comparatively recently so named.

Mr. Nathaniel Williams died on the tenth of January, in his ^{1738.} sixty-third year.* He had been a Minister, Physician, and Jan. 10. School-master. He was Master in the Free Grammar School from 1703 to 1734; having succeeded Master Cheever, and was himself succeeded by the celebrated Master John Lovell.†

"A good and convenient house had lately been built, at the charge of the Province, on the Island called Rainsford's Island, for the reception of such persons as might be visited with any contagious sickness." Such were the steps which laid the foundation of a Hospital, justly renowned to this day.‡ It is under the joint control of the City and State. The City appoints the resident Physician.

At the May term of the General Court, "all the lands within May. the Town of Boston, heretofore called Winnisimmet, Rumney Marsh, and Pullen Point," were "erected into a township of the name of Chelsea." This separation had been many years meditated, and the point was finally gained with difficulty. The territory now set off was before called Number Thirteen. Noddle's and Hog islands were not included.§

* Mr. Prince, who preached his Funeral Sermon, says, page 20, that "he was very diligent and faithful in the school, and greatly beloved by the scholars for an agreeable mixture of majesty and sweetness, both in his voice and countenance." In January, 1733-4, he requested to be provided with an Usher, in room of Mr. Jer. Gridley, and Nathaniel Oliver, Jun., was appointed, at £80 a year. Mr. Samuel Gibson succeeded Mr. Oliver as Usher, 14 Aug. of the same year. Mr. Williams was son of Nathaniel and Mary (Oliver) Williams, and was born Aug. 16th, 1675. See page 293, and *Boston Records*.

† Mr. Lovell had been one of the Ushers in the school "for some time past."

‡ The General Court enacted, "That the Commanding Officer at Castle William, and the Keeper of the Light-house, shall notify

and direct the Masters of all vessels coming near them, wherein any infectious sickness is or hath lately been, at their coming in, to come to anchor as near the before mentioned House as may be, that the sick persons, and everything else on board said ship that might give infection, may be removed into it with the greater ease and safety."—*Laws*, 661. The island contains about 11 acres of land, and is distant from the city, by the channel, about 7½ miles.

§ In the Preamble of the Act of Incorporation, the reasons for the separation are thus briefly, and at the same time comprehensively, stated: "Whereas the inhabitants of the Town of Boston, that dwell in the district called Winnisimmet, Rumney Marsh and Pullen Point, lying on the northerly and north-easterly side of the Harbor, have represented to this

There had been for some time a duty of four pounds a head on all Negroes imported into the Province, but means were found to evade the law requiring its payment, which led to one this year more stringent. Masters of vessels bringing in any Negroes were obliged to give, under oath, a list of them to the proper Authorities; which list, if not found to be a true one, subjected the Master to a penalty of 100 pounds. Similar obligations and penalties were also provided respecting Negroes which might be brought in by land.

Mar. 31. This Spring occurred the death of the Rev. Mr. Elisha Callender, Minister of the Baptist Church, after a ministry of about twenty years.* "He was a gentleman universally beloved by people of all persuasions;" was a son of Mr. Ellis Callender, of Boston, and the Rev. Mr. John Callender, of Newport, in Rhode Island, was his nephew. The latter was a son of Mr. John Callender, and was born in Boston in 1706, and died at the early age of forty-two, sincerely lamented.†

The subject of Church music was again agitated this year. It appears that the singing of hymns, "of mere human composure," had begun to be practised, and that the practice was opposed by the Churches generally.‡

For about nineteen years there does not appear to have been much said about a bridge over Charles river. The subject was agitated in 1720, but was doubtless abandoned on account of the large amount of funds its construction would require. This year Mr. John Staniford petitioned to be authorized to build one "from the west part of the town to Colonel Phipps' farm." The design was again laid aside, probably from the same cause as before.§

Mar. 12. At the request of several persons, liberty was granted them "to erect a brick wall with tombs on the front of the old Burying-place." This is now the Johnson or Chapel Burying-place. The next year, "John Chambers and other grave-diggers" represented to the Selectmen that this Burying-place, and also the South, or Granary, "were so filled with dead bodies, that they were obliged, oft-

Court that they labor under great difficulties by reason of their remoteness from the body of the said Town, and separated by the River that renders their attendance on Town-meetings very difficult; and whereas they have a long time since erected a Meeting-house in that District," etc.

* See *New Eng. Weekly Journal*, 4 April, 1738.

† He left a monument to his own memory, which will endure when marble has crumbled to dust, and as valuable as it is durable. The mind of the intelligent reader will readily recur to "AN HISTORICAL DISCOURSE on the Affairs of Rhode Island," which he delivered this year (1738), it being the close of the First Century of the settlement of that Colony. My early pages have been indebted to it, as will have been seen; and no one can write satisfactorily of Rhode Island without consulting

it. A copy is in the library of the writer, with corrections by the Author's own hand.

‡ As late as 1744, Dr. Colman said, "I heartily wish that no Hymns of mere human composure may be brought into the public worship among us in any congregation; no, not the very best in the world, even those of Dr. Watts himself, saving such as are a paraphrase or version of some part of Holy Scripture; and so it was judged by the Fathers of New England, as our Psalm Book is an abundant testimony."—*Letter to Mr. Solomon Williams, of Lebanon.*

§ Mr. Staniford asked to be allowed by the Town to obtain aid by a subscription. On the 12th of October of this year (1739), a Committee to whom this request was referred, coldly reported, "that a Bridge as proposed will be a public benefit, and that it will be proper for the Town to make no objection."

times, to bury them four deep," and desired to know what they should do.* The Selectmen were desired to look into the matter.

John Ruck, Esq., having been elected one of the Overseers of the Poor, requested to be excused, he "having for twenty years past served in that capacity, and being now advanced in years." The Town excused him, and gave him a vote of thanks for his long and faithful services.

Gentlemen appointed to visit the Public Schools reported that they were generally satisfactorily conducted, and that the children appeared to be advancing; but that in the South Writing-school, though the scholars and their teacher had improved, they thought they would improve more; that there were in the five schools about 600 pupils; namely: in the South Grammar School about 120; in the North about 60; in the North Writing School about 280; in the Writing School in Queen-street about 73; and in the South Writing School about 62.

The widow of the late Mr. John Frizzell † (Dorothy Saltonstall) had left to the poor of the Town 200 pounds, and twenty pounds to be laid out in Bibles and Testaments to be distributed among poor children. The subject being brought up in Town-meeting, the Overseers of the Poor were directed to call upon the Executors for the legacy. Mrs. Saltonstall was the Executrix of Mr. Frizzell's will, and Thomas Hutchinson, John Ruck and Nathaniel Saltonstall, Esquires, were Executors of her will.

Christopher Kilby, one of the Representatives of the Town in the General Court, having been appointed by that Court to go to England as an agent for the Province, Capt. Nathaniel Cunningham was unanimously chosen to take his place.‡ The Committee chosen by the Town to instruct the Representatives, consisted of Captain Cunningham, Mr. Hugh Vans, Samuel Adams, Esq., Capt. Benjamin Pollard, and Mr. Middlecott Cooke.

* Notwithstanding another Yard was afterwards established on the south part of the Common, these continued to be used; and, if their condition was truly reported 115 years ago, and no doubt it was, what must be their present condition? And who, knowing these facts, could advocate intermural burials?

† Mr. Frizzell died 10 April, 1723. Dr. Cotton Mather preached a Sermon on the occasion, but nothing is to be learned from it except that he was an honorable merchant, and that the time of his death is as here given. Mrs. Frizzell (Saltonstall) died 4 April, 1733.

‡ Mr. Kilby embarked for London soon after, where he resided for several years. He was called the "Standing Agent" of the Province, and was likewise the Special Agent of the Town. Five years after this we find his re-election recorded, at which election he had 102 votes out of 109. When the General Court

passed an act granting the King an excise on spirituous liquors, wines, limes, lemons and oranges, the Town "voted unanimously to employ him to appear on behalf of the Town, and to use his utmost endeavor to prevent said Act's obtaining the Royal Assent," and likewise to be its Agent in other matters. This action of the Town was Jan. 3d, 1755.

The name of Kilby is not found in Farmer's Register, though John Kilby was a resident of Boston before 1700. Kilby-street was named in honor of the family. Thomas Kilby, Esq., was Commissary of the King's stores at Louisbourg, and died there on the 23d of August, 1746. At the time of the great fire of March 17th, 1760, Mr. Christopher Kilby was residing in New York, in the service of the home Government. On hearing of the distressing fire in Boston, he sent the Town £200 sterling as a present.



CHAPTER LXI.

Oldmixon's Account of Boston. — George Whitefield. — Visits Boston. — Preaches on the Common. — Accident at Mr. Checkley's Church. — A New Market-house — Faneuil's Gift. — Hall named for him. — Death of Peter Faneuil. — Cradle of Liberty. — Lind Bank Scheme. — Shirley, Governor. — His Family. — Number of Inhabitants. — Samuel Mather's Church. — Second Baptist. — Boston Marine Society. — Magazines begun. — Christian History. — American Magazine. — Death of William Cooper. — War with France. — Proclaimed in Boston. — Great Arrival of Cannon.



BELCHER.*

THE Representatives chosen this year May 7. were Thomas Cushing, Jun., Edward Bromfield, James Allen, and Thomas Hutchinson, Esquires. Mr. Hutchinson sailed not long after for England, and Mr. Timothy Prout was chosen in his stead.

"Sundry of the inhabitants" petitioned the Town that they might have the privilege of enclosing a small part of the top of Fort Hill for a Bowling-green; but they were refused. However, the next year Joseph Clewly was allowed to remove his Wind-mill from Roxbury, and to set it on Fort Hill; and the year following a

vote was obtained for a Bowling-green there.

Mr. John Oldmixon corrected his work, called "The British Empire in America," this year, and published the second edition of it in 1741, and died in 1742. In it "The History of New England" occupies a very large space, and Boston a due proportion of that space. The

* For the copy from which the above Arms are taken, I am indebted to the kindness of Mrs. HARRIET A. T. LEWIS, as also for a fine mezzotint engraving of Governor Belcher, from which Mr. S. S. KILBURN, JR., our Artist, has given a good copy, though necessarily much reduced in size. For good biographies of

give; "and added to these excellent endowments of mind, were a peculiar beauty and gratefulness of person, in which he was equalled by no man in his day; and there was a dignity in his mien and deportment which commanded respect." Mrs. Teal, his second wife, is said to have been "a lady of great merit and a handsome fortune." After the Governor's death, she resided in this vicinity. Gov. Belcher had given directions for his remains to be brought to Cambridge and interred there. Accordingly they were brought to Boston, in the end of November following his death, and deposited in a tomb in that Town. — Harris, *Cambridge Epitaphs*, 173. There were, probably, other families of Belcher than that to which the Governor belonged, in and about Boston. I find mention of Joseph, of Milton, "a great grandson of John Gill, 1733." This Joseph Belcher's father's name was also Joseph. See pages 181, 196, 236, 293, 319, 384, 403, 514. Belchertown in this Commonwealth was named in honor of the family of Gov. Belcher.

J. Belcher

Gov. Belcher, see Eliot's and Allen's Dictionaries, often referred to in my notes. He was appointed to the Government of New Jersey, after he was superseded by Shirley, and died at Elizabeth Town, Aug. 31, 1757, aged 76. His first wife was Mary, dau. of Lieut. Governor Partridge, of New Hampshire, who died 6 Oct., 1736. He m. secondly, Mrs. Mary Louise Emily Teal, 9 Sept., 1748. Mr. Belcher had all the advantages of education and travel, which the opulence of a fond father could

Town contained then, he says, ten Churenes, the names of which he gives. Upon the "conversation and way of living" of the inhabitants, he remarks: "The conversation in this Town is as polite as in most of the Cities and Towns of England; many of their merchants having traded into Europe, and those that stayed at home having the advantage of Society with travellers; so that a gentleman from London would almost think himself at home at Boston, when he observes the number of people, their houses, their furniture, their tables, their dress and conversation, which perhaps is as splendid and showy as that of the most considerable tradesman in London. Upon the whole, Boston is the most flourishing Town for trade and commerce in the English America. Near 600 sail of ships have been laden here in a year for Europe and the British Plantations. The goodness of the pavement may compare with most in London; to gallop a horse on it is three shillings and fourpence forfeit."

A remarkable man had made his appearance in England some time before this, who, by his singular zeal and eloquence, had made much impression on the religious world. This was the Rev. George Whitefield. A visit from him to Boston was fondly anticipated by some; and by others such a visit, it was thought, would be productive of no permanent good. There was in Boston no lack of able and devoted ministers, and it was argued that a man like Mr. Whitefield, might divert their followers from their regular worship, which diversion in the end would lead to a distrust of their ability to teach, and cause a general dissatisfaction with them. On the other hand, it was said that there was, from some cause, a general apathy with regard to religion, and that something was wanting to awaken people to a sense of their condition. Hence there were, as in all similar cases, two parties; and eventually the leaders of those parties attacked each other, the consequence of which was a pamphlet war, carried on with much acrimony, and to a length that can hardly be imagined at this day, unless by those who have met with their instruments of warfare.* Mr. Whitefield himself, being the cause of the controversy, had to bear the brunt of it.† And notwithstanding the matter was then thought to be one of immense moment, few probably in this age care to inquire which party had the advantage.

Sept. 18. Mr. Whitefield paid a second visit to Gen. Oglethorpe's Colony of Georgia in 1739; thence he travelled by land to Boston, where he arrived in September of this year. As he approached the Town he was met by a deputation of gentlemen, who conducted him to lodgings.‡ He was now only in his twenty-sixth year, and it is

* I know not the number of those pamphlets, but I have found about thirty in my own collection. The Rev. Mr. Foxcroft, and several of the Country Ministers, wrote in "vindication" of Mr. Whitefield, among whom the Rev. William Baleh, of Bradford, was conspicuous; while Dr. Chauncy and Dr. Wigglesworth with many others wrote against him.

† Writing tracts defending himself must have absorbed much of his time, as they are very numerous, and some of them not inconsiderable in bulk. They were usually in quarto, as were those of his adversaries.

‡ "Next day, in the afternoon, Dr. Sewall and I made him a visit; found several Ministers and other gentlemen of the Town with him, and that Dr. Colman and Mr. Cooper

doubtless true that few men have since lived, who, at so early an age, have acquired so wide a reputation as a preacher.*

Sept. 19. The next day he preached in Brattle-street Meeting-house, "to a vast concourse of people;" the next morning in the Old South, but as the number which could not gain admittance there was far greater than that within, he preached in the afternoon on the Common to a great number.

Sept. 21. The Sunday following, in the morning, he went to hear Dr. Colman preach, and in the afternoon he preached at the Old Brick; but there was such dissatisfaction among the multitude without, that the Preacher led them to the Common, where he was heard by from 8,000 to 10,000 persons, as was supposed.

Sept. 22. On the morning of Monday he preached at Mr. Webb's Church, and proposed to preach at Mr. Checkley's in the afternoon, but an accident prevented the services. The house being densely filled, a noise was heard in the gallery, which some supposed to be the breaking of timbers, and the utmost confusion ensued; some jumped from the gallery upon the people below, some out of the windows, while others rushed for the doors, regardless of all consequences. In this wild confusion "several were trod to death, three died almost presently, and others were grievously wounded," some of whom died within a few days after.† Mr. Whitefield was on the spot, and immediately led the vast assemblage to the Common, and there held forth again. He continued preaching in Boston and its vicinity with increased reputation

Oct. 12. until the second week in October, when he delivered his farewell sermon on the Common, "to a vast assembly, supposed to be 20,000 or more." The next day he left for New York, where, and in that vicinity, he preached some time. He reached Charleston, in South Carolina, on the third of January following, and on the 18th of the same month he sailed for England.‡

After the departure of Mr. Whitefield from this vicinity, the people began to reflect, and the excitement induced by his presence was gradually allayed; and some who had welcomed him, and believed his visit was calculated to do much good, changed their opinions. For a time he seems to have carried all before him, and the Ministers, in order that they should not be left alone, were obliged to join with their parishioners in showing their devotion to him. But on his return to

had engaged him to preach this afternoon in their house of Public Worship. And in about an hour we went to the place, which was quickly crowded with two or three thousand people."—*Prince in Christ. Hist.*, ii. 379. "He addressed himself to the Audience in such a tender, earnest and moving manner, as melted the Assembly into tears."—*Ibid.*, 380.

* He was born in Gloucester, Gloucestershire, 16 Dec. 1714, at the sign of the Bell, an Inn kept by his mother, and was educated at Pembroke College, Oxford, where he found those kindred spirits, John and Charles Wes-

ley. So remarkable did these young men become for their correct deportment and exact method in all their affairs, that they received the name of *Methodists*. This was the origin of the name of the since well-known sect bearing it. John, the elder Wesley, had preceded Whitefield in America.

† Rev. Joseph Sewall's *Journal*, in Wisner's *Hist. Old South*, p. 103.

‡ Whitefield's *Journal* (original edition), Boston, 1741. He went by way of Northampton. From Philadelphia he went by water to Charleston.

this country, in 1744, his reception, though warm in many places, was different from that he had received on his first coming. It was not until this second visit that the "war of pamphlets," before adverted to, commenced.*

To be as brief as possible, it must suffice here to say, that, after crossing the Atlantic Ocean seven times upon his pious and benevolent labors, he landed for the last time in this country on the 30th of November, 1769, and on the 30th of September of the following year he died at Newburyport, and was there entombed.

On the whole, it must be confessed that Mr. Whitefield had the good of his fellow-men at heart, and that if his labors did not have a lasting benefit, it was not because he did not prosecute them in all sincerity.† "The Great Revival" which commenced this year, and which spread over the country, was occasioned by his preaching.‡

Notwithstanding the fate of the late Market-houses, the utility of such structures was allowed by a large class of the people of the Town. But when they were called upon to build a Market, it was hard to get a majority in favor of it. Thus the case stood for several years. To relieve the Town from this difficulty, there came forward, about this time, a liberal and wealthy merchant, who proposed to build a House at his own charge, and to make a present of it to the Town. The name of this gentleman was Peter Faneuil, already brought to the reader's notice.

July 14. Thomas Palmer, Edward Hutchinson, and John Osborn, Esquires, took an active part in this business. They circulated a Petition, to which was procured 340 subscribers, which was presented in Town-meeting, in which the proposal of Mr. Faneuil was introduced. § And, strange as it may now seem, that gentleman's liberal offer was accepted by a majority of only seven votes; 367 voting its acceptance, and 360 against it. Such was the slender majority that gave a Market-house to Boston, and a Faneuil Hall to the United States.||

* He arrived at Pascataqua, in New Hampshire, in the ship *Wilmington*, Capt. Darling. While on his passage he wrote a pamphlet in answer to one by Dr. Smallbroke, Bishop of Litchfield, and soon after he arrived he wrote another in answer to Dr. Chauncy. This is dated Portsmouth, 19 Nov., 1744, while its Preface is dated Boston, Jan. 18th, 1744-5.

† Dr. Douglass, who was writing his work on the Colonies at the time Mr. Whitefield was here, speaks of him as a "vagrant enthusiast, with an ill-pointed zeal, by whom poor deluded tradesmen and laborers (whose time is their only estate) are called off to his exhortations, to the private detriment of their families, and great damage to the Public; thus, perhaps, every exhortation of his was about £1000 damage to Boston." — *Summary*, i. 249-50. Had the Doctor lived in our time, and witnessed the flocking after Maffit, Miller, and others which might be mentioned,

his thousand pounds a day would sink into insignificance.

‡ The following remarks of Dr. Colman have reference to that Revival: "Whoever of us went early and *too suddenly* into a good opinion of the *transports* of weak people and *children*, in the beginning of the *work of God* which we still judge has been among us in many places; let us look back with *humility*, even in the conscience of our *integrity* therein, and not be ashamed to confess our *inadvertence* and imprudence in not being more aware of the *tendency* of those *extraordinaries* and irregularities, unto these *errors* and extravagancies of others." — *Letter to Mr. Williams, of Lebanon*.

§ The meeting was so large that it was found necessary to adjourn to Brattle-street Meeting-house.

|| It is quite doubtful if Mr. Faneuil's gift had not been refused, had not the following

1742.
Sept. 13. About two years elapsed before it was finished;* and then in a Town-meeting held in it, it was reported, that in pursuance of the vote of 1740, Mr. Faneuil had, "at a very great expense, erected a noble structure, far exceeding his first proposal, inasmuch as it contains not only a large and sufficient accommodation for a Market-place, but has also superadded a spacious and most beautiful Town-hall over it, and several other convenient rooms, which may prove very beneficial to the Town, for offices, or otherwise; and, the said building being now finished, has delivered possession thereof to the Selectmen for the use of the Town."

It was, on motion of the Hon. John Jeffries, then voted, that "the Town do, with the utmost gratitude, receive and accept this most generous and noble benefaction." The Moderator of the Meeting, "the Hon. Thomas Cushing, the Hon. Adam Winthrop, Edward Hutchinson, Ezekiel Lewis, and Samuel Waldo, Esquires, Thomas Hutchinson, Esq., the Selectmen, and the Representatives of the Town of Boston, the Hon. Jacob Wendell, Esq., James Bowdoin, Esq., Andrew Oliver, Esq., Captain Nathaniel Cunningham, Peter Chardon, Esq., and Mr. Charles Apthorp," were appointed a Committee to wait upon Mr. Faneuil, "and in the name of the Town to render him their most hearty thanks for so beautiful a gift." On motion of Thomas Hutchinson, Esq., it was also voted, "that in testimony of the Town's gratitude to Peter Faneuil, Esq., and, to perpetuate his



FANEUIL HALL.

memory, that the Hall over the Market-place be named FANEUIL HALL, and at all times hereafter be called and known by that name." Then

clause accompanied and concluded the proposal of it: "And we the said Subscribers would humbly propose that, notwithstanding the said building should be encouraged and come to effect, yet that the Market-people should be at liberty to carry their Marketing wheresoever they pleased about the Town, to dispose of it." Such was the prejudice against Market-houses at that day, and there are those now (1855) who doubt their public utility.

When the Committee waited on Mr. Faneuil to thank him for his donation, he made the following remarkable observation; — that "he hoped what he had done would be for the service of the whole country." Had this benefactor lived but a few years longer, he

would have had the mortification to see his commodious Market entirely abandoned. So few people resorted to it, that it was shut up by a vote of the Town, in Sept., 1747. In the March following a vote was obtained for its being open three days in the week, and some time after it was opened every day; but in 1752 it was closed indefinitely, after a sharp contest. However, in 1753, with a view to deriving some income from it, it was opened and the stalls leased.

* The work was begun on the 8th of Sept., 1740, and finished on the 10th of Sept., 1742. On the day last named, Mr. Samuel Ruggles, who had been employed upon the building, delivered the key to the Selectmen.

Mr. William Price moved that "his picture be drawn at full length, at the expense of the Town, and placed in the Hall."*

The building was of brick, 100 by 40 feet, and was finished in a style of elegance which rendered it an ornament to the Town. The present Faneuil Hall occupies the same site as the original building, which was destroyed by fire in 1761. It was rebuilt by the Town in 1763, and it is this building which is above represented. In 1775 the British made a theatre of it, and had performances in it until they were compelled to evacuate the Town the following year.

In about six months after he had provided Boston with a Market-house, Mr. Faneuil died.^{1743.}† His age was but forty-two years and Mar. 3. about nine months. The maiden name of his mother was Anne Bureau, and he was the oldest of eleven children, and was born, as were the others, at New Rochelle, in the then Province of New York. Upon the death of their benefactor, the Selectmen appointed Mr. John Lovell, Principal of the South Grammar School, to deliver a funeral oration, which he did, in the Hall bearing the name of Faneuil, eleven days after his death.‡

The Hall and other apartments in this building now became the principal place for transacting the business of the Town, and it very well served the purpose until it had fully recovered from the disasters of the Revolution; except in cases of extraordinary meetings, when it was sometimes found necessary to adjourn to the Old South. At length, public convenience required a more spacious building, and in 1805 the enlargement of Faneuil Hall was undertaken, and carried through in about twelve months. By this enlargement a Hall was provided seventy-six feet square, and twenty-eight in height, with galleries on three sides, resting upon Doric columns, as it now appears.

The magnificent paintings which adorn its western wall, with the

* Among the regulations adopted was one requiring the annual appointment of a Clerk, and Mr. Faneuil was desired to name one, to serve till the next Annual Meeting, and he recommended Mr. Thomas Jackson. At the Annual Meeting the next year (14 March, 1743), John Staniford was chosen; probably the same who had been strenuously exerting himself about the erection of a bridge over Charles River.

† His residence was on the westerly side of Tremont-street, opposite the old, or Johnson Burying-ground, in an elegant mansion built by his uncle, Andrew Faneuil; the same in which lived afterwards Lieut. Gov. Phillips. Upon a summer-house belonging to it there was a grasshopper for its vane, similar to that upon Faneuil Hall; from the fact, no doubt, of its representing the crest of the Arms of Faneuil.

‡ Though there is nothing remarkable in Mr. Lovell's oration, the occasion was sufficient to give it importance, and it was ordered

to be entered upon the records of the Town. It has been copied into several works, and will be found in Loring's *Boston Orators*, in the *Massachusetts Magazine* for March, 1789, p. 133, and in Snow's *Hist. Boston*, 235. March 14th, 1744, the Town "voted to purchase the Faneuil arms, elegantly carved and gilt by Moses Deshon, to be fixed in the Hall."

The first meeting in the Hall, after the death of Mr. Faneuil, was held to perform funeral solemnities over his remains. This was on March 14th, 1743. The Rev. Charles Chauncy, D. D., opened the meeting with prayer. "The Select-men having determined that some proper respect should be paid to his memory, had appointed Mr. John Lovell, Master of the South Grammar School, to do the same. And then the said Master Lovell having taken the Moderator's seat, which was hung in mourning cloth, made an handsome Oration on the death of the said Peter Faneuil, Esq., to the great acceptance of the Town."—*Town Records*.

exception of that of the founder,* have been added from time to time ; among which none appear more appropriate than that of SAMUEL ADAMS, who, of all others, was the chief cause of its being immortalized as the CRADLE OF LIBERTY. A few days after the funeral oration on Mr. Faneuil, Governor Shirley informed the Town, through the Selectmen, that " he had received his Majesty's picture from the Lord Chamberlain [the Duke of Grafton], and that he intended to present it to the Town to be hung up in Faneuil Hall." A vote of thanks was conveyed to him by a Committee raised for that purpose, and not long after the portrait of George the Second was placed in the Hall.

Sept. 9. A " Manufactory Company " was formed in Boston this year ; its object being " for the ease of trade and commerce," as its projectors alleged ; to accomplish which they were to issue 150,000 pounds in bills of credit, to be called " Manufactory Bills." This was a revival of a scheme for private banking, strongly urged in 1713, but which was then prevented from being carried into effect by the governmental issue of paper money. This was called the " Land Bank Scheme," because land was pledged for the redemption of the bills. Mr. Hutchinson, the historian, the inveterate opposer of all paper-money projects, opposed this with all his ability ; but it went into operation, and although it terminated quite as well, if not better, than any other paper-money affair hitherto, yet Mr. Hutchinson's hostility to it prevented his taking a candid view of the subject, or treating its projectors with respectful consideration in his history.†

1741. Governor Belcher was superseded by William Shirley, Esq., and Henry Frankland, Esq.,‡ was made Collector of the Port. Mr. Shirley was a lawyer, and came originally from Sussex, but he had lived in Boston about seven years, and was esteemed for his gentlemanly deportment. When the news of his appointment arrived, he was in

* That now in the Hall representing Mr. Faneuil was copied from one of smaller size, by Col. Henry Sargent. That of Washington is by Stuart, and was presented, as was this of Faneuil, by the late Samuel Parkman, Esq.

† As I have not met with the names of the Undertakers of the Land Bank in any publication, they are here introduced : — Robert Auchmuty, Esq., of Roxbury ; Samuel Adams,

note afterwards. Leonard was the author of the famous Letters signed *Massachusettensis*, mis-attributed by the first President Adams to Jonathan Sewall, Esq. Auchmuty was Judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty, in 1728.

‡ Afterwards Sir Henry Frankland. He had an elegant residence in North Square, and another in the town of Hopkinton, where he passed his summers in a style of elegance not common at that day. His history is a very romantic one, and has been collected by the Rev. Mr. Nason, of Natick, a native of Foxborough, who is capable of giving it to the public in a history of that Town, in a manner which would be creditable to our local historical literature. Sir Henry Frankland died at Bath, in England, the seat of the family, Jan. 11th, 1768, and his title descended to Thomas Frankland, Esq., his nephew, a Vice Admiral in the Navy. When a captain in the service, he commanded the *Rose* frigate, and was in Boston in 1743. Some poetry addressed to him at that time may be seen in the *Evening Post* of 22 Aug., No. 420.

Samuel Adams

Esq. [father of the Patriot], William Stoddard, Esq., and Peter Chardon, merchant, of Boston ; Samuel Watts, Esq., of Chelsea ; George Leonard, Esq., of Norton ; Robert Hale, Esq., of Beverly ; John Choate, Esq., of Ipswich, and Thomas Cheever, of Lynn, gentleman. — *Original MS. Indenture* between John Clap, of Scituate, and the Directors or Undertakers. Several of these were men of



July. Rhode Island, acting as Counsel for Massachusetts before a Court of Commissioners assembled at Providence to settle the boundary line between the two Colonies.* He had the address to secure in his favor those who had opposed Governor Belcher, and also to uphold the prerogative of the Crown, which was always obnoxious to the party, which may very properly be denominated the Republican party. The interests of the Province were much advanced during Mr. Shirley's administration. He gave the people something to do, and in that employment which fitted them to oppose the measures of the home government. His operations against the French were of this character, and some of them were peculiarly fortunate. He had a large family. Two of his sons, William and Thomas, were officers in the army. The former was killed with General Braddock, in 1755. In 1746 his wife, Mrs. Frances Shirley, died, and was buried in King's Chapel burying-ground.† In 1756, Governor Shirley was superseded by Thomas Pownall, Esq. He was afterwards Governor of one of the Bahama Islands, but, returning to America, died at his seat in Roxbury, March 24th, 1771, aged about seventy-seven. His remains were deposited in a vault under King's Chapel, the corner-stone of which church he had laid in 1749.

There were this year, "at one and the same time," upon the stocks in Boston, forty topsail vessels, amounting to about 7,000 tons.‡

The winter of 1740-1 was excessively severe, and, to mitigate the sufferings of the poor, those in better circumstances contributed large amounts. On a single Sunday, in the month of February, a collection in the Churches amounted to 1251 pounds.§

* As was then the custom, "the Associated Pastors of the Churches" waited on the new Governor, on the 17th of August, and presented him with their congratulatory Address, in which they assured him they should pray "that the spirit of wisdom might rest upon him, to enable him to discharge his great duties acceptably; and that the Churches and the College would meet with his favor and protection; and that he would cause a strict observance of the Lord's day." He, in return, assured them that they might depend upon his endeavors in those respects. They then proceeded to Ex-Governor Belcher's, and thanked him for "all his goodness and favor to the Churches, and the Pastors of them." The Associated Pastors were Benj. Colman, Joseph Sewall, Thomas Prince, John Webb, William Cooper, Thomas Foxcroft, Samuel Checkley, William Welsted, Joshua Gee, Mather Byles, Ellis Gray, and Andrew Eliot.

† She died at Dorchester on the 4th of September, and was buried with much ceremony on the 11th. Great numbers attended the funeral from the neighboring towns; and, during the procession, which was formed about three o'clock in the afternoon, the guns at the Castle and at the Batteries in the Town were

fired every half minute, as were those of four of the King's ships then in the harbor, and several others. The corpse being carried into King's Chapel, the Rev. Mr. Commissary Price preached a sermon from Rev. xiv. 13; and on the morning of the same day Dr. Colman preached at the Lecture, "in audience of the General Court," on the same occasion. His Discourse was printed. Mrs. Shirley was said to have been a Catholic, and that circumstance was prejudicial to his popularity.

‡ Douglass, *Summary*, ii. 18. — Ship-building rapidly decreased from about this period, and this author attributes the decline "to Mr. Shirley's faulty government," which is a very prejudiced view of the case.

§ To show the relative ability of the Societies at this time, the amount contributed by each is here given: — Dr. Cutler's, £72 14s. 2d; Mr. Price's, £134 10s.; Mr. Davenport's, £133 3s. 3d. These were Episcopal. Mr. Welsted's, £58; Mr. Hooper's, £143; Mr. Foxcroft's, £95; Dr. Colman's, £164 10s.; Dr. Sewall's, £105; Mr. Webb's, £105; Mr. Gee's, £71 10s. 5d.; the French Church, £14 11s. 3d.; Anabaptist, £14 2; Mr. Moorehead's [known as the Irish meeting], £27 5s.; Mr. Checkley's, £72 12s.; Mr. Byles', £40 2s.

The subject of the Fortifications of the Town had been constantly brought up in Town-meetings, but no effectual action had been taken, owing chiefly to the "poverty and distress" of the inhabitants, arising from a loss of trade and the state of the currency. The North and South Batteries were so much decayed that they were entirely unserviceable. At the general Town-meeting in March, a subscription was proposed among the inhabitants, "in order to raise about 20,000 pounds," and a Committee was appointed to solicit donations; but to no purpose, as it appears from the Report of the Committee, who said that "the inhabitants in general declared they would not subscribe until they knew where the Fortifications were to be placed, and the Committee who were to lay out the money." The consequence was the General Court took the case in hand, and the old Forts were eventually repaired.

Mar. 23. For the last nineteen months, "taking one time with another," there were forty persons in the Work-house. At this time there were fifty-five, of whom but ten were men.

1742. The burials in Boston in 1742 were 515, from which it was reckoned that there were about 18,000 inhabitants.* This computation was based upon the notion that but one in thirty-five dies per annum, which was not then very near the truth, probably. Sir William Petty had about this time concluded that one in thirty, in cities, was a fair estimate. There were, however, now in the Town 1200 widows, all but 200 of whom were in indigent circumstances; in the Alms-house were 111 inmates, in the Work-house, thirty-six; Negroes, 1514. The dwelling-houses numbered 1719; warehouses, 116; horses, 418; cows, 141.

The Church known as Mr. Samuel Mather's Church was formed this year. Mr. Mather had been Minister in the Old North about nine years, when, in February, 1741, he asked a dismission from it. The Church at first refused to grant it; but in October of that year, the matter having been submitted to a Council, a dismission was granted. With Mr. Mather about thirty men and twice as many women separated from the Old North, and in the early part of 1742 they had a house ready for their worship. It was of wood, and stood at the corner of North Bennet and Hanover streets. After the death of Mr. Mather, in 1785, his Meeting-house was purchased by Universalists, and became the First Universalist Church in Boston.

Another Church was formed this year under similar circumstances. This was the Second Baptist. Some persons belonging to the First Baptist complained that the Pastor, the Rev. Jeremiah Condry, † was an

* This is Dr. Douglass' statement; but in another page he says, "By a new valuation, in 1742, there were reported 16,382 souls in Boston."

† Mr. Condry died 23 Aug., 1768, and was buried in the Common Burying-ground. His wife was Sarah, dau. of Mr. Shem Drowne. She mar. secondly, Dr. William Lee Perkins,

and died 7 July, 1773. Her father was a claimant of Eastern lands under Elbridge and Aldsworth, which he derived through his wife, daughter of Richard Russell. Mr. Drowne resided for many years in Boston, and was often employed in Town affairs, especially in the management of the Fortifications. The name does not occur among Farmer's early settlers.

Arminian, and that he had departed from the original Covenant of their Church. The case or accusation being propounded to him in writing, he would not make any reply to it. Accordingly, James Bound, John Proctor, and Ephraim Bosworth, called themselves the First Baptist Church, because they adhered to the original Covenant, "and on the same day John Dabney and Thomas Boucher, then Ephraim Bound, and then Thomas Lewis, acknowledged the aforementioned persons to be the First Baptist Church, and were admitted members." The evening following they made choice of Mr. Ephraim Bound to take the pastoral Charge of them. As no Ministers here or in this vicinity would assist in ordaining Mr. Bound, he was obliged to go to Warwick, in Rhode Island, and was there ordained on the seventh of September, 1743.

This Society held its first Sunday-meetings in the dwelling-house of Mr. James Bound, in Sheaf-street, which were begun on the third of October, 1742. The first sermon preached in their Meeting-house was on March 15th, 1746. Their first house was small, built of wood, and stood upon the site occupied by the Church in Baldwin Place. It was forty-five by thirty-three feet. Dr. John Gill, the well-known Commentator on the Bible, presented the Church with plate, books, and baptismal garments. Mr. Ephraim Bosworth and his wife, who were of Hull, became members of this Church. At his death Mr. Bosworth bequeathed it a valuable house in the north part of Boston, and the principal part of the island called the Great Brewster, in the harbor. A few years after the settlement of Dr. Baldwin, the Society had so much increased, that it was found necessary to enlarge their House. This was completed and opened for service, Thanksgiving-day, November 30th, 1798. A clock was given, by Mr. John Hoffman, for the front gallery. In 1810 the increase of the Society again rendered their House too small, and a new one was erected, which is the present edifice. It was dedicated on the first of January, 1810.*

The "Boston Marine Society" was established this year, but it was not incorporated until the second of February, 1754. Its objects are set forth in the Charter, most of which having been assumed by the General Government, renders it of less importance now than at the time of its formation.†

*The Ministers of this Church are thus given:—Ephraim Bound, or Bond, 7 Sept., 1742, to 18 June, 1765; John Davis, 9 Sept., 1770, July, 1772; Isaac Skillman, 3 Oct., 1773, 7 Oct., 1787; Thomas Gair, 23 April, 1788, 27 April, 1790; Thomas Baldwin, 11 Nov., 1790, 29 Aug., 1825; James D. Knowles, 28 Dec., 1825, 7 Oct., 1832; Baron Stow, 15 Nov., 1832, 1 July, 1848; Levi Tucker, 31 Dec., 1848.

In Dr. Baldwin's Sermon at the Opening of the Church, Jan. 1st, 1811, and his New-Year's Discourse, Jan., 1824, may be found interesting facts concerning the Ministers of that Church, his predecessors. Also a more particular history of the Church than can be

here included. Dr. Baldwin died suddenly, 29 Aug., 1825, aged 71, at Waterville, Me.

†It consisted of "a considerable number of persons who were or had been masters of ships or other vessels." They associated "to improve the knowledge of this Coast, by communicating their observations, inward and outward, of the variation of the needle, the soundings, courses, and distances, and all other remarkable things about it, in writing, to be lodged with the Society, for the making of the navigation more safe; and also to relieve one another and their families in poverty or other adverse accidents in life; and for this end had raised a considerable common Stock, out of which they had, from time to

The Schools had all along received the special attention of the Town. Learned and efficient men made visits to them, and their reports were anxiously listened to. Masters and Ushers were constantly petitioning for an increase of salary, and these petitions received careful attention.*

^{1743.}
Mar. 2. A periodical was commenced on the third of March, 1743, called "The Boston Weekly Magazine;" but the age of Magazines had hardly arrived in Boston, while in Philadelphia one was started two years before this. The Boston Weekly Magazine, issued in octavo form, continued only four weeks.†

Mar. 5. It cannot be stated with certainty whether it was suspended for want of patronage, or whether another work, partaking something of the Magazine character, took its place. This was "The Christian History," undertaken, no doubt, at the instance of the Rev. Thomas Prince, one of the principal contributors to its pages. Thomas Prince, Junior, son of the former, was its publisher. It was an octavo, eight pages in each number, and issued weekly, on Saturdays. At the end of two years it ceased.‡

May 25. On the 25th of May, at their annual Convention, the Pastors of the Churches published a "Testimony against several Errors in Doctrine, and Disorders in Practice," which had "of late obtained, in various parts of the Land." It bears the signature only of the Moderator, the Rev. Nathaniel Eells. And on the seventh
July 7. of July, "there met in Boston one of the largest Assembly of Ministers that ever convened here, to bear their Testimony to this remarkable Revival in the Land; when ten Ministers in this Town" joined in the Testimony.§

Sept. 12. On the 12th of September there appeared a work in opposition to these "Testimonies." It was entitled "The Testi-

time, contributed largely to the aforesaid purposes." On admission to a membership in the Society, a fee of twenty dollars and twenty-five cents was required.

* Mr. Zachariah Hicks had the last year petitioned for an increase of salary. He was Usher in Mr. John Procter's North Writing-School. A Committee having been appointed to inquire into the merits of the case, reported that in said School they found about 280 scholars; the Master had £230 per annum; and the Usher, £150; that the children of the Town, who could read in the Psalter, had not been refused admittance, and no entrance-money demanded; but of the children of strangers a fee was taken, and there were about ten such in the School; that for firing, poor children paid nothing, others, as they think fit; so that "one with another" paid about 5s., which the Master insisted on as his perquisite, and could not subsist without it, he having for some time paid an Assistant £100 per annum out of his salary. Therefore the Committee were of opinion that nothing could be taken from the Master's [Mr. John Procter's] salary for the Usher, and recommended

that £30 be added to the salary of the latter, which was adopted.

The substance of the Report has been extracted here, as giving the best insight into a Boston School of 1741, that can be gathered from the Records.

† Thomas, *Hist. Printing*, ii. 253.

‡ The great object of "The Christian History" appears to have been, to collect into a permanent form an account of the great Revival which had spread over the Country immediately after the first sojourn of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, before noticed. The work is now very highly prized by Antiquaries, not for its rarity merely, but for its numerous obituaries, biographical notices, and other facts connected with the period. It was, during its progress, rudely attacked, both in newspapers and pamphlets, but those attacks with their authors have gone to oblivion, while the Christian History remains a valuable repository for future Historians of New England.

§ *Christian History*, ii. 412. — The names of the "ten Ministers" I presume to be the same as given in note *, p. 614, *ante*, though there are more than ten there enumerated.

mony and Advice of a number of Laymen, respecting Religion and the Teachers of it. Addressed to the Pastors of New England." In this, those who had composed the Convention, and those of the Assembly, were accused of inconsistencies, of holding to different principles, calculated to mislead and bewilder the ignorant, and to set the Laity in a very disadvantageous light.* The opposition to the Revival Ministers probably subsided, as that excitement died away, and but little more is heard about it.†

Oct. 20. Notwithstanding the feeble support extended to periodicals, another was undertaken in the Autumn of 1743. Its title was "The American Magazine, and Historical Chronicle." The numbers were issued monthly, contained about forty-five pages, in octavo, and appeared as well, in all respects, as similar works of the time in England, excepting it had no plates. Some of the early numbers had a cut in the first page, intended to represent Boston; which it did quite as well as that in the London Magazine represented London, probably. But the American Magazine had a brief existence, extending only three years and four months.‡

Dec. 13. On the 13th of December the Church in Brattle-street was deprived of one of its Pastors, the Rev. William Cooper, who died at the age of fifty. He was a very eminent Preacher, and "his death was greatly lamented by all the Town and Land."§ He had been a Colleague of Dr. Colman about twenty-seven years, and was his first assistant, with the exception of the Rev. Eliphalet Adams for about two years, 1701 and 1702, afterwards of New London.

1744. The affairs of Boston were much changed during the Summer of 1744. Its regular business met with serious obstructions, growing out of a war between England and France. It had been declared in London on the last day of March, and it was proclaimed in Boston in two months after. All was now stir and bustle. Soldiers were collected here as their place of departure upon proposed expeditions; and privateers were made ready at its wharves for the cruising service.

* Read in this connection page 198, vol. i., of the *Christian History*.

† During the Whitefield excitement, one Mr. James Davenport, "a wonderful man to search hypocrites," of Long Island, came to Boston, and, by his "fiery zeal," attracted many people to hear him preach. He expressed more earnestness than Mr. Whitefield, with far less prudence. On the 27th of July, 1742, he preached on the Common to an immense assemblage. From some circumstances it is presumed he introduced the singing of hymns in the streets. His conduct gave great offence, and several pamphlets were written about it. At length he came out with "A Confession and Retractions;" but it was not very satisfactory. His principal offence seems to have been a refusal to unite with other ministers here and elsewhere, under the belief that they

had never been converted. — See *Christ. Hist.*, ii. 407. See, also, *ibid.*, 237 and 241. — Shepherd, in Backus, *Discourse on Internal Call*, 106.

‡ It was published by Samuel Eliot, in Cornhill, and Joshua Blanchard, in Dock Square, and printed by Rogers and Fowle, in Prison Lane. Dr. Thomas notes, that "it has been said that Jeremy Gridley, Esq., who had edited the Rehearsal, was the Editor of this Magazine." In the imprint the following publishers are named: — "B. FRANKLIN, in Philadelphia; J. PARKER, in New York; J. POMROY, in New Haven; C. CAMPBELL, Post Master in Newport." The price was 3s. New Tenor a quarter, about equal to two dollars a year.

§ *Christian History*, i. 337; *American Magazine*, i. 176. He died suddenly of apoplexy. Fine portraits of him are extant.



This war had been expected for many months, and the Home Government had not been unmindful of the wants of the Metropolis of New England; for on the last day of the last year a ship came in from England, which brought twenty forty-two pound cannon for Castle William; also two large mortars, with their carriages and beds, shell and shot, with other utensils.

CHAPTER LXII.

Expedition against Louisbourg. — News of its Capture received. — Great Rejoicing. — Thanksgiving. — Reception of Victors. — Great Arrival of Specie. — The Town threatened by the French. — Sunday Observance. — Deaths and Baptisms. — David Brainerd. — Impressment Tumult. — Commodore Knowles. — Fire. — Town-house burnt.



WENDELL†

THE Expedition against Louisbourg has given to the year 1745 a remarkable prominence in the History of New England. It was planned in Boston by Governor Shirley,* and when he communicated his intention to the General Court, an injunction of secrecy was enjoined.† It was a hazardous undertaking, and nothing but a bold and sudden stroke could ensure its success. The originator had learned, by much perseverance and skill during the previous winter, that the place was in no very perfect condition for resistance, which put

* Much credit is probably due to several Boston gentlemen for the ready support they gave the Governor. Among them may be mentioned Col. James Gibson, who contributed upwards of £500, and went a volunteer in the Expedition. He was a wealthy merchant, whose place of business was in King-street, and his residence was at Beacon Hill, and one of the finest in the Town. The "Beacon Hill Seminary" is near its site. — Johnson's edition of *Gibson's Journal*. In this work it is said that Col. Gibson came to Boston from London (of which city he was a native), about 1700; that he was a kindred of Bishop Gibson the Antiquary. It is also claimed for Col. Gibson, that, but for his encouragement, Gov. Shirley would never have gone forward in the attempt on Louisbourg; while an English writer of respectability says, that to Robert Auchmuty, Esq., "belonged the sole merit of setting the glorious enterprise on foot." — *Beaton*, i. 265. Auchmuty was one of the principal Land Bank founders. The same is also claimed for Col. William Vaughan, who died in London the next year.

† When the vote was taken which was to decide upon the undertaking, there was but one majority in favor of it. And yet it is matter of astonishment with what alacrity the people came forward to enter into it. One of the most

judicious writers of that day says: "As soon as ever the design was known among us, it was a marvellous thing, that when *this* Province had lately lost so many hundred men, *volunteers* in the sad expedition to Carthage, not one in ten being alive to return, their wives left widows and their children orphans: yet to see so many *likely men*, and I conclude the most of them owners of lands and houses, and many religious, in all our towns, readily listing even as private soldiers; with the small wages of 25 shillings [new tenor] a month, to leave their gainful farms and trades, as well as parents, wives and children; all as free volunteers in this hazardous enterprise; yea, more than the Court desired; and that so many men of distinguished figure should cheerfully offer themselves — even four of his Majesty's Council for this Province, among them the Hon. William Pepperrell, Esq., the first of the Council; as also the Hon. Dep. Governor of Connecticut Colony, and divers others of public esteem and character." — *Thanksgiving Ser.* by Rev. Thomas Prince, 18 July, 1745, p. 23.

‡ The progenitor of the family of Wendell came from Germany. Evert Jansen Wendell is found at Albany, N. Y., about 1645. He came from East Friesland, in Hanover, and died at the age of 88, in the year 1709. His son, John Wendell, was the father of Abra-

him upon the action. Fortunately the country was ready for the enterprise, and it succeeded beyond the expectations of the most sanguine. The Governor had applied to the Court of England for direction and assistance, but no answer had been received when the expedition was resolved upon; so that it was, in fact, a Boston undertaking. And there are not many parallels to be found, perhaps, where an expedition of such magnitude had been made ready in the incredibly short period of two months. Within this time there had assembled at and in the vicinity of Boston about 2070 men, who sailed on the intended enterprise on the 24th of March. The details of the expedition belong to the History of New England, and must be deferred here. The famous fortress, sometimes called the Gibraltar of America, surrendered on the 16th of June.

Few events have caused such rejoicing in Boston as did the reception of the news of the capture of Louisbourg. An express packet arrived in the night of the second of July, bringing despatches from July 2. Lieut. General Pepperrell, containing the account that that stronghold of the power of France in America had surrendered.* As soon as it was day the astounding intelligence was communicated to the Town by the officers of the military, with three discharges of small arms; "at which summons the people, of all ranks, arose from their beds to joy and thanksgiving, and each one severally contributed their

ham, who came to Boston, and died here 28 Sept., 1734. His ninth child was the Hon. Jacob Wendell, a wealthy merchant, a Colonel of the Boston regiment, a Counsellor, and, in 1723, a Director in the first Banking institution in the Province. His residence was in School-street, opposite King's Chapel, which was recently standing, where he died 7 Sept., 1761, aged 70. His wife was Sarah Oliver. — (See pedigree of Oliver, p. 293). Among the children of the Hon. Jacob Wendell were Jacob, who m. Elizabeth Hunt, and d. 27 Nov., 1753; Elizabeth, b. 1719, m. Richd. Wibird, of Portsmouth; Mary, b. 14 Jan., 1724, m. Saml. Sewall, d. 21 Jan., 1746; Katherine, m. Wm. Cooper, Town Clerk of Boston; John Mico, m. Catherine Brattle; Ann, m. John Penhallow, of Portsmouth; Oliver, b. 5 March, 1733, d. 15 Jan., 1818. He m., in 1762, Mary, dau. of Edward Jackson, whose wife was Dorothy Quincy. This Oliver Wendell was the recently well-known Judge Wendell. His dau. Sarah m. the Rev. Abiel Holmes, D.D., the author of "*American Annals*," &c., the father of Mary Jackson, who m. USHER PARSONS, M. D., of Providence, R. I.; Ann Susan, who m. the Rev. CHARLES W. UPHAM, of Salem, and OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, M. D., the Poet. John Wendell, Esq., who lived at the corner of Queen and Tremont streets, was the oldest brother of the Hon. Jacob W., before named. He was a merchant, m. a dau. of Judge Edmund Quincy, and d. 15 Dec., 1762, a. 60. Their son John, b. 11 Sept., 1732, settled in

Portsmouth, N. H., and d. there 26 April, 1808. The present JACOB WENDELL, Esq., of that town, is a representative of this family.

Margaret, the twelfth child of the Hon. Jacob Wendell, b. 20 Aug., 1739, m. William Phillips, Esq., of Boston, and was mother of the Hon. JOHN PHILLIPS, first Mayor of the City; and grandmother of THOMAS W. and WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esquires, of Boston. — W. P., in *Memorials of the Dead in Boston*, &c.

The Arms of Wendell, as above given, "were stained on nine panes of glass in the window of the old Dutch Church, at Albany, of which Evert Jansen Wendell (the grandfather of Abraham who came to Boston) was, in 1656, *Regerendo Dijaken*. That Church stood till 1805, and was then demolished. Judge Oliver Wendell, of Boston, in expectation of the event, had written to Killian Van Rensselaer to preserve his family arms, but Mr. Van Rensselaer was at Washington when the work of destruction was done, and to his sorrow learned that they had not been saved; and in writing of the affair he said he would have given 100 dollars if he could have saved them. — *Munsell's Annals of Albany*, 120. In the same work is preserved a view of the Church, and also a view of a house built by one of the Wendell family, which the writer remembers to have seen, and which was demolished in 1841.

*So fatally secure were the French, that they had not the slightest intimation of this design upon them, until they were completely invested by the forces sent for the purpose.

part to wear away the day in rejoicing. In the evening there was a very handsome bonfire on the glad occasion, and the Town universally illuminated, with all other public testimonies of joy, with a surprising decency and good order.”*

July 18. The 18th of July was celebrated as a Thanksgiving for the occasion. And on the return of the officers and others to Boston, Nov. 8. the event was again celebrated more extravagantly than before. The Governor and his lady had been at the scene of action. They arrived after eleven days' passage, in the Massachusetts frigate, Capt. Edward Tyng. His Excellency debarked from the frigate, which saluted him with seventeen guns; and, on landing at the Castle, which was about four in the afternoon, that fortress gave him twenty-one guns. Here he passed the night of the eighth. The next morning he proceeded in the Castle-barge to the Town, accompanied by the Lieut. Governor, Spencer Phips, Esq., and other officers who came with him from Louisbourg, being saluted all the way by the ships in the Harbor and the Town-batteries. About twelve o'clock they landed at the end of Long Wharf, amidst a crowd of people, who gave repeated shouts of acclamations. Here they were received by his Majesty's Council, the Speaker of the House, Magistrates, Gentlemen and Merchants of the Town. The regiment of militia under Col. Jacob Wendell, with a foot company belonging to Chelsea, were drawn up in King-street, as were also “the Troop of Guards, with another Troop of the regiment of Horse, under Col. Estes Hatch, and the Company of Cadets under Col. Benjamin Pollard, who paid the proper salutes. The new set of bells, with all the other bells in the Town, continued ringing the greater part of the day.” An illumination and fireworks in the evening closed the “joyous occasion.”†

The Expedition against Louisbourg has been called ‡ an “uncommonly rash adventure,” wherein, “if any one circumstance had taken

* *American Magazine*, ii. 323.

† On the 3d of January following, an Address was presented to the Governor, “signed by 70 of the principal Gentlemen, Merchants and Traders,” congratulating him upon the reduction of Louisbourg. In this Address he is fully recognized as “the projector of the late happy Expedition;” and his “zeal and vigilance” in its accomplishment are likewise duly acknowledged. The Governor's reply is of the most modest character, in which he claims nothing but “a desire for the welfare and prosperity of the Province in general, and the Town of Boston in particular.” Nor have I discovered any confirmation of the often-repeated story, that while the Expedition was in progress and the result uncertain, he spoke of it to the General Court as “our Expedition or your Expedition,” and after the result was known, as “his Expedition.”

‡ By Dr. Douglass, to whose prejudiced apprehension Governor Shirley and his party could do nothing right except by fortunate blunders. And it must be confessed that, if a due allow-

ance for contingencies had been made by the projectors, it is doubtful whether it would have been undertaken. When the proposal was sent from Boston to Pennsylvania, and the facts became known to Benjamin Franklin, he wrote a private letter to a friend here, in which he asked several of his shrewd questions respecting what was proposed to be accomplished by the Expedition, and the means at command to ensure its success; what were the means of annoyance on this hand, and of resistance on that; if the vast superiority necessary to storm a fortified place like Louisbourg had been well considered, and so forth. Had the present allied Sovereigns of Europe seen this letter of Franklin before attempting Sebastopol, they would not have had much excuse for the ill-success which has attended them. But, in the case of the Louisbourg undertaking, the accidents were all on one side, and thus the scale turned in favor of New England. Yet there should be no detraction from the sagacity of Gov. Shirley. Jealousy and detraction should die with their propagators.



a wrong turn on the English side, and if any one circumstance had not taken a wrong turn on the French side, it must have miscarried, and the forces would have returned in shame."

To accomplish the work an immense outlay had been made by New England, and an important appendage had been added to the British Empire. Consequently, the Country looked to the English Parliament to be reimbursed for its expenses; and after about four years the claim was allowed, and the money paid. It arrived in Boston on the 18th of September, 1749.*

The loss of Louisbourg was a severely mortifying blow to France, and stupendous preparations were made to recover it; but the ill-fortune of the French still continued. Constant alarms, however, were received, occasioned by the presence of French men-of-war along the coast. On one occasion an attack on Boston was daily expected, and within three days there flocked into the Town from eight to ten thousand men in arms to defend it. On this occasion unlimited authority was given to the Governor to strengthen Castle William, and to do anything he judged necessary to defend the Harbor.† This alarm, however, soon died away; the mighty French armament was chiefly destroyed by tempests, and its experienced and valiant commander, the Duke D'Anville, perished, it is said, by his own sword.

June 24. Meanwhile, Boston was honored with a visit from the Naval Hero of Louisbourg, Admiral Warren, accompanied by General Pepperrell. They arrived in a fifty gun-ship, the Chester, Capt. Richard Spry, with a blue flag at her mizzen topmast.‡ Their reception was similar to that before given on the arrival of Governor Shirley from the scene of the late action.§ The Admiral probably remained in Boston till the end of the following August; as on the 20th of that month he advertised that he was "shortly to leave the place," and requested that if any had demands against him, to present them.

The late large assemblages of soldiers in the Town, holiday celebrations, and receptions of persons of rank, of course tended to loosen the reins both of government and morals; hence more stringent regulations were attempted to be put in force. A disregard of Sunday was particularly noticed. ||

* Douglass, ii. 15.—It was brought by a frigate. The amount was £183,649 2s. 7½d., contained in 215 chests, 3000 pieces of eight [dollars] in a chest, and 100 casks of coined copper. There were 17 cart and truck loads of the silver, and about 10 of the copper, as it was conveyed from the wharf to the Treasurer's Office. The payments to the other Colonies show the amount of their services as compared with this:—N. Hampshire received £16,355 13s. 4d.; Connecticut, £28,863 19s. 1d.; R. Island, £6,332 12s. 10d.

† *Memoirs of the War*, p. 65.—This alarm, says Douglass, who was an eye-witness, was "in the end of September, and was occasioned from [the Duke] D'Anville's Brest Squadron." He says: "6,400 men from the

Country, well armed, appeared in Boston Common, some of them (v. g.) from Brookfield, travelled 70 miles in two days, each with a pack (in which was provision for 14 days) of about a bushel corn weight."

‡ The color of the flag denoted that the Admiral of the Blue Squadron, Peter Warren, Esq., was on board.

§ In the *News-Letter* of June 26th will be found the particulars referred to.

|| "The Justices in the Town of Boston have agreed to walk, and observe the behavior of the people of said Town on the Lord's-day, and to give public notice thereof, that persons profaning said day by walking, standing on the streets, or any other way breaking the Law made for its observance, may expect the execu-

June 4. At a Town-meeting on the fourth of June, Samuel Adams, Esq., was elected a Representative, to serve in the place of the Hon. Andrew Oliver, who was chosen a Councillor.

A Packet Schooner began to run between Boston and Lynn. It was commanded by Capt. Hugh Alley, and continued to run for many years.*

An Act was passed to prevent "the firing of guns in the Town." The number of deaths for the year ending January, 1746, was 706 whites, and seventy-four blacks; there were baptized in the Churches, 573.†

Aug. 14. There was a Thanksgiving for the victory of Culloden.

1747. Taxes in the Town were heavy, and caused many to complain.

Among them, Dr. Douglass protested that he was greatly over-taxed, while many others were rated far below their income.‡

June 12. The famous missionary to the Indians, David Brainerd, visited Boston for the last time, being in the final stages of consumption. Aware that he could live but a very short time, he was anxious to return to Northampton, that he might not die here, where much parade and ceremony would be likely to take place, to which he had a strong aversion. Accordingly, he returned to that Town on the 25th

tion of the law upon them." — *News-Letter*, 12 June. The law referred to is that of 1692, by which "all and every person shall carefully apply themselves to the duties of religion and piety, publicly and privately; and if any person presumed to work, he was to be fined 5s.; "travelling, unless by some adversity persons were belated and forced to lodge in the woods, wilderness or highways, the night before," to pay 20s.

* *Lewis, Hist. Lynn*, 203.

† Nathaniel Wardell's term for using "the Engine erected for weighing hay at the South part of the Town," expired in May; any persons wishing to take a lease of it were requested to apply to the Selectmen.

‡ In a note to the Assessors, accompanying the "Schedule of his income," the Doctor says: "I am sorry for the necessity of giving you trouble, from time to time, of my complaints as being aggrieved in my Rate-bills. Last year you abated me £66. Old Tenor, which though not a sufficient abatement, that I might ease you of the trouble of further application, I acquiesced with the same." This he handed in on the 23d of April, and as late as August 22d it had not received attention, although his accompanying note must have been, as it now seems, very satisfactory. In it he said he was, or soon must be, in the decline of life, [he was now about 55 years of age] did not endeavor to increase his fortune, having no family to provide for; but should yearly lessen it by doing charities, by donations and bounties; had this year sold his garden in Atkinson-street to Mr. Thos. Goldthwait; had settled

£500, O. T., on a Free School in Douglass, and £50 per annum for 7 years on their Minister, besides other bounties; had contracted the business of his profession, etc. That, if the Assessors did not relieve him, he should apply to the "Quarter Sessions." He stated further, that "Dr. Bulfinch, who had the best practice in Boston, was assessed but £45; Drs. Kennedy, J. Perkins, and [John] Sprague, whose practice was better than his, were assessed only £25 to £30." Among the merchants and tradesmen he mentioned "Mr. Clark, the hatter, deceased, worth £30,000 to £40,000, taxed £38; Deacon Parker, the Top mason in Town, £11." The amount of the Doctor's Schedule is £2,615 2s. Among the items are "the Green Dragon; Jarvis in Roxbury, and appurtenances; Fowle, late Walker's, near the Orange Tree; house in Mill-creek lane; Burnet, late Capt. Heel's; Maj. Sewall, a warehouse late Capt. Hall's; money at interest, £300; income by faculty £500; a refuse Negro boy," etc. All O. T.

Wm. Douglass

His tax last year, on which he obtained £66 abatement, was £112 8s. 8d. Dr. Douglass' autograph, as attached to the Schedule above mentioned, is here copied. The Town of Douglass, in this State, was named for him, of which he was a principal proprietor. He died intestate, 21 Oct., 1752, aged about 61.

of July, and died there, October the ninth, in the thirtieth year of his age.*

Nov. 17. A dangerous tumult commenced on the 17th of November, occasioned by the imprudent conduct of Commodore Charles Knowles.† He was then lying in the harbor with a number of ships-of-war. Some of the Commodore's men had deserted while the squadron lay here, and although the deserters had probably fled further off than Boston, yet Knowles sent a press-gang ashore in the night, or early in the morning, and surprised, not only all the seamen that could be found on board vessels outward bound as well as others, but swept the wharves also, taking some ship-carpenters' apprentices, and other laboring land-men.‡ To such outrages the people of Boston were not accustomed, and that they would submit to them could not for a moment be expected. For friends and kindred to be kidnapped in this manner, no arbitrary or lawless proceeding could have been more justly a cause of tumult and outrage. The lower class were the especially aggrieved, because it was upon them the depredation was made. Hence a mob of this order was speedily collected on the morning of the 17th, armed with a few "rusty swords, cat-sticks, pitchforks and clubs," and proceeded to make reprisal. Meeting with a Lieutenant belonging to one of the ships, who happened to be on shore, but who had had no hand in the outrage, they seized him; and, while in doubt what to do with him, Thomas Hutchinson, Esq.,§ came along, who, knowing the Lieutenant to be innocent, endeavored to persuade the mob to let him go. They however led him off to a place of safety, and proceeded to the Governor's house, where they had learned that several of the officers of the ships were. Meantime, several "persons of discretion" got into the house, and prevented the populace from entering, which soon filled the court leading to it, and quite surrounded it. Seeing that the prospect of something really serious was at hand, the officers of the navy within armed themselves with carbines, and, placing themselves at the head of the stair-cases, seemed resolved to

* While in Boston he was entertained at the house of Mr. Edward Bromfield. On Sunday, the 19th July, he went to meeting at the Old South, heard Dr. Sewall in the forenoon, and Mr. Prince in the afternoon; sat in Mr. Bromfield's pew, which was the second wall pew on the left from the Milk-street entrance. — *Edwards' Life Brainard*, 225, 243, 253, and Wisner, 103.

† He was appointed Governor of Cape Breton after the capture of Louisbourg. — *Beaumont*. He was afterwards knighted for services in the West Indies. His career was a long and fortunate one in the Navy. In 1770 he went into the service of the Empress of Russia, in which he continued four years. Returning then to England, he lived in retirement till his death, Dec. 9th, 1777. — *Char-nock*.

‡ Dr. Douglass handles the conduct of

Knowles in no very moderate manner, which in part may be accounted for from the fact that that officer said, or was believed to have said, that "all Scotchmen were rebels." Some of the vessels out of which men were pressed, belonged to Glasgow, in Scotland, which caused Knowles to think that the Scotch masters of those vessels had instigated the mob. This caused him to make the rash expression above cited, and Dr. Douglass to speak of his conduct as being of the most outrageous character; thus feeling the insult in common with his countrymen. The conduct of the press-gang he thus characterizes: They "in the night-time, with armed boats, did kidnap or steal ship-builders' apprentices, and did rob ships (cleared out) of their crews," etc. — *Summary*, i. 254.

§ The Author of the History of the Province of Mass. Bay.

proceed to the last extremity. At this stage of affairs, a circumstance happened which diverted the besiegers from forcing the house. A sheriff attempted to enforce his authority; whereupon the mob took him, and in a triumphant manner bore him to the front of the Town-house, and there fixed him in the stocks. This they looked upon as a kind of victory; and it seemed to cool their rage, and "disposed them to separate, and go to dinner."

Thus passed the forenoon, and there does not appear to have been any gathering in the afternoon. But soon after dusk several thousand people came together in King-street, whose chief attention was directed to the Town-house, in which the General Court was sitting, and brick-bats and other missiles were thrown through its windows into the Council-chamber. The majority of the mob did not approve of this action, which was done by boys, and some who were intoxicated. The Governor, and several of the Council and House, undauntedly appeared on the balcony, and the former addressed them in a well-timed speech; in which he assured them that Commodore Knowles' proceeding had no justification, and that his utmost endeavors would be used to have all the impressed persons restored. But they had become too much exasperated to hear to anything reasonable, and nothing short of the confinement of the before mentioned officers in town would be listened to. In the mean while a report came that a barge from one of the men-of-war had landed at one of the wharves. This the mob immediately went in quest of; and, coming to a boat belonging to a Scotch ship, they mistook it for the barge, seized it, dragged it up in front of the Governor's House, "with as much seeming ease as if it had been in the water," and here proposed to burn it; but, as burning it there might set the town on fire, which they did not wish to do, they dragged it away and burnt it elsewhere.

Nov. 18. The next day the Governor gave orders for the military companies of the town to turn out, and that a Military Watch should be kept the succeeding night; but his orders were very imperfectly obeyed; the drummers were interrupted, and a general non-appearance satisfied his Excellency that he had not only lost his control, but that his personal safety was somewhat uncertain. He therefore retired to Castle William. When the Governor's design was made known to certain gentlemen, they sent a message to him by Col. Edward Hutchinson, assuring him that they would stand by and support him in maintaining the laws and restoring order; but he kept his resolution and proceeded to the fort. Thence he wrote to Commodore Knowles, setting forth the troubles which had been caused by the conduct of his press-gang.

Instead of releasing the pressed men, or proposing any accommodation, Knowles expressed himself passionately, and threatened to bring up his ships and bombard the town, unless his officers now on parole on shore were at once allowed to come on board; and, as though to carry out his threat, sail was begun to be made on some of the ships, and the eyes of the town were turned in the direction of those floating batteries with



no little solicitation. Two of the paroled officers were Captain Robert Askew and Captain Robert Erskine of the Canterbury. The latter was seized at the house of Col. Francis Brinley* in Roxbury.

Nov. 19. The General Court still continued in session, "not willing" to interpose, lest they should encourage other Commanders of the Navy "to do as Knowles had done. But on the 19th, to relieve the Governor, whose conduct had been unexceptionable, and if possible to restore quiet to the Town, the House resolved that it would stand by his Excellency the Governor, and support him with their lives and estates; that it would by all ways and means possible exert itself to redress the grievance the people were under, which had caused the present tumults. At the same time the Council ordered that Capt. Erskine, and all other officers under restraint on account of the impressment affair, should be set at liberty.

When the doings of the General Court became known to the inhabitants, the disorderly spirit began to abate. A Town-meeting was called, and held the afternoon of the same day, to consider what was proper for the Town to do on the occasion; in which there was a strong revenge party, who urged that if this offence was slightly passed over, it would encourage a repetition of such outrages. But the orderly party prevailed, and those who had insulted the Governor and the Court were pointedly denounced and reprobated.

The Governor, not expecting the tumult would be allayed thus soon, had given orders for the officers of the regiments in the neighboring towns to be in readiness to march to any point he should indicate at an hour's notice. "But the next day there was an uncommon appearance of the militia of the Town; many persons taking their muskets who never carried one upon any other occasion, and the Governor was conducted to his house" with as great parade as when he returned from the conquest of Louisbourg.† Then, or soon after, the Commodore dismissed the impressed men, and sailed out of the harbor, to the great joy of the Town.

It is not likely that this attempt to impress men at Boston, by Commodore Knowles, was the first which had occurred; for, six years before this, the Town had sent a Committee to request the Governor to take measures to protect Coasters being pressed to serve on board the King's ships. Such a measure would hardly have been taken without some act of impressment had preceded it. The subject is alluded to

* Col. Brinley was born in London in 1690, and educated at Eaton, was son of Thomas, the only surviving son of Francis Brinley, Esq., of Newport, R. I. He was one of the founders of King's Chapel, but returned to London, and died there 27 Nov. 1765. The house in which he resided in Roxbury was built after the plan of those at Dutchet, in England, and bore the same name. It is now owned and occupied by JOHN BEMSTEAD, Esq. Col. B. married Deborah, daughter of Edward

and Catharine Lyde, April 18, 1718, granddaughter of Hon. Nathaniel Byfield. The present HON. FRANCIS BRINLEY, of Boston, is a great-grandson. The first Francis B. was at Newport in 1651-2, died in 1719-20, aged 87, was buried in King's Chapel, Boston.

† Hutchinson says the parade was as great as at the time of the Governor's arrival to enter upon his office as Governor, but I have followed Douglass, in this, as I have in some other parts of the narrative.

several years later. The Town, in its congratulatory address to Governor Pownall, on his departure for England in 1760, observed that he had "with great prudence answered the demand for Seamen for his Majesty's Service, and yet preserved them from the burden of naval impressments; a burden which they had sometimes severely felt."

Dec. 9. On the ninth of December occurred a fire in the Town-house, which destroyed that building, together with many records and papers of great importance, as already detailed in a previous chapter. The General Court, then in session, being deprived of their place of meeting, were offered the use of Faneuil Hall, but they were accommodated in the Royal Exchange tavern, kept by Mr. Luke Vardy, for the few days which were left of the session. They adjourned on Dec. 12. the twelfth. When they met again in February, there was a motion to have a house for their accommodation built in Cambridge, and another that it should be located in Roxbury. But it was finally determined that the old one should be repaired.

CHAPTER LXIII.

Independent Advertiser begun. — View of the Commerce. — State of Schools. — Return of Indian Captives. — News of the Death of Dr. Watts. — First Masonic Procession. — First Bibles printed. — Opposition to Parliament. — Theatrical Exhibitions forbidden. — Lotteries. — Small-pox. — Number of Inhabitants. — Linen Manufactures. — New Style. — Indian Treaty. — Boston Gazette begun. — Fire in Marlborough-st. — Singular Punishment of a Female. — Decline of Religion. — Intemperance. — Monster of Monsters. — Daniel Fowle. — Stone Jail. — Post Office in Cornhill. — Excise Law. — Opposed. — Great Storm. — Franklin. — His Discoveries.



SHIRLEY'S.

1748. A NEW Paper, called "The Independent Advertiser," made its appearance. It did not differ much in its mechanical execution from other papers of the time. "Rogers and Fowle" were its publishers, "next to the Prison in Queen-street." Its political tendency was Whig, and it was supplied with essays of this character by an Association of Gentlemen, of whom Samuel Adams, afterwards Governor, was one. The Advertiser continued but two years;

* Paly of six, Or and Azure, a Canton, Ermine. — Crest — A Saracen's head in profile, wreathed about the temples, Or and Azure. The Arms of the present representative of the family. From an engraved Portrait of Gov. William Shirley, in possession of a descendant, EDWARD SHIRLEY LIVING, Esq., of Boston, is taken the following Memorial:—

"The Honorable William Shirley, Esq., Appointed Captain General and Governor in Chief, &c., of the Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England, in 1741. One of His Majesty's Commissioners at Paris for Settling the Limits of Nova Scotia and other controverted Rights

in America, 1750. General and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in North America, 1755, and Lieut. General in His Majesty's Army, 1759. — 1. Nova Scotia or Acadie preserved during the late war, commenced in 1744. 2. The Island of Cape Breton taken in the Expedition fitted out from the Massachusetts Bay in 1745." — On a scroll at his left hand is, "1. Conservation." Below it, "2. Expugnata." Under the Picture on one side, — "I Hudson Pinxt., 1750." On the other side, — "I. McArdell, fecit."

Under the Arms of Shirley in Blome's Britannia, edition fol. 1673, is as follows:—

owing probably to the dissolution of the copartnership of the proprietors.*

An idea of the commerce of Boston is obtained from the number of arrivals and clearances of a given period. Between Christmas 1747, and the same date 1748, there entered 430 vessels, and 540 cleared. This is according to the Custom-house books; while, from Michaelmas to Michaelmas of the same years, the Boston Naval Office gives 491 clearances on foreign voyages.†

Sept. 23. The sympathies of the people were not unfrequently excited by being obliged to witness the sufferings of persons who had been in captivity among the Indians. Several at this time arrived from Canada, among whom was the family of Mr. John Fitch, taken from Lunenburg on the third of July preceding. Mrs. Fitch had died while on her return from captivity, the story of whose sufferings is not less thrilling than that of Mrs. Rowlandson, or Mrs. Johnson.

1749. The votes for Representatives stood thus this year:—The Hon. May 9. James Allen had 543; Thomas Hubbard, Esq., 678; Mr. John Tyng, 513; and the Hon. Samuel Waldo, 539. The Committee who examined the Schools, reported that they found in the South Grammar School 120 scholars; in the South Writing School "in the Common," 220; in the Writing School in Queen-street, 57; in the North Grammar School, 38; and in the North Writing School, 270. All were reported to be "in good order." The Selectmen were desired to recommend to the Masters of the schools, that they "instruct their scholars in reading and spelling." They were also desired to provide suitable books for that purpose, at the charge of the Town, to be given to

"Sir Robert Shirley of Staunton and Harold in Leicestershire, of Chartley in Staffordshire, of Ettington, Warwickshire, of Astwell in Northamptonshire, of Shirley Brialford and Eddleston in Derbyshire, Bart."

There have been many persons of distinction among the race of Shirley, both in the field and in literature, descended from Sir Thomas Shirley, of Whiston, in Sussex. The descent of Governor Shirley from Thomas Shirley, Esq., of Preston, in Sussex, is briefly thus:—By Elizabeth, daughter of Drew Stapley of London, Thomas, of Preston, had William, a 3d son, who had William, an only son, merchant of London. This son married Elizabeth, daughter of John Goodman, and died in 1701. These were the parents of the Governor, whose first wife was Frances, dau. of Francis Baker, of London, by whom he had, William, killed with Gen. Braddock, 1755; John, a Captain in the army, died at Oswego; Thomas, only surviving son, born in Boston, Governor of the Leeward Islands, a Major General in the army, created a baronet in 1786. He died in March, 1800, leaving a son, the late Sir William Warden Shirley, of Oat Hall, Wivelsfield, Sussex, who dying *sine prole* Feb. 1815, the Baronetcy became extinct. Of the daughters of Governor Shirley, Elizabeth m. Eliakim

Hutchinson, Frances m. William Bollen, "the King's Advocate in the Court of Vice-Admiralty in Massachusetts." Mrs. Bollen d. 21 Mar. 1744, in her 24th year, in giving birth to her first child. Harriet m. Robert Temple, Esq.; Maria m. John Erving, Esq., of Boston. A daughter of Mr. Erving m. Governor Scott, of the Island of Dominica, and died at that Island, 13 Feb. 1768. The Erving mansion-house was in Milk-street.



Governor Shirley built the then spacious mansion in Roxbury, since the well-known residence of the late Governor William Eustis, to which he gave the name of Shirley Place.

* Thomas, ii. 235. This paper had a cut at its head containing a curious device, which is described by this Author, and also by Mr. Buckingham in his *Reminiscences*, i. 156.

† Namely, 51 ships, 44 snows, 54 brigs, 249 sloops, and 93 schooners. — Douglass, i. 538.

such poor children, as they might think proper. Two years later the Masters were ordered not to exact "entrance money, so called," of any children, belonging to the Town, but the Selectmen were to give directions what money they might receive from the scholars, "to defray the expense of firing."

The news of the death of Doctor Isaac Watts was received about the first of April, 1749, and with almost as much sorrow as if he had been a native and resident of Boston. His Hymns and Sermons had been for many years held in the highest repute, and had been published and republished in Boston.* He died at Stoke Newington, Nov. 25th, 1748, aged about seventy-five years.

About the same time news was received of the death of the Prince of Wales, "the first who had died for one hundred and thirty-eight years." Sermons were preached on the occasion and printed.

A procession of the Masonic Fraternity was at this time a rare exhibition in Boston, if not the first which had taken place. Such a procession made its appearance on the Feast of Saint John, and of course excited great curiosity, and from a learned wit called forth a short Poem, in which the circumstance is treated with much satirical humor and ridicule. In this many of the principal Masons figure by name.† A Lodge had now existed in Boston about nineteen years. It

* In the Independent Advertiser of April 3d, a notice of his death is given, in which he is spoken of as "beloved, admired and revered; most remarkable for his moderate and pacific sentiments; whose works in prose and verse, with which the world were obliged, would perpetuate his eulogy to ages yet unborn." He was buried in Bunhill Fields, where a monument to his memory, with a suitable inscription, was soon after erected. He preached in London, in the Church where the Rev. Joseph Caryl, Dr. John Owen, Mr. David Clarkson, and Dr. Isaac Chauncy, had preceded him. He was a native of Southampton, son of Isaac, and grandson of Capt. Thomas Watts, who, in 1659, was blown up in his ship, in the Dutch war. — *Lyric Poems*, 12mo., Boston, 1748; Robinson's *History of Stoke Newington*, 87.

Dr. Watts' Psalms and Hymns gradually superseded the work of Dr. N. Brady, and N. Tate, Esq. Mein and Fleming published the 26th edition of Dr. Watts in 1768, with the music at the end. How many editions had preceded this, in Boston, I have not learned. John Mycall published a 40th edition in Newburyport, in 1781. I have seen but a single copy of the first edition in England, and that was procured in London, at a considerable cost, some three years since, for my friend Geo. Liv-
ERMORE, Esq. Its date is 1719.

† The Poem is thus ludicrously entitled: — "Entertainment for a Winter's Evening: being a Full and True Account of a very *Strange* and *Wonderful* SIGHT seen in BOSTON, on the 27th of December, 1749, at NOON-DAY.

The Truth of which can be attested by a Great Number of People, who actually saw the same with their own Eyes. By ME, the Hon. B. B., Esq." Said to be Joseph Green, Esq.*

The procession marching is thus described:

"See *Buck* before the apron'd throng
Marches with sword and book along;
The stately ram, with courage bold,
So stalks before the fleecy fold,
And so the gander, on the brink
Of river, leads his geese to drink."

The noted keeper of the Royal Exchange Tavern is taken notice of in this wise:

"Where's honest *Luke*? that cook from London;
For without *Luke* the LODGE is undone.
'T was he who oft dispell'd their sadness,
And fill'd the *Brethren's* hearts with gladness.
Luke in return is made a Brother,
As good and true as any other,
And still, though broke with age and wine,
Preserves the token and the sign."

In another place *Luke* comes in with less credit:

"The high, the low, the great and small,
James Perkins † short, and *Aston* tall;
Johnson as bulky as a house,
And *Wathead* smaller than a louse.
We all agree, both wet and dry,
From drunken *Luke* to sober I."

* The same probably who appeared early in opposition to Royal Authority. He died 1st July, 1765, aged 62.

† Perhaps the same respectfully mentioned by Tudor in his *Life of Otis*, p. 16. If so he was living when that Author wrote, but died before he published in 1823.

was first organized under Henry Price, who was styled "The Right Worshipful Provincial Grand Master of New England." The other officers were "The Right Worshipful Andrew Belcher, Deputy Grand Master; Right Worshipful Thomas Kennelly, Senior Grand Warden; Right Worshipful John Quann, Junior Grand Warden." This Lodge had authority to establish others in any part of North America; and on application of Benjamin Franklin, one was immediately after founded at Philadelphia, of which Franklin was appointed its "Right Worshipful first Master."

Price, having resigned in 1736, was succeeded by Robert Tomlinson; and the latter was succeeded in 1774 by Thomas Oxnard.

The first Bibles printed in Boston were printed this year, or about this time. Owing to the restrictions upon the publication of the Scriptures in England, they could not be published in the Colonies without the breach of an enactment of the British Parliament. But an evasion of those enactments had not been very scrupulously regarded, especially when the good of the people here was affected by their observance. Hence the printing of Bibles in Boston was begun clandestinely, and their issue concealed by a false imprint; the undertakers arguing, no doubt, that "the end justified the means;"—an argument, difficult, at all times, to be met successfully.

This edition of the Bible was undertaken principally by Daniel Henchman, and "Kneeland and Green" were the printers. It was in quarto, and so exact a copy of that printed "cum privilegio" by Mark Basket, that it was not easy to distinguish a copy of the Boston edition from it. This is not strange, as the materials used, type, paper, and even ink, were all imported from England.*

The people always felt that the Mother Country had not morally any right to legislate for them, which the most casual reader cannot fail to have perceived in the perusal of these pages from the first. This spirit occasionally exhibited itself, and on various occasions. What gave it the more strength and efficiency, from time to time, was its declaration from the Pulpit. Dr. Jonathan Mayhew, though a young man, had great influence in giving direction and encouragement to those opposed to

The Poet designates Lewis Turner as "Pump Turner," probably from his occupation. Dr. Thomas Aston figures as "Aston tall." * Francis Johnston is called "laughing Frank," and is thus nicely introduced:

"But still I see a numerous train:
Shall they, alas! unsex'd remain?
Sage Hallowell † of public soul,
And laughing Frank friend to the bowl,
Meek Row ‡ half smother'd in the crowd,
And Rowe § who sings at Church so loud."

* Aston was an "Apothecary and Grocer, next door to the Governor's House," in 1733. The Governor's House was the Province House, now Ordway's, in Washington-street.

† No doubt Captain Benjamin Hallowell.

‡ Probably Mr. John Row, who kept in Butler's Row in 1748. He was a ship-chandler.

§ John Rowe was a merchant, an importer, kept

* Dr. Thomas says, *Hist. Printing*, i. 305, "When I was an apprentice, I often heard those who had assisted at the case and press, in printing this Bible, make mention of the fact," of its being published in the manner and under the circumstances stated in the text. "Governor Hancock was related to Henchman, knew the particulars of the transaction, and possessed a copy of this impression of the Bible. Not long after the Bible was issued, a Testament was got out in the same way. It was a duodecimo, and like the Bible well executed." There are doubtless many of these Bibles in existence, but as it is very difficult to identify them, they pass for the genuine English edition.

on Belcher's Wharf in 1744. He lived in Essex-street in 1760.

what was termed Parliamentary encroachments. A sermon, which he preached about the commencement of the year, is not without
Jan. 30. interest at this day, and is often sought after.*

It was long after this before anything like theatrical exhibitions was tolerated, though something of the kind was no doubt clandestinely practised at a much earlier period. One was brought to notice this year, owing to a disturbance it occasioned among the applicants for admission to witness it. This was undertaken by two young Englishmen, assisted by some volunteers from among the inhabitants. They were to "bring out" "The Orphan, or Unhappy Marriage," a Tragedy, by Thomas Otway; but some persons attempting to force an entrance, probably regardless of regulations, gave the affair publicity, and caused the General Court to enact a law to prohibit all such representations, which was continued for many years.† The place selected for this performance, being the most public, or as much so as any in the Town, was the more readily detected; it being at the Royal Exchange Tavern.

By a late law of the Province, a duty was laid on tea, coffee,
May 15. coaches, chaises, and some other articles. The people viewed it a burden, operating very unequally upon the inhabitants, and, therefore, at the Town Meeting on the 15th of May, a committee was raised to memorialize the General Court for its repeal.‡ At the same meeting the subject of removing the Powder House from the Common came up; but it was voted that "the Town will do nothing concerning it." Among other transactions fifty pounds, lawful money, was voted "Mr. Robert Treat Paine for his salary as Usher of the South Grammar School; and fifty more to repair the North Battery, and that John Steele, Esq., the Captain of it, was to take care that the same be repaired." By another vote "the Marsh Lands at the bottom of the Common" were ordered to be leased.

With the last year ended the services of Joseph Wadsworth, Esq., as Town Treasurer,§ and Mr. David Jeffries was chosen to succeed him.
1751. At the Town Meeting on the eleventh of March, Mr. Ezekiel
Mar. 11. Goldthwait, who for many years had been Town Clerk, was rechosen, having 377 votes out of 398. At this meeting a vote was passed, by which all persons were exempt from liability to serve as Constables, if they had served in that capacity within seven years. The subject "of the disorders that are frequently committed by Negroes in the night," was discussed; the proposition being, whether any more effectual method than that already prescribed by law, could be taken for that object, and it was referred to Thomas Hutchinson, Samuel

* Its title is very significant:—"A Discourse concerning Unlimited Submission," etc. "On the Anniversary of the Death of Charles I. In which the mysterious Doctrine of that Prince's saintship and martyrdom is unriddled." I have space only to refer my readers to page 40, etc., of that work.

† See Minot's *Hist. Mass.* i. 142-3. The Act 5 of William III. (1699), however, included theatrical performers.

‡ It consisted of Abiel Walley, Hon. Samuel Welles, Charles Apthorp, Thomas Hancock, Esquires, and Mr. John Smith.

§ He served long and with great reputation.

May 14. Welles, and Benjamin Pratt, Esquires. The meeting of the 14th of May, the Rev. Mr. Samuel Mather opened with prayer, as all the Town Meetings had been for many years; on which occasions the Ministers served in rotation. The Hon. James Allen, Mr. John Tyng, Mr. Harrison Gray, and the Hon. Thomas Hubbard were elected Representatives. The three gentlemen first named had 253, 263 and 300 votes respectively; but Mr. Hubbard had "a great majority."

By an Act of the Province, a lottery was authorized, "for supplying the Treasury with 26,700 milled dollars." The Hon. Samuel Watts was the chief manager of it, who had his office in Faneuil Hall, where the lottery was drawn. The price of tickets was three dollars.

May 16. On the sixteenth of May, "a young Negro servant was executed for poisoning an infant."

There are recorded 624 deaths in the Town this year. Of this number seventy-six were Blacks. The number of baptisms in the Churches was 488.

The Town was again thrown into consternation from fear of the small-pox. Captain Cousins, in a ship from London, was cast away, on the 24th of December last, in Nahant Bay. The crew were saved, and compassionately received by the people of Chelsea, and the disease was in that manner communicated on shore. In the following January it found its way into Boston, where it continued with its usual mortality about six months. Nearly 1,800 people fled from the Town, which then contained 15,734 souls, absentees and 1544 Negroes included. Inoculation was resorted to, but a small proportion of the inhabitants appear to have adopted that practice; 5,059 having taken the small-pox the natural way, while but 1,970 took it by inoculation. Of the latter twenty-four died, and of the former 452.*

1752. Early in February the Selectmen endeavoured to obviate the Feb. 9. effects of the alarm which the small-pox had occasioned, and issued circulars to that effect. They said they had made strict inquiry throughout the whole Town, and did not find it to exist, excepting in the families of "Mr. Benjamin Hallowell's, in Batterymarch-street, Dr. William Clarke's in Wing's lane, Mr. Benjamin Hodgdon's in Summer-street, and in the Pest House, and all contrary reports were absolutely false.† At all which places there was a flag hung out as the law directs." Inoculation had not then commenced, and the Physicians had promised the Selectmen that they would give them notice before they did so.

The efforts of the "Society for Encouraging Industry, and Employing the Poor," were not remitted, though some interruption was occasioned by the prevalence of the small-pox. But that had so far abated by the first of August, that affairs began to resume their wonted course. The manufacture of linen was an important object, and was the more thought

* Data in Douglass, ii. 397; but in the News-Letter of 1754, the number is stated at 569.

† The Selectmen added, that ill-minded persons had industriously circulated the report, to prevent the country people from bringing in provisions "that they might engross 'em, in order to make great gains."

of, as it was to be a means of employing the Poor of the Town. In a sermon before the society just mentioned, Dr. Chauncy spoke in Aug. 12. the most encouraging terms of the advantages to be derived from such manufacture, and adverted to the discouragements it met with from some, who urged that it was quite too great an undertaking "for so poor and small a people." But he argued that notwithstanding all the obstacles and objections, linen could be made here cheaper than it could be imported; and that, "as poor and small as they were, they needed linen, and could n't do without it." *

Until the commencement of the present year all legal papers and instruments bore date corresponding with the 25th of March, as the beginning of the year. This year, in conformity to an Act of Parliament † of last year, was begun on January first; and by the same Act it was ordered that eleven days should be struck out of the following September; that is, that the third should be called the fourteenth, which made the equinoxes and solstices fall on the same days as they did at the Nicene Council, in the year 325. This change in the *style* of dating occasioned the use of the terms Old Style and New Style.

Lieutenant Governor Phips quieted the Eastern Indians by sending Commissioners to meet their Chiefs at Fort St. George (now Warren in Maine). Jacob Wendell, Samuel Watts, Thomas Hubbard, and Chambers Russell, Esquires, were the Commissioners. ‡ Another was held the following year, at the same place, at which "Sir William Pepperell, Baronet, Jacob Wendell, Thomas Hubbard, John Winslow, Esquires, and Mr. James Bowdoin," were Commissioners. These acted under the direction of Governor Shirley.

1753. With the new year commenced the publication of "The Boston Jan. 3. Gazette, or Weekly Advertiser." It was issued by Samuel Kneeland, and was the successor of "The Boston Gazette and Weekly Journal." It continued but two years.

Feb. 7. On the night of the seventh of February occurred a destructive fire, "near Marlborough-street." It took in an out-house, burnt two stables, Mr. Sellon's blacksmith shop, and the dwellings of Dr. John Cutler, and Dr. Edward Ellis. The night was rainy, but it "raged with great vehemence for two or three hours." Several people were injured by the falling of a brick wall, and a horse was burnt to death.

May 10. On the tenth of May a spectacle was presented on King-street as revolting to every feeling of humanity as it was disgraceful to the community that tolerated it. An unfortunate female was exposed

* See also Rev. Samuel Phillips' Convention sermon. 3d June, 1733.

† "Peter Deval, of the Middle Temple, Secretary to the Royal Society, drew the Bill, and prepared most of the Tables, under direction of the Earl of Chesterfield, the first former of the design; and the whole was carefully examined and approved of by Martin Folkes, Esq., President of the Royal Society, and Dr.

Bradley, His Majesty's Astronomer at Greenwich, who computed the Tables at the end of the Bill." — *Almanack of 1752*. In this *Almanack* eleven days are left out of the month of September, which gives it a curious appearance on the page. I have seen no other with the like omission.

‡ *Printed Treaty*, 4to, Boston, 1753. Jabez Bradbury, Esq., was Commander of the Fort.

near the Town-house, upon a scaffold above the heads of the people, who, for her crimes, had been sentenced to stand there for the space of an hour, and to face the four cardinal points of the compass a quarter of an hour each. In this situation she was obliged to suffer the most brutal treatment the mob could inflict; the description of which is altogether of too revolting a nature to be anywhere repeated.*

A Fast sermon, preached on the previous 19th of April, by the Rev. Andrew Eliot, contains intimations respecting the state of society in the Town, doubtless having reference to the case of the individual alluded to; its introductory title being "An evil and adulterous generation."†

Some time in July Lazarus Noble and Benjamin Mitchel returned to Boston from Canada, where they had been to redeem their families, which had been carried off captive by the Indians from Swan Island, in Maine. They met with no success, being ordered by the French to leave the country, or they would immediately imprison them.‡

Mr. Matthew Adams died this year. He deserves mention on several accounts, but especially as he was one of the earliest friends of Benjamin Franklin, who when a boy was invited into his house, and furnished with books; to which circumstance, it may be, the world is indebted for the productions of a mind scarcely inferior to any which has illuminated the annals of philosophy.§ Mr. Adams was one of the writers in the *Courant*, published by Franklin's brother.

Governor Shirley arrived from England on the sixth of August. Aug. 6. The state of religion was at this period thought to be very low, as appears from some of the Discourses then printed. In a Sermon "on the Public Fast" of the last year, the Rev. Andrew Eliot said, "The Table of the Lord is contemned; but few come to seal their engagements to be the Lord's there; an attendance on the Christian Eucharist begins to be thought a needless thing. In the way we have for some time been

* MS. *Diary* of Rev. Jacob Bailey, in possession of Rev. W. S. Bartlet, of Chelsea. Mr. Bailey was an eye-witness.

† Though there may be something of exaggeration in Mr. Eliot's sermon, it is an able and excellent performance. "Things did not use to be so in New England," varies a little from my convictions in wading up from the beginning thus far among the Records, with due allowance for the great increase of inhabitants. But what he says about intemperance is doubtless true, and could not well be exaggerated.

‡ Deposition of Noble and Mitchel before Hon. Jacob Wendell and Thomas Hubbard. Noble was the father of the afterwards famous Francis Noble, one of the captives, well known in history. Nine years after this he was petitioning the General Court at Boston for remuneration on account of his Canada mission.

§ Materials are very scanty for a biography of Matthew Adams. Eliot and Allen notice him, but appear to have known nothing of his ancestry. According to a MS. note in a volume of Poems by the Rev. John Adams, who died at Cambridge at the early age of 36, that author was his nephew; and the Preface to that volume was written by his uncle, Matthew Adams. The volume of Poems here referred to is, or was recently, in the Boston Athenæum. My friend Charles Frederick Adams, Esquire, of Boston, informs me that the Rev. Hugh Adams, of Durham, N. H., who died in 1750, was brother of Matthew; and that said Matthew married first Katherine Brigdon, 17th November, 1715; and, second, Meriel Cotton, 10th June, 1734; that he had children, William, Katherine, Matthew, John — born 19th June, 1725, minister of Durham, N. H., died 4th June, 1792 — and Nathaniel.

our Churches are like to come to nothing; there will be none to administer the Lord's Supper to."

The same preacher spoke of intemperance as prevalent beyond all former example. "'Tis surprising," he said, "what prodigious sums are expended for spirituous liquors in this one poor Province. If things are not greatly exaggerated, more than a million of our old currency in a year."

In July a pamphlet was issued, called the "Monster of Monsters." Daniel Fowle, the printer, was prosecuted "on suspicion of publishing" it, and committed to jail. He was arrested on the warrant of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, charged with issuing that work, which the House resolved was "a false, scandalous libel, reflecting upon their proceedings in general, and on many worthy Members in particular." At the same time ordering "that the said pamphlet be burnt by the hands of the common hangman below the Court House, in King-street."

The proceeding against Fowle was arbitrary in the extreme. It is true that in the "Monster" the Assembly had been satirized in an allegory, or "romance" as its writer called it, while, at the same time, had there been proof (which does not appear) that it was aimed at the Assembly, from anything that is now discoverable in it, it was as harmless as any tea-table conversations by old ladies, to which the members were compared. However, Fowle was sent to prison, among "murderers, thieves, &c.,"* denied the use of pen, ink and paper, and not allowed to speak with or to see any of his family or friends. His description of the accommodations of the "Stone Jail" of that day, shows that prisons in Boston had not greatly improved over those of a much earlier date. "If there is any such thing," he says, "as a hell upon earth, I think this place is the nearest resemblance of any I can conceive of." When ordered to be imprisoned, Mr. Fowle supposed he would be allowed an apartment in the house of Mr. Young, the jailer; but when he came there he was told he must go into the Common Jail. So, "after eleven at night," he continues, "I was, by the Prison Keeper and several others, conducted through several apartments, each of which was secured with locks and bolts; on each door of about 70 spickes, the heads of which about two inches diameter." As he walked through the passage-ways, he says he was forcibly reminded "of the dark valley of the shadow of death." The way to his cell was "an ugly stumbling one."† It was near the end of October; the night was stormy and cold, and the only bedding he found was a sort of pillow and one blanket. The aperture which served to let in the light and air, served equally well to let in the rain and snow, for there was nothing to keep them out but the iron bars which kept the prisoners in. The outer walls were of stone, and about three feet in thickness, but the cells were partitioned off with plank.‡

* Fowle's *Total Eclipse of Liberty*, p. 19.

† *Total Eclipse*, p. 20.

‡ This old Stone Jail stood on the south side of Court-street, on a part of the lot now occu-

In the next cell to this prisoner lay a man, under sentence of death for murder,* whose lamentations at the near approach of his end, added to the pelting of a violent storm without, may well be supposed to give an additional force to the before-mentioned reflections of Mr. Fowle. His imprisonment lasted but about two days; at the end of which time he was taken from his cell to the keeper's house, and told "he might go." But having been "imprisoned against law," he refused to be thus privately set at liberty, and therefore demanded that the same authority which had "at midnight confined him uncondemned," should perform the office; but after waiting three days without gaining that point, and hearing his wife was dangerously ill, he left the keeper's house and returned to his family.

Being disgusted with the government of Massachusetts, Mr. Fowle subsequently removed to Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, and was the first printer who settled in that province.†

The Post Office was opened in Cornhill, at Mr. John Franklin's; and Samuel Holbrook gave notice that all persons indebted for Post Boy papers or postage of letters must make payment "as soon as possible."‡ Franklin was Deputy Postmaster.

The burials in the Town from January third, 1753, to January first, 1754, were 481; of which 63 were blacks. The baptisms in the several churches were 396. The following year, ending January seventh, 1754, the deaths were 439, of which 54 were blacks; baptisms, 439.

1755. The General Court having passed a law laying an excise on Jan. 3. distilled spirits, wine, limes, lemons and oranges, the inhabitants met in Town-meeting, to devise a plan to prevent its going into operation. It was voted "to make application home to prevent the royal assent to the measure." They accordingly chose Christopher Kilby, Esq., of London, as their Agent to carry the resolution into effect.

Feb. 4. The Postmaster gave notice that the western Postriders "would perform their stages in future, every week, in winter as well as summer;" and that "he" would be dispatched every Monday afternoon, precisely at two o'clock, during winter.

Feb. 5. On the fifth of February the Town suffered great damage from a most violent storm of wind and rain from the south-east.

pied by the Court House. Court-street was called Prison Lane as late as 1762.—See *Evening Post*, 9 Aug., 1762.

* The man was named William Wier. He was executed on the 19th of Nov. following, leaving a wife, children, father and mother. The name of the murdered man was William Chisna.—Chauncy's *Sermon on the day of Execution*, p. 19-20.

† Thomas, *Hist. Printing*, i. 336.—Daniel Fowle had been a partner with Gamaliel Rogers. I have many books printed by Rogers & Fowle, all of which are very well executed for that day. They commenced printing as early as 1741 (Dr. Thomas is mistaken in saying

their copartnership begun in 1742), "over against the S. East Cor. of the Town House."

In 1746 they were "in Queen-street, next to the Prison." In 1755 Fowle's office was in Ann-street. The next year he removed to Portsmouth. There he printed a Newspaper, the *Province Laws, &c.*, became a Magistrate, and died there in June, 1782, aged 72.—Thomas.

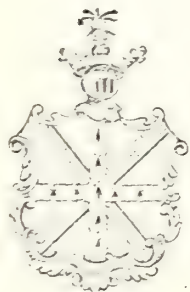
‡ A little later there were a great many letters advertised as remaining in the office uncalled for. The first published list in a Newspaper, which I have seen, is in the *News-Letter* of 30th Jan., 1755. It contained 351 names; a large proportion of which were of persons out of Boston.

The tide rose to an uncommon height, injuring the shipping and wharves exceedingly. "The great Crane at the lower end of the Long Wharf was broken down, as was the upper one on the south side, and the lower one on that side suffered much. To give a detail of all the damage done would be almost endless."

The extraordinary discoveries of Benjamin Franklin in electricity, though they had been before the public above three years, do not appear to be noticed in the Newspapers of Boston until this year; and yet his friend Peter Collinson, Esq., of London, had long before been giving the letters of that since renowned Philosopher to the British Public; and these letters detailed the steps by which Franklin arrived at those astonishing results, which, as the learned Collinson expresses it, "are at once the most awful, and, hitherto, accounted for with the least verisimilitude." *

CHAPTER LXIV.

Lectures on Electrical Fire. — Boston Gazette. — Colonial Stamp Act. — War News. — Arrival of warlike Stores. — Soldiers march for the Frontiers. — Young Ladies make Soldiers' Garments. — Writing School. — Arrival of French Prisoners. — The Great Earthquake. — Edward Tyng. — Concert Hall. — Trade depressed. — Taxes increased. — Law against Pageants. — Edward Bromfield. — Joseph Willard. — Visit of Lord Loudon. — Arrival of Gov. Pownall. — Lotteries granted. — Visitation of Schools. — School Statistics. — Private Schools. — Magazine. — General Amherst arrives. — Marches for Albany. — Death of Thomas Prince — of Charles Apthorp.



PRINCE.†

IT has long since become a proverb that Boston is slow to appreciate merit in humble life. It may have been so in the days of Franklin. However that may be, the proverb will scarcely be laid aside for want of use in later days.

The discoveries of Franklin had been some time known to the public, and there were doubtless at this period many persons endeavoring to experiment, as he had done, in that branch of natural philosophy in which he had surpassed all others. Joseph Miller ad-

* *Preface to New Experiments and Observations on Electricity.* By Benjamin Franklin, Esq. Communicated in *Several Letters* to P. Collinson, Esq., of London, F. R. S. 4to. London, 1769. 3d Edition.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Sept., 1754, is a notice of Mr. Collinson's publication, and this notice is noticed in the *Boston News-Letter* of 24 Jan., 1755. As the communications of Franklin to Collinson began as early as July, 1747, it appears from an observation of the Rev. Thomas Prince, that the result of his experiments was unknown in Boston till late in 1755. In his *Discourse upon the Earthquake* of Nov. 18th, of this year, Mr. Prince says: "Since my composing of the foregoing Dis-

course, the sagacious Mr. Franklin, born and brought up in Boston, but now living in Philadelphia, has greatly surprised and obliged the world with his discoveries of the Electrical Substance, as one great and main instrument of lightning and thunder." — P. 20. Prof. Winthrop also refers to Franklin in his *Lecture on Earthquakes*, as "the very ingenious and sagacious Mr. Franklin, who with happy success had accounted for the phenomena of Thunder and Lightning." — P. 32.

† This engraving of the Arms of Prince is a copy of one formerly possessed by the Reverend Thomas Prince, Minister of the Old South. He procured it during his sojourn in England, it is believed, previous to his settlement in the

vertised "A Course of Experiments on the newly discovered Electrical Fire, at his house near the Blue Ball" in Hanover-street.* Price of tickets of admission was "one pistareen each lecture."

April 7. A Newspaper, called "The Boston Gazette, or Country Journal," was established. It was printed by Benjamin Edes and John Gill, in King-street, near the east end of the Town House. This paper ably advocated the cause of the Colonies against the Mother Country, and consequently it met with interruptions during the Revolution. In April, 1775, it was suspended, and Gill left it. But Edes removed his press to Watertown, and there issued the Gazette till November, 1776. He then returned to Boston, and published his paper, which was continued till 1798, when it ceased.†

A Stamp Act had been passed by the Legislature of the Colony, laying duties on Vellum, Parchment, and Paper, for two years. The

Ministry here. Its heraldic reading is—Gules, a Saltire Or, surmounted by a Cross engrailed Ermine. *Crest*—A dexter hand issuing from a Ducal Coronet, holding a pine branch proper, fructed Or.

The residence of Mr. Prince has already been noticed. It was on what is now Washington-street, on the easterly side, in the same house in which Gov. Winthrop had lived. The site is now covered by the South Row. It was nearly opposite School-street. See p. 315, *ante*. His will is dated Oct. 24, 1758, and proved Nov. 3 following, before Thos. Hutchinson. He gave to his nephew, Samuel Prince, son of his brother, Moses Prince, deceased, his land in Shepscut, in the County of York, the land given him by his cousin Jonathan Loring, of Boston, deceased. To said Samuel and other children of his brother Moses, "lands beyond Hartford in Connecticut Colony," received also from his cousin Loring. To them also all his lands in the County of Hampshire. All his lands in Boston to his wife Deborah, and daughter Sarah Prince. To said dear wife all land in Church Neck, in Rochester, in Plymouth Colony, and land in Cromasett Neck in Wareham, and all lands in Leicester, in the County of Worcester, in the East and West Wing of Rutland* in said County. He had some other lands, which he also gave them. To his dear Colleague, the Rev. Doctor Joseph Sewall, as a token of his affection, Hooght's Hebrew Bible, 2 vols., printed in 1795, and Witsenius's Greek Testament. To the Old South Church a piece of plate of the form and height of that last presented to said Church. "I would have it plain, and to hold a full pint." But the part of his will which will be most thought of by

antiquaries is that disposing of his "New England Library," which is as follows:—"Whereas I have been, a number of years, collecting a number of books, pamphlets, maps, papers in print and manuscript, whether published in New England or pertaining to its history and public affairs, to which collection I have given the name of the New England Library, and have deposited it in the Steeple Chamber of the Old South Church; and as I made the collection from a public view, and desire that the memory of many important transactions might be preserved, which otherwise would be lost, I hereby bequeath the said collection to the Old South Church forever. But to the end that the same may be kept entire, I desire that this collection may always be kept in a different apartment from the other books, and that it may be so made that *no person shall borrow any book or paper therefrom*, but that any person whom the Pastor and Deacons, for the time being, shall approve of, may have access thereto and take copies therefrom." The question has been propounded, whether the will of the great Benefactor has been kept inviolate, in respect to the part of it which I have italicized.

* A very appropriate location, being near the identical spot where Franklin was born. I would here remark that since I wrote the note on page 492, I have had additional confirmation that Franklin was born in Hanover-street. An aged, intelligent, and well-informed lady (Mrs. Harriet A. T. Lewis) well remembers hearing his birthplace spoken of by old persons, when she was young, as a matter familiarly known to them; namely, that Franklin was born at the sign of the Blue Ball, in Hanover-street, as has been stated.

† Mr. Edes had sons Benjamin and Peter. Benjamin was associated with his father in the publication of the Gazette for a considerable period. He was born in Charlestown, began business with Gill in 1755, died in Boston, in May, 1800, aged 40. — *Thomas*.

* The East Wing of Rutland is included in Princeton, in the County of Worcester, about fifty miles from Boston. It contained about 11,600 acres. Princeton was not incorporated till 1771; though in 1759 it was "erected into a District by the name of Prince Town," one year after the death of Mr. Prince.

funds thus arising were to be applied "towards defraying the charges of this Government." The Act went into effect on the first of May, and on that day the News-Letter appeared with a stamp, which occupied a place near the right-hand corner near the foot of the first page. It is very exactly represented in the annexed engraving.*



WILLIAM SHIRLEY.

Governor Shirley was chiefly occupied in the military affairs of the Country. He visited General Braddock at Alexandria, in Virginia, relative to the campaign now in progress against the French, and returned to Boston on the 13th of May. He had been here but one month and ten days when the news arrived of the defeat of Braddock, and the destruction of the army. And probably the additional news also reached the Governor, that in that defeat his son William, who was one of the General's Aids, had been killed.

War news had been for some time the most prominent topic of the Town, and it was kept alive by arrivals of various accounts from the frontiers, and the collecting and marching of troops. Two days after the return of Gov. Shirley from Virginia, there came in Captain Kirkwood from England, bringing 2000 stand of arms and other munitions for the regiment of soldiers raised in Boston and its vicinity, who were waiting their arrival to march against the enemy. Two days after arrived Captain Trout, who had on board a large quantity of powder, destined for the same service. The Boston men being now ready for service, on the 28th of May the Rev. Mr. Checkley preached a sermon to the company under Captain Thomas Stoddard, about to proceed to join the main army, from a text most appropriately chosen.†

When these soldiers had been in the field about three months, news of their sufferings from want of suitable clothing reached their friends. Immediately a number of young ladies volunteered their services to the Town Authorities, offering gratuitously to make garments for those engaged in the country's service.

A Writing School was proposed to be opened in Long Lane, now Federal-street, by Mr. William Elphinstone.‡

* Under date 1759, Dr. Holmes says: "The Legislature of Massachusetts passed a Stamp Act, in which Newspapers were included; but, on application from the Printers, the Duty was taken off, in consideration that they were vehicles of knowledge, and necessary for information." This, it will readily be conceded, was a very sensible reason why Newspapers should not be taxed. I wish our retrograde Congress could be influenced by such reasoning to take

off that wicked duty which they have imposed on old books; they probably desire to keep them out of the country, lest they should shed some light on their — practices.

† Second Chron. xxxii. 7, 8. The reader will find himself well repaid for his time by turning to and reading it; it, being too long for this note, is omitted.

‡ He was to teach "persons of both sexes, from 12 to 50 years of age, who never wrote

The Government of Nova Scotia having judged it necessary to remove the French inhabitants from that Province,* about 200 families of them were allotted to Massachusetts. Of these expatriated families, thirty
 Nov. 10. had arrived in Boston previous to the eleventh of November, and others were daily expected. The General Court appointed a Committee to attend to their dispersion among the inhabitants of Boston and other towns, at the head of which was Samuel Watts, Esq.† These French families were neutral as to the war that was going on, and how this barbarous expulsion of them is to be justified by the Historian, it is not easy to discover.

Nov. 18. But a few days after the arrival of the French neutrals in Boston, happened the most fearful Earthquake ever before or since known in New England. Boston was by it "more dreadfully shaken"‡ than any other place in all North America, through nearly the whole extent of which it was felt with great severity. It began in this town about four of the clock in the morning,§ and continued nearly four and a half minutes. Great damage was done to the buildings; "about 100 chimneys were, in a manner, levelled with the roofs of the houses, and about 1500 shattered and thrown down in part." Buildings erected upon made land suffered the most. Their tottering was extremely frightful, and the ways about them were covered with bricks and other fragments of building materials. The ends of about fifteen brick buildings were thrown down as far as the eaves. Many clocks stopped. The vane of the Market House fell to the ground. The new vane of one of the churches was bent several "points of the compass."|| Some old springs ceased to flow, and new ones broke out, and some wells afforded water no longer. In his sermon upon the occasion, the Rev. Mather Byles says, "It was a terrible night, the most so, perhaps, that ever New England saw. When we remember it, we are afraid, and trembling taketh hold of our flesh."

The violence of the shock of this earthquake may be conceived of from the facts which follow. A brick was thrown thirty-two feet from a house, the chimney of which was but thirty-one feet high. Some of the chimneys were broken off several feet below the top, and by the

before, to write a good hand in five weeks, at one hour per day," &c. "At his house in Long Lane, where the Rev. Mr. Hooper lived, next door to Mr. Borland's." Elphinstone was probably a Scotchman. Whether a connection of William "Elphinstone," the author of the Dictionary, &c., I do not know.

* Governor Lawrence acted in accordance with the advice of Admirals Boscawen and Moyston respecting the orders for their expulsion.

† An account of those French Neutrals is in progress, by Mr. Wm. H. Whitmore, a young gentleman wanting in nothing for its successful completion.

Hutchinson, vol. iii. 40, gives other facts respecting the Neutral French in Massachusetts. Families were divided; wives and chil-

dren were in one vessel and husbands and fathers in another, in many instances. Of the former, some were landed in Boston, while of the latter some were landed in Philadelphia. — *Ibid.*

‡ Discourse on the occasion by the Rev. Thos. Prince, p. 23.

§ Accident gave Prof. Winthrop, of Cambridge, an opportunity to measure the time of its duration, and also the exact time it commenced. — See his *Lecture on Earthquakes*, p. 14. It was on Tuesday morning, at 4 h. 11' 35". — *Mems. Amer. Acad.*, i. 273. The article in this work upon the Earthquake is an excellent one; taken mainly, I perceive, from Dr. Mayhew's Discourse on the same occasion.

|| Sermon by Dr. Charles Chauncy, p. 31. — See also Holmes' *Annals*, ii. 67.

suddenness and violence of the jerks canted horizontally an inch or two over, so as to stand very dangerously. Some others thus broken off were turned round several points of the compass, as with a circular motion. The wooden spindle which supported the vane of the Market House, though five inches in diameter, and had withstood the most violent tempests, was broken off; and a distiller's cistern, made of plank, nearly new and very strong, was burst asunder by the agitation of the liquid which it contained, which also broke down the whole side of the building in which it was, at the same time demolishing a fence in its way at some eight or ten feet distance.*

Sept. 8. Commodore Edward Tyng died in Boston, at the age of seventy-two. He commanded the provincial fleet in the memorable Louisbourg Expedition ten years before. He captured the French frigate *Vigilant*, of sixty-four guns, in that expedition, for which and other important services Sir Peter Warren offered him the command of the *Vigilant*, with the rank of Post Captain in the Royal Navy; but, on account of his age, being then sixty-two, he thought proper to decline the offer. In the war of 1744, he commanded the *Snow Prince of Orange*, and in her captured the first French privateer on the coast, on the 24th of June of that year. For that brilliant action the merchants of the town presented him with a piece of plate with a suitable inscription.†

Concert Hall was built prior to this, but may not have been so denominated until about this time. It was not so called in a deed of the 30th of September, 1754,‡ by which the building afterwards designated by that name was conveyed by Gilbert and Lewis Deblois, braziers, to Stephen Deblois, for 2,000 pounds, lawful money. In 1769, Stephen Deblois sold it to William Turner, gentleman, for 1,000 pounds sterling; Turner at the same time mortgaging it to Deblois to secure the payment of just half that sum, with the condition that the 500 pounds must be

* *Appendix to Dr. Mayhew's Discourse*, p. 4.
— *Winthrop's Lect.*, p. 11.

† The omission of Tyng in all the American Biographical Dictionaries is to be seriously regretted. The family is duly noticed by Farmer in his Register. The ancestor of the Commodore was Edward Tyng, merchant of Boston. The mansion house of the family was on Milk-street. The Commodore left a large estate. Besides the house and land in Milk-street, he had two brick houses in Fleet-street, in which were living, in 1762, Dr. Yorke, and Mr. Samuel Goodwin; a house, warehouse and wharf near Windmill Point, adjoining the estate of Mr. Jabez Hatch. In 1736, Edward Tyng, Temple Nelson and Nathaniel Alden, all of Boston, petitioned the General Court, on their own and the behalf of others, heirs of Col. Edward Tyng, John Nelson, Esq., and Capt. John Alden, all deceased, for some consideration "for the deceased's extraordinary services and sufferings; they having suffered a long and tedious captivity in France, the said Col. Tyng

dying in a dungeon there." The Court finally granted them 2100 acres of land "lying west of Salem Canada, and northerly of Ipswich New Township."

‡ It is described in the deed, — "A certain brick dwelling-house or messuage, with the land belonging, being in the westerly part of Boston, bounded westerly in the front on Queen-street, 48 ft. and 8 in. Northerly on Hanover-street, 66 ft. Easterly on the house and land of Wm. Hyslop, now occupied by Mrs. Steele, 49 ft. And southerly on the house and land of Thomas Procter, 69 ft.," who was dead in 1769. At this last date it is called Concert Hall, in the deed of Deblois to Turner.

Shaw, in his "*Description of Boston*," following Pemberton, says Concert Hall was built in 1756, which is clearly wrong. As early as the 2d of Jan., 1755, "a Concert of Music" was advertised to take place at Concert Hall in Queen-street; Tickets to be had at the place of performance at four shillings each. — *News-Letter*.



paid within eight years. It afterwards passed to the Amory family, in which it has ever since remained.*

In the early times of the Revolution, Concert Hall was one of the principal head-quarters of the Friends of Liberty, and the Society of Cincinnati held their meetings in it for nearly fifty years.† About half a century ago it was described as having been enlarged and improved by the proprietor, at a great expense; making the front hall in the second story about sixty by thirty feet. This was the most elegant Hall in the Town, and was much admired for its symmetry and elegant architectural finish. Its style was Corinthian, and there was an orchestra, and superb mirrors adorned its walls. It was used as a tavern, probably from its commencement, till and during the time of the late Mr. William Forster. It was for a long period the most noted Hall in Boston; nor has its notoriety departed even to this day. The many-colored lantern sign‡ of its present enterprising proprietor§ is well calculated to make it a mark of distinction.

1756. Owing to the continuance of the War there was a great stagnation in trade. This stagnation affected Boston more than any other place in New England; and with the depression of business there was a corresponding increase in taxes; some merchants being assessed to the amount of four hundred pounds.

An Act was passed by the General Court, regulating the Hospital at Rainsford's Island, by which the Selectmen of Boston were empowered to manage its chief concerns.

It had been a custom from a very early day, among the lower classes, to have evening gatherings, to march in processions, following some pageant, in mockery of persons or transactions which they had learned to detest from former example. These gatherings frequently ended in bloodshed and other mischiefs. A law was therefore made "to prevent riotous, tumultuous and disorderly assemblies, of more

* Messrs. Jonathan and John Amory were importers of Dry Goods. In 1757 their store was at "the sign of the Horse at the Head of Dock Square." They afterwards (before 1762) removed into King-street, "just below the Town House." Their store was, I believe, the last of the *old stores* in State-street.

† The meetings of Columbian Lodge of Freemasons were held at Concert Hall from 22d June, 1795, to 5th May, 1796, with five exceptions. After the installation of the Rt. Worshipful Jeremy Gridley as Grand Master of Masons of North America, Oct. 1st, 1755, and after Divine Service on that occasion, "the brotherhood returned to Concert Hall and celebrated the day in harmony and joy." — *Hist. of Columbian Lodge*, by J. T. Heard, Esq., now in course of publication.

‡ Singular signs are not so much in use as formerly. Before the streets were numbered, signs of an odd appearance were very important to shop-keepers who were unable to locate themselves near some well-known residence

or public building. There has been given a



view of the sign of a Bookseller, who probably outdid all his brethren in that time. In 1758, William Blair Townsend and Edward Wigglesworth, importers of British and India goods, kept in Marlboro'-street, opposite Dr. Gibbins'. But the Doctor was not sufficiently known, perhaps, and they put out a large swing-sign, on which were painted the figures of three doves; which not only served their own purpose, but that of their neighbors also. For being one, two, or three "doors from the Sign of the Three Doves" was almost equal to having that sign.

§ Peter Brigham, Esq., who has conducted it for about twenty-five years.

than three persons, all or any of them armed with sticks, clubs or any kind of weapons, or disguised with vizards, or painted or discolored faces, or in any manner disguised, having any kind of imagery or pageantry, in any street, lane or place in Boston." The penalty for being in such a gathering subjected each person to a fine of forty shillings.

Among the deaths of the year 1756 should be mentioned that of Mr. Edward Bromfield, a merchant. He died on the tenth of April, aged sixty-one. He was born in Boston, in 1695. His father was the Hon. Edward Bromfield, and his mother was Mary, eldest daughter of the Rev. Samuel Danforth, of Roxbury, by Mary, daughter of the Rev. John Wilson, the first minister of Boston. He was a gentleman of great benevolence, and was much beloved by the people for his public spirit and upright dealing. He was a Selectman in 1731, in 1735 an Overseer of the Poor, in 1739 a Representative to the General Court. This office he declined after four years,* but continued an Overseer of the Poor for twenty-one years.†

On the sixth of December died Josiah Willard, Esquire, late Secretary of the Province, at the age of seventy-six. He was son of the Rev. Samuel Willard, of the Old South, born in May, 1681, graduated at Harvard College in 1698, of which he was Tutor and Librarian in 1703. In 1717 he was appointed Secretary of the Colony, which office he resigned in 1745, after a service of twenty-eight years. In 1731 he was made Judge of Probate, and in 1734 he was chosen of His Majesty's Council.‡ He was succeeded in the office of Judge of Probate by the Hon. Edward Hutchinson, and in the Secretaryship by Andrew Oliver, Esquire.

In prosecuting the War against the French, Lord Loudon, who had been some time in the country, came to Boston to meet the Governors of the Colonies and others, Commissioners, to confer with them upon measures to be pursued. The Massachusetts Commissioners were Thomas Hutchinson and William Brattle, of the Council; Samuel Wells, Thomas Hubbard, and James Otis, of the Representatives. The Convention lasted ten days. The number of men to be raised for the service by each of the New England Colonies was agreed upon. Massachusetts was to furnish 1800.

Aug. 2. Thomas Pownall, Esquire, having been appointed Governor of Massachusetts, arrived in Boston on the second of August. This was his third visit to the Colonies. He came over to New York in 1754, with Sir Danvers Osborn, and had a commission of Lieutenant Governor of New Jersey. In June of that year he was at the famous

* The Hon. Thomas Cushing, Speaker of the House, was Mr. Bromfield's brother-in-law. He died on the 11th of April, 1746, aged 53. His wife, Mrs. Mary, daughter of the Hon. Edward Bromfield, died 30th October, of the same year.

† Prince's *Sermon at his Funeral*, p. 30. Mr. Bromfield's oldest son, also named Edward,

was very remarkable for his scientific attainments. He graduated at Harvard College, 1738, died August 18th, 1746, at the age of 23. There is a long and interesting account of his microscopic investigations in the *American Magazine* of 1746, p. 548, &c.

‡ Sewall's and Prince's *Funeral Sermons*. See also Eliot and Allen.



THOMAS POWNALL.

Congress of Albany, where Franklin made his memorable proposal for a union of the Colonies, similar to that adopted at the commencement of the Revolution. On coming to Boston soon after, Governor Shirley appointed him a Commissioner, with two others to solicit aid from New York and Pennsylvania, for carrying on the War. He was also with Mr. Shirley and the other Governors and gentlemen who met General Braddock at Alexandria in 1755. He returned to England the same year, but the next year returned with Lord Loudon. His stay was now limited to a few months. Being again in England, he succeeded in being

appointed Governor of Massachusetts, and soon after arrived in Boston, as has been mentioned. Mr. Shirley was thus superseded, and he succeeded General Braddock in the command of the Army.

Notwithstanding an Act had been passed in 1719, for the suppression of Lotteries, "as common and public nuisances," the town was this year carrying on a lottery, and the inhabitants were notified, on the 23d of November, that if they did not "adventure" in the purchase of tickets "on or before Monday the 28th, they would be excluded" from the *benefits* of said Lottery, as the Town had voted to take all unsold tickets to itself. What arguments had been made use of by the Fathers of the Town to convince the General Court that they might gamble by Lotteries without suffering in character, does not appear. But certain it is, that body did authorize the Town to raise 2,100 dollars by a Lottery, towards paving and repairing the Neck; and not long after another, to raise funds for paving the Highway from Boston line to Meeting-house Hill in Roxbury. The days of Lotteries were not yet numbered.

1758. At the Town Meeting on March 13th, Ezekiel Goldthwait was Mar. 13. chosen Town Clerk.

The visitation of the Schools had for some time been quite a formidable circumstance. The Committee appointed by the Selectmen to make the visitation reported that they were accompanied by the Hon. John Osborn, Richard Bill, Jacob Wendell, Andrew Oliver, Stephen Sewall, John Erving, Robert Hooper, Esquires, the Representatives of the Town, Overseers of the Poor, the Ministers, Mr. Treasurer Gray, Joshua Winslow, Richard Dana, James Boutineau, Stephen Greenleaf, Esquires; Dr. William Clark, and Mr. John Ruddock; that they found in the South Grammar School, 115 scholars; in the South Writing School, 240; in the Writing School in Queen-street, 230; in the North Grammar School, 36; in the North Writing School, 220: "All in very good order."

There were at the same time several Private Schools. Richard Pateshall * kept one in Hanover-street, "three houses below the Orange

* He was the only brother of Capt. Robert died at the Havana, about the beginning of Pateshall, of the 46th Regiment of Foot, who 1763.



Tree,* at the house of Mr. Bradford." He instructed in all branches, from the Alphabet to Latin, inclusive, and kept an Evening School at his house in Pond Lane,† opposite to Capt. James Nickles, south of "Seven Star Lane." He was living at the same place in 1763.

June 1. Thomas Hutchinson, Esquire, a native of Boston, was proclaimed Lieutenant Governor of the Colony, and Andrew Oliver, Esquire, Secretary. Their Commissions were published in Council on the first of June.

Aug. 31. A Periodical is commenced, called the New England Magazine. Judging from its contents it was a very feeble affair.‡ But three or four numbers were published in the course of six or seven months, and there the work ended. Benjamin Mecom was the Printer.

Sept. 13. The thirteenth of September was a great day in Boston. General Jeffery Amherst, who had been appointed to take the command of the Army in America, landed in the Town. Never before did the Harbor exhibit such an amount of Shipping. The Men-of-War and Transports from London, with those from Louisbourg which accompanied the General, made a more grand and imposing appearance than the people of Boston had been accustomed to see. His Excellency came in a seventy-four gun ship, called the Captain, commanded by his brother Captain John Amherst. With the General there came Lieutenant Colonel William Forster, Lieutenant Colonel Morris, Lieutenant Colonel John Hale, Lieutenant Colonel Ralph Burton, and Colonel Simon Fraser,§ of the Highland Regiment; the same, it is supposed, who afterwards fell fighting under General Burgoyne, at Saratoga. The men under the immediate command of these officers were encamped on the Sept. 16. Common. After being refreshed for a few days, they marched,

4,500 strong, for Albany, led by General Amherst in person. There was a marked difference between the movements of this officer and those of Lord Loudon. Amherst was at all points in apparently the briefest possible space. In about a month he was at Boston, Albany, Lake George, New York, Boston again, and Halifax.|| His

* Corner of Queen and Hanover streets. The corner opposite Concert Hall.

† Now Bedford-street. Seven Star Lane, now Summer-street.

‡ Article I. was a Poetical Dedication; V. Quintessence of Books—a great book is a great evil; XV. A Learned Method to roast Eggs; XVII. Seven Queer Notions.—See *Thomas*, ii. 259.

§ Capt. Thomas Fraser, of Colonel Simon Fraser's Regiment, died on the march to Albany, at Springfield, September 28, of fever; "an elderly gentleman, whose death was greatly lamented."

|| General Amherst was a truly meritorious officer, but like others similarly circumstanced, he was treated by the then intriguing Ministry with all the atrocity which corruption could suggest. But he had more than a requital for

all that from the pen of Junius. One could well afford to suffer some to find such a defender. However, he received due honors at length, being made a Knight of the Bath in 1761, was raised to the Peerage in 1776, as Baron Amherst of Holmesdale, in the County of Kent. In 1778 he was appointed to the chief command of all the land forces in Great Britain. In 1796 he was made Field Marshal, and died the following year. Though twice married he left no issue. The present Lord Amherst was son of Lord Amherst's brother, William, who also served in America, as Aide-camp to the General, and was at the capture of Louisburg in 1758, and carried the news of its surrender to England. An autograph letter of General Amherst, dated Staten Island, 28th October, 1761, is in my collection. Its direction is "Colonel Bradstreet, D. Q. M.



men were in good health and spirits, generally, consequent upon their activity and success at the reduction of Louisbourg, on the 26th of the preceding July.



THOMAS PRINCE.

Oct. 22. The 22d of October will be remembered as a remarkable day in the history of the Town, and not only of Boston, but of New England; for on that day died the Rev. Mr. Thomas Prince, a benefactor to his country; leaving a name which will be venerated to the remotest ages, if literature shall then be valued; a name which may with pride be emulated by the inquirers after historical knowledge, and the admirers of precision and accuracy in the paths of history.

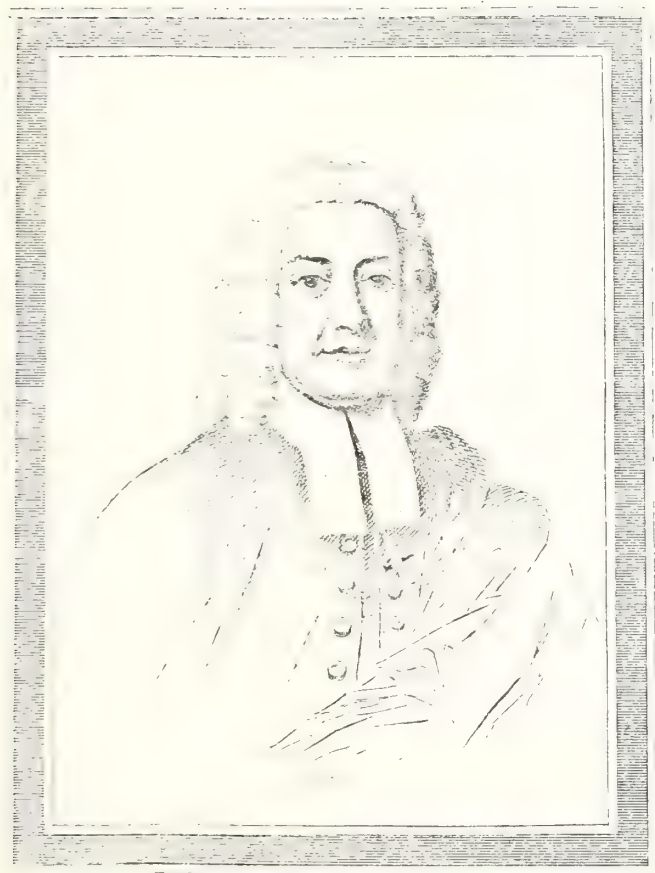
Mr. Prince died at the age of seventy-two. He had been one of the Pastors of the Old South Church forty years and twenty-one days.* His father was Samuel Prince, Esquire, of Middleborough, in the Colony of Plymouth, and his mother was Mercy, daughter of Thomas Hinckley, Esquire, one of the Governors of that Colony. His grandfather was Mr. John Prince, of Hull, who emigrated to New England about 1633. The town of Princeton was named for him, and Prince-street in the City perpetuates the name, though not named for him.

Nov. 10. But a few days after the death of Mr. Prince, occurred that of Charles Apthorp, Esquire, at the age of sixty years. He was reputed "the greatest and most noble Merchant on this Continent." His death was very sudden. As he was about to retire for the night, he complained of feeling cold, and nearly at the same moment fell lifeless upon the floor. His funeral took place twelve days after, at King's Chapel, and his remains were therein deposited. He is characterized

G., at Albany." It gives minute directions about the discharge of certain troops, with paternal expressions for their comfort upon their return march: strictly ordering that they should be well supplied with provisions and other necessities.

* As I have elsewhere published a Memoir of Mr. Prince, it is not necessary to be more particular here. — See *N. E. His. G. Reg.* (1851) v., p. 375, &c. In that Memoir an attempt was made to make a perfect catalogue of his writings. Since that publication I have come into the possession of several other of his works. In 1826, Mr. Hale, of the Boston Daily Advertiser, printed an edition of the "New England Chronology" (by the Rev. Mr. Prince). After about twenty-five years Mr. Hale had left of his edition some fifty copies. The greater part of these I purchased, and added to them my Memoir, some corrections, a list of the original subscribers (of 1756) and some engravings. This was denominated the third edition.

When Mr. Prince published his great work, the *New England Chronology*, he presented a copy to the General Court, of which circumstance the following record was made in the Journals of the House:—"The House being informed that the Rev. Mr. *Thomas Prince* was at the door, and desired admittance, Ordered, that Mr. *Prince* be admitted into the House, and, coming up to the Table, he addressed himself to Mr. Speaker and the House in the following manner, viz.: 'Mr. Speaker, I most humbly present to your Honor and this Honorable House the first Volume of my *Chronological History of New England*, which at no small Expense and Pains I have composed and published for the Instruction and Good of my Country.' And then he made a Compliment of one of the Books to Mr. Speaker, by presenting it to him, and another he presented to and for the use of the Members of the House of Representatives, and laid it on the Table, and then withdrew." But that laborious work was not fully appreciated in the Author's day.



Your most reverent
Humble servant
T. Prince

as "a truly valuable member of society;" and that "he left few equals behind him." *

This was the birthday of the King, which appears to have been celebrated in Boston with greater earnestness than such days had hitherto been.†

CHAPTER LXV.

Progress of the War. — Fire at Oliver's Dock. — Death of Sir William Pepperrell. — Departure of Gov. Pownall. — Fire at New Boston. — Another at Griffin's Wharf. — The Great Fire. — Law respecting rebuilding the Burnt District. — News of the Surrender of Montreal. — Thanksgiving.



HENCHMAN. §

1759. BY a vigorous prosecution of the war, under the direction of Amherst and other experienced officers, nearly all Canada had fallen into the hands of the English, by the end of the summer of 1759. This was followed by the great victory gained by Sir Edward Hawke, Nov. 20. over one of the most powerful French fleets which had ever appeared on the ocean. This was commanded by Admiral Conflans, and had on board a large force for the service in America.‡ A few days after the news of this victory reached England, "A form of Prayer and Thanksgiving" was issued "By His Majesty's

* He was the son of John Apthorp, the founder of the family in this country. To King's Chapel he was a bountiful benefactor, having given £5000 towards its rebuilding. His father was a great proficient in the Fine Arts, especially in Painting and Architecture; talents which have been transmitted to his descendants, as Charles Bulfinch, Esquire, the Architect of the State House and other edifices, proves. A marble Monument with a Latin inscription was placed in the Chapel to the memory of the subject of this note, by his son, "which monument covers the tomb of the truly noble-minded race of Apthorp."

"APTHORP! my proud paternal name,
The homage of my soul is thine," &c.

Mrs. Morton.

† Arnold Welles advertises "some very likely Negro boys, from twelve to eighteen years of age, and three or four Negro men, between twenty and thirty years old."—*News-Letter*. This Mr. Welles I suppose to have been the father of the Hon. John Welles, who died yesterday (25th September, 1855), in his 91st year. — See *Papers of the Day*.

‡ The news of Hawke's victory did not arrive in Boston until the following February; upon which arrival, Feb. 21st, the great guns of the Castle were fired, and also those of the batteries in the Town. — *Sup. to the News-Letter* of 25 Feb., 1760.

§ The above representation of the Arms of Henchman is taken from a drawing in possession of Dr. Daniel Henchman, of Cambridge-street, which has been handed down from his ancestors. They do not materially differ (with the exception of the Crest) from those of Henchman, or Hinchman, of Nottinghamshire. There is a notice of several of the Henchman family, in the *N. Eng. Hist. and G. Reg.*, v. 374, communicated to that work by Mr. THOMAS WATERMAN, of Boston. Capt. Daniel Henchman, freeman of Boston, 1672, was one of the original purchasers of Worcester of the Indians, in 1674. He died there, Oct. 15th, 1685, intestate. The inventory of his estate amounted to £1381.13.09. It is dated 29 April, 1686, from which it appears that he was a dealer in military goods. Many books are named in it, some of them in Latin, some on geometry, &c., by which it is inferred that he was a man of learning. His property seems to have been nearly all in Boston. "At the County Court for Suffolk," 12 Nov., 1685, "administration was granted on the estate of Capt. Daniel Henchman, formerly of Boston, unto Mary his relict, and his two elder sons, Richard and Hezekiah Henchman." His [2d?] wife was a daughter of William Pole [now Poole], of Dorchester, whom he married 22 April, 1672. — *Hist. and G. Reg.*, v. 402. Col. Daniel Henchman, the enterprising Bookseller, who died 25 Feb., 1761, at the age

Special Command.”* Governor Pownall had ordered a Thanksgiving in Massachusetts for the success against Canada, and the Rev. Samuel Cooper preached a sermon† before His Excellency, the Governor, and both branches of the General Court; and the Rev. Andrew Eliot Oct. 16. preached on the same occasion on the 25th of the same month. In the Sermon of the last-named gentleman is found a detailed account of the war.

In the two preceding years this Colony had furnished the army with “little less than 2000 men.”‡

Nov. 14. A fire occurred at Oliver’s Dock, by which about fifteen families were rendered houseless. It began a little to the southward of Oliver’s Bridge, and extended to the lower end of Water and Milk streets, to Hallowell’s ship-yard. It continued to rage for about two hours. Governor Pownall was present during the whole time, encouraging the people in their exertions against the flames, at the same time exhibiting much sympathy for the distressed.

It cannot be foreign to a history of any portion of New England, to notice the death of one of its noblest sons. Sir William Pepperrell died at his seat in Kittery, on the sixth of July, at the age of sixty-three years and nine days. He was son of William Pepperrell, Esq., a native of Wales, who came to New England, and settled first on the Isles of Shoals, and not many years after at Kittery Point, where Sir William was born. He married a Boston lady, Mary, daughter of Grove Hirst, Esq., with whom he became acquainted while residing here as a member of the General Court. §

of 72, was son of Hezekiah above named, son of Capt. Daniel H. Thomas Hancock, who was a book-binder and book-seller, served his time with Henchman, whose daughter, Lydia, he married. — Thomas, *Hist. Print.*, ii. 430. He lived in Queen-street, in what is now the Brattle-street Society’s parsonage, and which was willed to that Society by Mrs. Hancock. Col. Henchman established the first Paper Mill in the Colony, in which undertaking he was encouraged by the General Court. It was in Milton. In his will he remembers his brother Samuel, also John Wharton, and Nicholas Bowes, “who lived with him;” and sister Margaret Breck.

There were several Daniel Henchmans. In 1719, Jan. 4th, John Varney of Boston, bricklayer, was appointed “guardian to Daniel Henchman, a minor, aged about 12 years, son of Daniel H., late of Dorchester, in South Carolina, gent., deceased.” Elizabeth, wife of Daniel H., administered on the estate of her husband, 1775. He was son of Rev. Nath’l H., of Lynn. His wife was dau. of Jacob Hurd.

Cap. Daniel Henchman, before named, was distinguished in the Indian war of 1675-6, a merchant, and a dealer in real estate to a great extent. Conveyances to and from him began as early as 1669.

After I had written thus far, I received some memoranda from Dr. Henschman, of whom the Coat of Arms was obtained, from which it appears that Nathaniel, son of Capt. Daniel H., was a book-binder, and was father of the Rev. Nathaniel H., of Lynn, and died in that town, in July, 1749, aged 94. That Daniel H., son of the Rev. Nathaniel, of Lynn, returned to Boston, and was the father, by Elizabeth, dau. of Jacob Hurd, of twelve children.

* It was issued in an octavo tract of 4 pages, a copy of which is before me.

† It is dedicated to the Governor, in which, he says, “When our hearts overflowed with joy at the news of the conquest of Quebec, your Excellency, with both Houses, thought proper to point our attention to the Providence of God, and to order that the civil demonstrations of loyalty and gladness upon this event should be preceded by solemn Praise, and Thanksgiving.” — p. x. and xi.

‡ Cooper’s *Thanksgiving Sermon, Dedication*, p. viii.

§ She was grand-daughter of the Hon. Judge Samuel Sewall. A sister of Sir William, Miriam, older than himself, married Andrew Tyler, of Boston; another, Jane, younger, married, 1st, Benj. Clarke, of Kingston, N. H., and, 2dly, William Tyler, of Boston, brother of Andrew. Catherine, dau. of An-

The administration of Governor Pownall, though short, was a very popular one. At a full Town-meeting, an Address was unanimously voted him, in which the inhabitants acknowledged their great obligations to him.* He had been appointed to the Government of South Carolina, but he did not leave Boston until the third of June.

Until the present time the fire of 1711 had been denominated the Great Fire, but now one occurred, which rendered that comparatively unimportant. Before proceeding to narrate the history of that of the 20th of March, it is proper to state, that only three days before, between eleven and twelve o'clock at noon, it being Monday, a large house, and a joiner's shop adjoining, were burnt in the west part of the town, called New Boston. Several other houses near by were much damaged and many things destroyed. The wind being high, and from the north-east, the roof of the West Meeting-house took fire in several places, but by great exertion the house was saved.

The next day, between ten and eleven o'clock in the forenoon, a store at the upper end of Mr. James Griffin's wharf (since Liverpool wharf), the chamber of which was improved as a laboratory by a detachment of the Royal Artillery then here, accidentally took fire. It soon communicated to a quantity of powder, by which the building was blown up, wounding four or five men. Mr. Griffin's loss was considerable, having a large quantity of merchandise in the lower story. Two other buildings, lower down on the wharf, a carpenter's shop and a blacksmith's, also took fire, and the former was destroyed. One or two grenados and some small arms went off during the fire, and "the explosion was so great, that a considerable shock was felt over the extreme parts of the Town."

"But the 20th of March will be a day memorable for the most terrible fire that has happened in this Town, or perhaps in any other part of North America, far exceeding that of the second of October, 1711, till now termed the Great Fire." It broke out about two of the clock "in the first watches of the morning, when our bodies

drew and Miriam, m. David Ochterlony, who was the father of Gen. Sir David Ochterlony (also born in Boston), a distinguished commander in the East Indies, who died 15 July, 1825. After the death of David Ochterlony, the father, his widow, Catharine (Tyler) Ochterlony, married Sir Isaac Heard, Garter King at Arms, the same who took so much pains in searching out the pedigree of Washington. Dr. Usher Parsons has lately published an excellent work on Sir Wm. Pepperrell.

* On the 17th of May the following named gentlemen waited on the Governor with the Address, namely, Samuel Wells, Andrew Oliver, Thomas Hancock, Thomas Hubbard, Francis Berland, John Phillips, Harrison Gray, Stephen Greenleaf, James Pitts, Joshua Henshaw, and John Rowe, Esqs., Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, and Mr. John Scollay. These

had signed the Address, "with upwards of 150 merchants and others." They say to his Excellency, in the opening, "The happy influence of your Administration, while it has extended itself to every branch of the Public Interest, has been too sensibly felt by the Merchants and others concerned in trade, to allow us to part with your Excellency, without the most particular acknowledgment of gratitude and respect."

The reply of the Governor was brief, but couched in language which plainly expressed the goodness of his heart, and his great interest in the welfare of the Country, and of Boston especially. And to his lasting honor it should be remembered that he always remained the friend of the Colony, even in its darkest trials of the Revolution. This, though well known, cannot be too often mentioned.

were fast fettered with soundest sleep, and the Town alarmed with an outcry." It began in the dwelling-house of Mrs. Mary Jackson and Son, at the sign of the Brazen Head in Cornhill,* but by what accident it took was unknown. The flames immediately extended to the adjoining houses in the front of the street, and four large buildings were consumed before it could be checked in that direction. It still raged violently towards the east; the wind being strong at north-west, carried all before it, from the back sides of the houses. All the stores and dwellings in Pudding-lane, excepting those which fronted the south side of King-street, and a store of Mr. John Spooner† in Water-street, to Quaker lane; thence, only leaving a large old wooden house and a house which belonged to the then late Cornelius Waldo, Esq., every house, shop, store and out-house, to Oliver's Dock, was consumed. Then, by a sudden veer of the wind, the fire was driven in a contrary course, taking the buildings fronting the lower part of King-street, and burning the houses from the corner opposite the Bunch of Grapes,‡ to the warehouse of Box & Austin, leaving only the warehouse of the Hon. John Erving, and the dwelling-house of Mr. Hastings. The other brick warehouses towards Long Wharf were considerably damaged. On the south-east part the conflagration extended from Mr. Torry's, a baker, in Water-street, to Mr. Hall's working-house, and thence to Milk-street, consuming every house from Mr. Joseph Calef's§ to the foot of the street, and the opposite way, including Mr. Dowse's; likewise every house to Fort Hill, excepting that of the Hon. Secretary Oliver's and two or three tenements opposite; also every house, warehouse, shop and store, from Oliver's Dock, by Mr. Hallowell's ship-yard, taking the house of Mr. Hallowell, the Sconce of the South Battery, all the buildings on Col. Wendell's wharf, to the house of Mr. Hunt, ship-builder. Hence, from Pudding-lane to the waterside, there was not a building of any description left, excepting those on the side of King-street, and those above mentioned. Besides, there was a large ship burnt, at Col. Wendell's wharf, of which Capt. Eddy had been in command, also two or three sloops and a schooner.||

Such was the Great Fire of 1760, in which 349 dwelling-houses, stores and shops, were consumed,¶ and above one thousand people were left without a habitation; many of whom, the day before, were in easy circumstances. "But it is not easy," says an eye-witness, "to describe the terrors of that fatal morning, in which the imaginations of the most calm and steady received impressions that would not easily be effaced.

*Very nearly opposite Williams, Court, answering to No. 96 Washington-street.

†This store was afterwards a blacksmith's shop, and made the westerly corner of Water and Devonshire streets, and stood till 1824, when it was replaced by a brick building, the lower part of which was occupied by Mr. Daniel Hersey as an auction room.

‡"In King-street, just below the Town-house, 1724."—*Bost. Gazt.* 26 Oct. It was

rebuilt after the fire, and perhaps lower down the street, on the site of the present New England Bank.

§In Milk, corner of Congress. It was afterwards the noted Julien's restaurant. It stood till July, 1824.

|| There were eight or nine vessels burnt at the wharves.—Mayhew, *Ser. on the Fire*, 17.

¶Of the number were 174 dwelling-houses, and 175 other buildings.

The distressed inhabitants of those buildings wrapped in fire scarce knew where to take refuge. Numbers who were confined to beds of sickness, as well as the aged and the infant, were removed from house to house, and even the dying were obliged to take one remove more before their final one."*

When the fire was discovered there was but little wind, but it soon came on to blow a hard gale from the north-west; "then was beheld," says the eye-witness, "a perfect torrent of fire, bearing down all before it. In a seeming instant all was flame." The people living in the neighborhood of the South Battery were in much terror, knowing there was a large quantity of powder deposited there; but the greater part of it was removed, "by some hardy adventurers," just before the fire reached the place of its deposit. As it was, enough was left to make a heavy explosion, "which was heard and felt to a very great distance."†

People had flocked in from the neighboring country, who, with the Town's people, fought with desperation against the flames, "encouraged by the presence and example of the greatest personages of the place, who condescended to the most laborious services, but to no purpose; for the haughty flames triumphed over our engines, our art, and our numbers." It continued to rage till near noon, about ten hours.

The amount of property destroyed was at first supposed to be 300,000 pounds; but in the votes of the General Court upon the occasion, it is said "that the loss upon a moderate computation could not be less than 100,000 pounds sterling."‡ As there were a great many persons requiring immediate relief, it was voted to advance, out of the public treasury, 3,000 pounds of the money raised by Excise the previous year. This sum was committed to the Selectmen and Overseers of the Poor, § to be by them distributed among the sufferers. ||

A large amount in donations was from time to time received. On receipt of the news of the conflagration in Pennsylvania, which was communicated to Governor Hamilton by Governor Pownall, the Assembly of that Province voted 1,500 pounds sterling for the relief of the unfortunate Bostonians. The Assembly of New York voted them a very liberal sum.¶ Governor Lawrence, of Nova Scotia, wrote to Governor

* "We hear that the woman who was overtaken in travail, and delivered in the open air on Fort Hill, in the time of the late dreadful fire, is likely to do well." — *Newspaper, extracted in Janeway*, 48.

† The stones and timber were widely scattered about. "The explosion, and light of the fire, was heard and seen many miles in the country and on the sea-coast."

‡ "Others, who had observed the increased value of the land upon which the houses stood, estimated the loss at not more than £50,000; and judged, that if the donations could have been equally distributed, no great loss would have been sustained." — *Hutchinson*, iii. 81. — Dr. Holmes, *Annals*, ii. 103, says the value of

property destroyed was £73,112, 7s. and 3d.; and that "collective donations amounted to £17,750, 15s and 8d."

§ The gentlemen appointed by those officers to receive contributions were John Phillips, Esq., Joshua Henshaw, Esq., Mr. Joshua Barrett, Joseph Jackson, Esq., Thomas Flucker, Esq. They accepted the appointment, and gave notice that they would attend at Faneuil Hall, every Monday and Tuesday, where the sufferers were to apply.

|| The above account is chiefly made up from the *News-Letter*, and that appended to Janeway's "Dreadful Fire of London."

¶ £25,000, old tenor, which was in proportion to sterling as 25 to 1.

Pownall, advising him that "480 dollars and one real" had been collected for the same object. Mr. Charles Apthorp, of New York, ordered 100 pounds, "lawful money," to be paid for the benefit of the sufferers; and Mr. De Berdt, of London, gave 100 pounds. A petition was forwarded to the King, drawn up and signed by the sufferers, praying for relief, and, after two years, they learned that "it had been graciously received by his Majesty," but what finally became of it does not appear; nor does it appear whether it was directed to George the Second, who was living till the 25th of October of that year, or to his successor, George the Third.* Mr. Whitfield collected and sent over 250 pounds.

It is remarkable that no lives were lost during the fire, though several persons were one way and another wounded. It extended, on Cornhill, to the house of Mr. Peter Cotta on the north, and to that of Mrs.

* The following is a list of the persons burnt out, as contained in the News-Letter, so far as they could be ascertained at the time; compiled chiefly from the Assessors' books of the previous November:

"In Cornhill, Mary Jackson and Son, widow McNeal, Jonas Mason,* Mrs. Quick. — In Pudding Lane, Wm. Fairfield, — Rogers, John Sterling, Geo. Glen, James Steward, widow Marshal, Edmond Dolbear. — Upper part of Water-street, Henry Lawton, Jr., an old house untenanted, Mrs. Grice, an empty house of Mr. Cazeau, Wm. Palfrey, Joseph Richardson, Dinley Wing, Benj. Jeffries, John Durant, — Lawson. [Two or three items wanting in copy.] — In Quaker Lane, Wm. Hyslop, Sampson Salter (brewer), Capt. Robert Jarvis, Daniel Ray, Friends' Meeting-house. — Towards Oliver's Dock, David Spear, Thomas Bennet, Wm. Baker, Ebenezer Dogget, James Barnes, Daniel Henchman, Joseph Marion, Thomas Hawkins, shop and barns opposite, widow Savel, James Thompson, Hugh Moore, widow Davis, Nicholas Tabb, Michael Carrol, two tenements of free Negroes. — Mackerel Lane [Kilby-st.], John Gardner, John Powell, Vincent Mundersal, Massetson's barber's shop, and a gunsmith's, Edmund Perkins, James Perkins, several chair-makers' shops, James Graham, Capt. Atherton Haugh, John Doane, Capt. Benoni Smith, Samuel Bangs, Daniel Benak, Geo. Perry, Paul Baxter's shop, Benj. Salisbury, Nicholas Dyer, Wm. Stutely, Peter Airs, Francis Warden, Benj. Phillips' store, — McNeal's sail-loft, — Palfrey's do., Potter's cooper shop, — Davis' blacksmith's do., James Graham's do., Fish Market, — Sowerby's shop, — Read's do., — Harris' do., — Mellen's do., T. Palfrey's sail-loft, widow Braillesford, John Osborn, Obed Cross, Isaac Dafforn. — The lower part of Water-st., Wm. Torrey, Jacob Bucknam, James Beaton, Nicholas Lobden, John Rice, a blacksmith's, carpenter's, and chaise-maker's

shops, Thos. Palfrey, Thos. Hartley, Jr., Edmond Mann, Col. Thwing, James Thwing, widow Noyes, Edmund Quiney, Jr., Thos. Walley, widow Parrott, Benj. Parrott, Mrs. Stevenson, Thos. Read, Thos. Read, Jr., Brackley Read, Robt. Williams, James Tucker, John Fullerton, Capt. Nathaniel Winslow, Joseph Webb, Jr., Barnard & Wheelwright's shop and stores adjoining. — Milk-st., and Battery March, Mr. Hall's and Messrs. Calef's tan-houses, Thomas Barnes, widow Griffin, — Jones, and — Waters, Nathan Foster, Thos. Speakman, Wm. Freeland, Isaac Hawse, Hon. John Osborn, widow Brown, Oliver Wiswall, Caleb Prince, Mary Oliver, Joseph Dowse, Esq., David Burnet, Edward Stone, Andrew Oliver, Jr., Esq., John Powell, Edward Davis, — Masters, Thos. Masters, Benj. Cobb, James Orill, John Pierce, Eben. Cushing, Eben. Cushing, Jr., Jas. Rickford, Joseph Uran, Joseph Putnam, Stephen Fullerton, John Province, Mr. Andrew Gardner, — Finnesey, Andrew Lepair, Samuel Hewes, Increase Blake, Capt. Edward Blake, Benjamin Hallowell, Esq., Daniel Ingerson, sundry shops, Thos. Salter, Peter Bourn, widow Perkins, Nath. Eddy, Joshua Sprigg, Zephaniah Hasset, John Boyce, Jacob Ridgeway, James Moore, — Muggot, Wm. Fullerton, — Hill, John Nowell, Wm. Cox, Isaac Pierce and distil-house, a bake-house, Benj. Frothingham, Edward King, John Giffen, — Bright, Thos. Spear, Capt. Killaran, Isaiah Audebert, Ed. Brattle Oliver, Matthew Salter, Joshua Bowles, James Phillips, Isaac Wendell, John Allen, — Wallis, — Wilson, all the buildings on Col. Wendell's wharf. — King-street, John Stevenson, cor. Mackerel-lane, widow Foster, Simon Eliot, — Peck, glazier, John Green, James Lamb, widow Checkley, John Wheatly, John Jepson, Ben. Jepson, Thos. White, Ezekiah Cole, Goodwin's shop, John Peck's shop, Apthorp and Gardiner's warehouse, John Knight's do., Barthol Cheever's do., where the fire was stopt." It did not extend to any part of the north side of King-street, nor to any part of the westerly side of Cornhill.

* The prefix of "Mr." is to all the names of men in the original list, unless the Christian name was unknown, or the person had some title, as "Capt.," &c. The use of "Mr." had now become very general.

West on the south, inclusive of them. Mrs. Alice Quick kept next north of Mrs. West, where she "sold all sorts of the best kinds of teas."*

At the May session of the General Court an Act was passed "for the better rebuilding that part of the Town which was laid waste by the late fire; and for preventing fire in Boston for the future." In the Preamble to the Act it is said that this "great desolation hath been principally occasioned by the narrowness of the streets, and the houses being built of wood, and covered with shingles." Therefore a committee was appointed to lay out the streets in the burnt district anew, who reported, accompanying their report by a plan, which report and plan were adopted. To settle difficulties which might arise by loss of land to certain owners, three Commissioners were appointed to hear all such causes. They were Samuel Danforth, Samuel Watts and Joseph Williams, Esquires, who with twelve jurors (none of whom to be residents of Boston), constituted a Court. The General Court at the same time enacted, "that no house or other building whatsoever more than seven feet in height shall be erected in Boston, otherwise than of stone or brick, and covered with slate or tiles." The penalty for non-observance of this Act was fifty pounds, which was to go to the poor of the town.

Although the power of the French in Canada was broken with the fall of Quebec, yet the conquest was not complete until the final reduction of Montreal, to which place the French commander-in-chief, Gen. Vaudreuil, had retreated with all the forces he could command. However, that last stronghold was now surrendered to the English, and Sept. 8. "Articles of Capitulation were signed in the Camp before Montreal, September the eighth, by the French and English Commanders, Generals Amherst and Vaudreuil." Major Barré and Capt. Joseph Deane were dispatched with the news for England.

The particulars of that event did not reach Boston until near three months after it occurred, and then it came by way of England.† Yet, that Montreal had fallen was well known throughout the Country in considerably less than one month§ after its occurrence, and a Public Thanksgiving took place on the ninth of October following. Sermons were Oct. 9. preached in the churches, among which may be named one by the Rev. Mr. Foxcroft, "in the Old Church in Boston," which is regarded as of much historical value.

* Her house appears not to have been entirely destroyed, for, she being dead in 1762, Thomas Knight, one of her executors, advertised that "he lived in the same house in Cornhill that Mrs. Quick did, and kept the same shop."

Mrs. Jackson and Son [William] soon after opened another store in Cornhill, "a few doors from the Town House, and opposite Deane [John] Phillip's." She was, I suppose, widow of Mr. Jonathan Jackson, who died in 1736, leaving a large estate.

† This was the afterwards famous Col. Isaac Barré. He had lost an eye by a musket-ball in the battle of Quebec. His arrival in

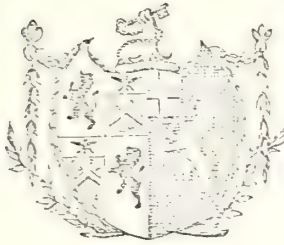
London is thus announced: — "Oct. 4. Major Barré and Capt. Deane arrived Express in the Vengeance frigate from Quebec, in 23 days, with the news of the Surrender of Montreal and the whole of Canada to the British." Capt. Deane had distinguished himself in the naval service in America. He commanded the frigate *Lowestoff* at the taking of Quebec.

‡ "It is but three months since the conquest was completed, and yet the account has been home [to England] and the particulars returned here in so short a time." — *News-Letter* of Dec. 4th, 1760.

§ It was brought here on the 23d of September.

CHAPTER LVI.

Arrival of Gov. Bernard. — Festivity on the Occasion. — Death of the King. — George Third Proclaimed. — Last of New England's Kings. — Funeral of George Second. — Severe Winter. — Fire in Dock Square. — Faneuil Hall burnt. — Lottery for rebuilding it. — Jealousies between the Colonists and the Home Government. — Writs of Assistance. — James Otis. — Parties formed. — Hutchinson Chief Justice. — Indian Deputation. — Whipping and the Pillory. — Foreign Bills of Credit Prohibited. — War with Spain. — A Fast. — Surveyors of Wood and Bark. — Umbrellas. — Fire in Williams' Court. — A Privateer. — Spinning-School reopened. — Prelatical Influence. — Deaths. — Gunpowder Treason Celebration. — Pope Day.



POWNALL.*

FRANCIS BERNARD, Esq., having been appointed Governor of the Colony, arrived in Boston on the third of August. He was received with great parade and ceremony. The Sheriff of Suffolk, Stephen Greenleaf, Esq.,† at the head of a part of the Governor's troop of guards, met him at Wrentham, thence escorted him to Dedham, where Lieut. Gov. Hutchinson, several of the Council, and Brigadier Gen. Isaac Royall, with the rest of the troop of guards, received and accompanied him to his residence at the Province House. The militia were drawn up in the main street, and salutes were fired from all the forts, and the ships in the harbor. The same day the new Governor was treated to an elegant dinner, served up in Faneuil Hall; at which the Lieutenant Governor, the Council, Clergy, and many other gentlemen, were present.‡

* Such were the Arms of Gov. Pownall, as published under his portrait; which portrait (from an engraving by Earle after Cotes) is one of great beauty, in point of artistic and mechanical execution. It has this Inscription: — "Thomas Pownall, Esq., Member of Parliament, late Governor, Captain General and Commander in Chief; and Vice Admiral of His Majesty's Provinces of the Massachusetts Bay and South Carolina, and Lieut. Governor of New Jersey. London. Printed for R. Sayer and J. Bennett, No. 53 Fleet-street, as the Act directs, 5th June, 1777."

Pownall

Edwards' "Treatise concerning Religious Affections." Printed in Boston in 1746. This "Treatise" of the great Metaphysician (belonging to the Author's library) was doubtless a companion to Gov. Pownall during his travels in America, as he appears to have written, at the same time with his name, "Crown Point, 20th of June, 1760." A copy from this book has been preferred, to one from a commission politely furnished me by Mr. W. F. Story; it being much smaller.

Gov. Pownall, son of William Pownall, Esq., was born in 1722, was of North Lynn,

Co. Norfolk, and Everton House in Bedfordshire; m. in 1765, widow Lady Faulkner, dau. of Gen. Churchill, and died at Bath, Eng., in 1805, aged 83, without issue. — See *Gent. Mag.*, vol. LXXV., p. 288, where there is a minute account of his literary labors and public services. The curious antiquary will find an interesting account of the origin of the name Pownall in Burke's *Landed Gentry*, ii. 1063; from which it appears to have been originally Paganell, and was imported into England by a follower of William the Conqueror.

† He was son of the Rev. Daniel Greenleaf. His residence was in what is now Tremont-st., near the site of the Masonic Temple. His adjacent garden extended to West-street. When the Révolution took place, he adhered to the Crown, but did not leave Boston, and lived to the great age of 91, dying in Jan. 1795. — See *Genealogy of Greenleaf Fam.*, by Rev. Jona. Greenleaf, p. 69.

‡ Governor Bernard was of the family of Bernard of Nettleham, in the county of Lincoln. The Governor (Sir Francis Bernard,

Fra Bernard

1769) was the 13th in descent from Godfrey Bernard of Wansford, in the East Riding of the County of York, who flourished there in the time of Henry III. In 1741, he m.

As before remarked, the administration of Governor Pownall, though short, was highly pleasing to the majority of the Province. While here he took great pains to gain information respecting the country, historical, geographical and statistical. After his return to England, he published several able works on the Colonies, which were the result of his acquaintance with them.*

Between seven and eight o'clock in the morning of the 25th Oct. 25. of October, died George the Second. "He was suddenly seized, at his Palace at Kensington, by a violent disorder, when he fell speechless, and, notwithstanding every medical aid, almost immediately expired, in the 77th year of his age, and 34th of his reign." † And Oct. 26. on the following day, about noon, his grandson, George, son of Frederick Lewis, Prince of Wales, was proclaimed King, as George the Third.

The news of the death of the King was not received in Boston till Dec. 25. December the 25th, just two months after that event. Then the ceremony of Proclaiming the new King from the balcony of the Town House took place. The guns were fired at all the forts, and this was followed by a dinner at Fanueil Hall, similar to that lately given in honor of the new Governor. Thus ended the kingly celebrations in Boston; George the Third being the last of the line to be acknowledged here.

On the first of January mourning ceremonies were performed Jan. 1. for the late King. All the bells in the Town were tolled during the day, and minute guns, corresponding in number to the age of his late Majesty, were fired at the Castle. This was the last show of mourning for a King in Boston. The deaths of Kings, when they occur, are now regarded as the deaths of other men; the people of this country

Amelia, dau. of Stephen Offley, Esq., of Norton Hall, Gov. of Derby (by Mary, sister to John Viscount Barrington). Sir Francis died 16th June, 1779, and was succeeded by his second son, Sir John, Bernard; Francis, his eldest, died unmarried in 1770. These sons were both with their father in Boston. John came over in 1760, and Francis in 1762. The Baronetcy is now in the name of Morland. Sir Bernard had ten children. His seventh, William, a Lieutenant in the army, perished in the Canada expedition of 1776.

* The accompanying view of Boston was taken by Gov. Pownall, whose point of observation was Castle William, now Fort Independence. His chief work, "The Administration of the Colonies," was published in 1768, and a fifth edition (2 vols. 8vo.) in 1774. During the Revolution he advocated the cause of the Colonies, in and out of Parliament. And in the midst of the war, to reach with his pen those whom he could not reach with his oratory, he issued "A Memorial, most humbly addressed to the Sovereigns of Europe, on the present state of Affairs between the Old and New World." This work, though

the Preface was dated in Paris (25 Jan., 1780), was published by Almon, in London, the same year. In this treatise he declared,—"North America is *de facto* AN INDEPENDENT POWER, which has taken its equal station with other Powers, and must be so *de jure*." His "Map of the Middle British Colonies," accompanied with "A Description," was published in London in 1776, imperial folio; and is to this day a most desirable and valuable work. A copy of it, with MS. additions by Gov. Pownall himself, was recently imported by Mr. Welford, of New York, and sold at auction. Its present fortunate possessor is unknown to me.

In the *News-Letter* of 28 Feb., 1760, appeared the following item of intelligence respecting Mr. Pownall:—"We hear that his Excellency, our Governor, who is appointed Captain General, and Governor in Chief of his Majesty's Province of South Carolina, has received his Majesty's order to go to England; and that the Hon. William Bull, Esq., appointed Lieut. Governor of Carolina, is to administer the Government until his Excellency's arrival in that Province."

† Boyle's *Chronology*, 239.

rationaly concluding, that if a man has performed any acts worthy of remembrance, he will be honorably remembered; while another, who has done nothing for the good and benefit of his fellow-man, though he may have accidentally worn a crown, is entitled to no expression of regard at his demise on that account.

The month of January was intensely cold. The harbor was for about three days nearly filled with ice, and almost closed up. During the
 Jan. 13. extreme cold, a fire broke out about half-past nine o'clock in the evening of the thirteenth of the month. It began in a shop opposite the north side of Faneuil Hall, in Dock Square, destroying an entire row of wooden buildings, from the store occupied by the Hon. Thomas Hubbard, to the Swing Bridge. These shops were the property of the Town, being leased to their occupants, most of whom had their all in them, and hence lost everything. The fire did not extend to the buildings on the north side of the Dock, but it caught Faneuil Hall, which it entirely consumed, saving its brick walls. It then extended to some shops on the south side of the Market, and destroyed a number of them also; the night being so dismally cold that water could be used with but trifling effect, for it congealed as soon as it came in contact with the atmosphere, falling from the engines in particles of ice. The records and papers in Faneuil Hall were said to have been "mostly saved."

Mar. 13. At the Town Meeting on the 13th of March a vote was passed for repairing Faneuil Hall, and the General Court granted a Lottery for raising the necessary funds. The first meeting in it after it was rebuilt was on the 14th of March, 1763. Upon that occasion James Otis, Jr., Esq., delivered an appropriate address.

The jealousy which had existed between the Colonies and the Mother Country increased materially upon the fall of Canada. The French, who had been a bar to the expansion and growth of the former, and occasioned a constant scene of blood upon the frontiers, were no longer to be dreaded. Now, by a very simple calculation, it was as easy for a Briton as a Colonist to see that, at the rate the Colonies had increased, with all their burthens upon them, the day was not very remote when they would far outnumber in population Great Britain itself. Hence a very natural feeling of independence constantly increased. This, of course, was apparent to the officers of the Crown, for a spirit of independence exhibited itself in various ways; but in none touching the Royal interest so much as the opposition to the laws of trade and revenue.

Opposition to the revenue laws was no new thing in Boston in 1761. It had in fact become so serious that the Home Government saw pretty clearly that, without some new regulation, they would soon be of no avail; and hence the origin of the attempt to introduce what was termed Writs of Assistance.*

* These writs authorized the officers of the places, wherever they had reason to believe Customs to enter stores, houses, and any other there were any contraband goods, and to seize



Notwithstanding, the Revenue Officers had for a long time acted under Admiralty writs, and property to a large amount had from time to time been seized, and a portion of the proceeds of such seizures, though accruing to the Province, had never been paid to its Treasurer. A suit had been brought for its recovery, and though advocated on the part of the people by the learning and ability of James Otis, the case was lost; the Court unjustly declaring the proceeding illegal. This decision was exceedingly irritating to the leaders in opposition to the Revenue Laws, some of whom had been large sufferers by their operation.

At the same time the officers of the Crown had been charged, and no doubt with some truth, with appropriating to their own use moneys belonging to the Province, arising from the forfeitures to which allusion has just been made. This charge was embodied in a petition to the General Court, signed by above fifty of the principal merchants of the Town; and though men of great influence, many of them, yet that influence was not sufficient to reach, at this period, the officers of Government with the effect desired.

A crisis was fast forming when the people were to become one party, and the officers under the Crown and their immediate friends another. Leaders of the former had already begun to distinguish themselves, and hence became necessarily arrayed against certain Government measures. James Otis, eldest son of Col. James Otis, of Barnstable, was an early advocate of the people. His father was the prominent man for the office of Chief Justice of the Province, whenever a vacancy might occur; but when that time came Colonel Otis was passed over, and the office was given to Lieut. Governor Hutchinson.† This was extremely disliked by all the friends of Otis; and the son, of course, upon whom the slight weighed heavily, cannot be supposed to have been more friendly to Governor Bernard and his advisers than before that occurrence took place.

Meanwhile, the proceeding under Writs of the Colonial Admiralty, for

all such goods. A statute of the 14 Charles II. authorized the Court of Exchequer to issue Writs of Assistance. Another of the 7th and 8th of William III. made it imperative that all necessary aid and assistance should be given to officers of the Customs in the Plantations, to enable them to execute the law.

*The Petition or Memorial was presented to the General Court on the 19th Dec., 1760. As the signers were the principal business men of the Town, their names are here given, as necessary to show the head and front of the opposition to the Crown officials then resident among them:—

“John Avery, Jonathan Williams, Thomas Fitch, John Dennie, John Waldo, Thomas Green, Jr., William Molineaux, John Boylston, John Browne, Benj. Hallowell, Malatiah Bourne, Thomas Gray, Samuel Austin, Joshua Winslow, Ezekiel Goldthwaite, Samuel Dexter, John Greene, John Tudor, Solomon Davis, John Amory, John Gooch, Jonathan Mason,

Peter Boyer, Samuel Grant, Samuel Hughes, Benjamin Austin, George Erving, Joseph Green, Samuel P. Savage, James Perkins, Thomas Boylston, John Rowe, Timothy Newell, Joseph Domett, John Spooner, William Greenleaf, John Welch, Jr., John Scollay, John Baker, William Thompson, Christopher Clarke, John Erving, Jr., John Powell, Nathaniel Holmes, John Barrett, Edward Davis, Fitch Pool, Thomas Greene, Henderson Inches, Daniel Malcom, Thomas Tyler, Jonathan Amory, James Thompson, Samuel Wells, Jr., Samuel Wentworth, Arnold Welles, Jonathan Sayward, James Boutineau.”

†This circumstance, according to Mr. Hutchinson, iii. 88, was the origin of the Revolution. “From so small a spark a great fire seems to have been kindled.” President Adams also says, “Here began the Revolution;” not in the affront to Otis, however, but in the principles he advocated in opposing the measures of an arbitrary Government.

the seizure of contraband goods, was attacked as illegal, arbitrary and oppressive. Therefore, to give these Writs unquestionable authority, application was made to the Superior Court for Writs of Assistance, similar to those issued by the Admiralty in England. The Honorable Stephen Sewall, then Chief Justice, being a greater friend to the liberties of the country than to its oppressors, declined to give such Writs his sanction; "having great doubt," as President John Adams writes, "of the legality and constitutionality" of such Writs. He however ordered that the subject should be argued before the Court in Boston, at the February term, 1761. But before the meeting of the Court in February, Mr. Sewall died, and Mr. Hutchinson was appointed his successor.*

The appointment of Mr. Hutchinson gave great dissatisfaction to the people in general, for several reasons; but the principal one was, his known leaning towards sustaining the Royal prerogative. Add to this, that he was already holding a great number of offices — as Lieutenant Governor, Judge of Probate, and Counsellor. His family were likewise incumbents of several important offices. Andrew Oliver, Secretary of the Province, married his wife's sister, and Peter, brother of Andrew, was one of the Chief Justices.

In the same month that Mr. Hutchinson received the appointment of Chief Justice, came on "the great cause of Writ of Assistance," which was argued before the Court in the Council Chamber, in Boston. James Otis made the argument in opposition to those Writs, which is thus described by one who heard it †: — "He displayed so comprehensive a knowledge of the subject, showed not only the illegality of the Writ, and its insidious and mischievous tendency, but he laid open the views and designs of Great Britain in taxing us; of destroying our Charters and assuming the powers of our Government, legislative, executive and judicial; external and internal, civil and ecclesiastical, temporal and spiritual; and all this was performed with such a profusion of learning, such convincing argument, and such a torrent of sublime and pathetic eloquence, that a great crowd of spectators and auditors went away absolutely electrified."

The next day Mr. Otis was elected a Representative, and re-elected for ten years following.‡ "He governed the Town of Boston and the House of Representatives, notwithstanding a few eccentricities, with a caution, a prudence and sagacity, which astonished his friends and confounded his enemies."

* Mr. Sewall died Sept. 10th, 1760, at the age of 58. He was son of Stephen Sewall, Esq., of Salem, and nephew of Judge Samuel Sewall, and had been Chief Justice eight years. Hutchinson gives him an excellent character. Dr. Mayhew preached his funeral Sermon, an extensive and elegant performance. Mr. Sewall died a bachelor. All agree that he was a man of superior abilities.

† President John Adams. Hutchinson significantly remarks: — "Mr. Otis' zeal in carrying on these causes was deemed as meritori-

ous as if it had sprung from a sincere concern for the liberties of the people." — *Hist. Mass.*, iii. 195. But to deny true patriotism to James Otis is to deny that it ever existed in the world.

‡ The others were Royal Tyler, John Phillips, and Thomas Cushing. They were the same in 1762, and William Whitwell was chosen Overseer of the Poor, in room of Mr. Isaac Walker, deceased; also, Belcher Noyes and Capt. Samuel Doane were chosen Assessors, in room of Mr. Samuel Edwards, deceased, and Mr. Joseph Bradford, who had resigned.

A deputation of Indians from the Five Nations came to Boston, to congratulate the people upon their success against the French; and on the last day of the year they had an audience of the Governor in the Council Chamber. The name of the chief speaker was Hongougsaniyonde, or Thomas King, who was an Oneida. It was said that "he conducted himself with surprising dignity and politeness."

1762. On the eleventh of February, the Hon. Harrison Gray was Feb. 11. chosen Treasurer and Recorder General of the Province; the Hon. Thomas Hubbard, Commissary General, and the Hon. James Russell, Impost Officer. A few days previous, a person was set in the Pillory an hour, whipped twenty stripes, and fined twenty pounds, for counterfeiting dollars, or for having tools for counterfeiting in his possession. The sentence was executed upon him at Charlestown. The Town voted to have the bells of Hollis-street Church, the Old Brick and Old North, rung at five o'clock every morning, except Sundays. A Society for Encouraging Trade had been established, and a meeting was held by its members at the British Coffee House, on the first of February. At this meeting the subject of sending "some representations home concerning their trade" was considered. The Governor signed a Bill "for the effectual preventing the currency of the Bills of Credit of Connecticut, New Hampshire and Rhode Island, within this Province."

Some time in the month of February, the body of Major Gen. Edward Whilmore was brought up to Town from Plymouth, in the schooner Leopard, Thomas Church, master. He was upon his voyage from Louisbourg to Boston, and, putting into Plymouth in stress of weather, upon some occasion went upon deck about midnight, fell overboard and was drowned. He was at the time Governor of Louisbourg, and commander of the twenty-second Regiment of Foot; and, at the second capture of that place, received the keys of the Citadel. He appears to have had no family. His effects were sold by auction at the Royal Exchange, in King-street, on the 24th of March. Thomas Hancock was appointed administrator.* His age was seventy-one.

Apl. 8. On the fifth of April the Castle guns and the Town batteries fired salutes on receiving the news of the reduction of Martinico. Christopher Prince offered ten dollars reward to any body who would catch his negro man, named Caesar, who could read and write, but had run away.†

Apl. 15. The General Court attended in the Old Brick Church, to hear a sermon by Doctor Sewall, occasioned by a Fast for the declaration of war against Spain. General Amherst proposed to the merchants to hire vessels of them for transports.

May 11. At the Town Meeting on the eleventh of May, it was alleged that great frauds were practised in the sale of wood and bark.

* He was probably of the family which had given several Aldermen and a Lord Mayor to London. — See Dale's *Hist. of Harwich*, &c. 71-2, 205-7, 499, &c. His remains were interred in King's Chapel.

† May 24th. — "A parcel of hearty, likely Negroes, imported the last week from Africa, to be sold. Enquire of Capt. Wickham, or Mr. John Avery, at his house near the White Horse," in Newbury-street.

Whereupon it was voted that all such fuel should be surveyed by an officer appointed for that purpose, and the vender to be furnished with a ticket, by which he should sell the article.

Umbrellas were probably introduced about this time, as "Umbrillos" are advertised for sale in the papers of the day.*

June 4. The birthday of the new King was celebrated with the usual noise on such occasions; and the example of the Government officials, as now-a-days, was followed by many, because they knew no better.

June 10. About one o'clock a fire was discovered in the bakehouse of Mr. George Bray, at the upper end of Williams' Court, Cornhill, but it had made such progress at that time that nothing of much account could be saved of the effects of Mr. Bray. It took his dwelling-house, bedding and other furniture, and even his clothing, together with one hundred and fifty barrels of flour; the family barely escaping the flames themselves. It immediately communicated to other houses and barns in that confined vicinity, and great was the apprehension that an immense conflagration could not be avoided. However, from the favorable time of day, the engines of the Town were at once on the spot, also those of Charlestown and Castle William, and, all being in fine condition, the fire was subdued with less damage from its ravages than was at first expected. As it was, however, many families were burnt out, and many new objects of charity were added to the list, already very large, occasioned by the destructive fires during the three past years. Governor Bernard was present during the whole time, encouraging the exertions of the firemen.†

June 24. Towards the close of June, exertions were made to raise men to go against the Spaniards. Captain William Augustus Peck gave out that he was about to sail on a cruise, and invited able men to join him. He commanded the private armed vessel *Tartar*, called a "Billander," mounting fourteen six-pounders, twenty cohorns, and its complement of men was 120. He sailed the following month, and was reported from time to time as having taken several rich prizes.

Aug. 26. News having been received that the Moro Castle, at Havannah, had surrendered after a forty days' siege, occasioned great rejoicing. Some time after, Dr. Sewall preached a sermon on the "Reduction of the Havannah," which was printed.

Sept. 26. Notice was given, on the second of September, that the "Spinning School in the Manufactory House is again opened, where any person who inclines may learn to spin gratis; and to be paid for their spinning after the first three months." At the same time a premium of eighteen pounds, Old Tenor, was offered to the four best spinners.

* Is it possible that, as Hayden, *Dictionary of Dates*, says, umbrellas were not used in London, except in noblemen's houses, in 1778?

† The following list of persons, then living in Williams' Court, were burnt out:—"Mr. George Bray, Mr. John Popkins, Widow Slater, Mrs. Jane Day, Capt. Arthur Noble, Mr. Samuel Holbrook, Mr. Ephraim Copeland, Jr., Mr. Jacob Thayer, Mr. Benj. Loring, Widow Gould, and Mr. John Barker."—*Evening Post*, June 14th. Mrs. Day was noted as a school-teacher. She re-opened her school at Mr. Head's, in Brattle-street, soon after. She taught "embroidery in Gold and Silver," &c.

Several tracts issued this year indicate pretty clearly the growing opposition to Government measures, and especially the Prelacy, so intimately connected with it, which had made fearful strides in the Province within a few years, as it appeared to the descendants of the Puritans. An anonymous tract came out, in favor of the Church of England, calculated to irritate and alarm the fears of those who looked upon that Church as having been intruded upon the Country, both in a spirit of opposition, and a determination to supplant the religion which the founders of the State had established at so much sacrifice. This work was written to show "The real advantages which ministers and people may enjoy, especially in the Colonies, by conforming to the Church of England." The writer prophesied "that the Dissenters in New England were likely to break to pieces in a very little time;" which must have been viewed by such men as Samuel Adams with feelings of much regret, if not with subdued indignation.* James Otis about the same time issued his "Vindication of the House of Representatives."

Among the deaths this year were those of Capt. John Larabee,† the commander of Castle William, and the Rev. Andrew Le Mercier.‡ Also on the 30th of November died Mr. John Draper, a much respected printer, "having just entered his 61st year." § He was a son of Mr. Richard Draper, a merchant of Boston. Several newspapers were published by him, the Laws of the Province, and many other works. At the time of his death he published the *Evening Post*; in the publication of which he was succeeded by his son Richard. He owned and lived in a house which stood at the east corner of the short alley which led to Brattle-street Church. || His paternal ancestor came originally from Banbury, in the County of Oxford. ¶

Nov. 15. The anniversary of the discovery of the "Popish Gunpowder Treason" was celebrated with all the licentiousness which long-continued recurrences of such celebrations are calculated to produce. This important era in the history of England had been observed by the people of New England from its first settlement, but nowhere with such an enthusiasm as in Boston, especially of late years. The day was always sure

* The manner in which John Adams spoke and wrote about the "Established Church" long after, shows something of what the feeling must have been at this period. — See his Letter to Dr. Morse, in Morse's *Hist. American Revolution*, p. 199.

† Capt. Larabee died 12th Feb., 1762, at the age of 76. He had been an old soldier. Capt. Benjamin Larabee, perhaps his father, died at Brunswick, Me., in May, 1748. He was commander of Fort George in 1735, at which time his house was burnt, "which cost him £323 9s. 2d.;" besides great loss of goods. Capt. John Larabee had been in command at the Castle since the death of Capt. Fairweather, in 1712, about 50 years. He had a wife, Elizabeth; son John, born 19th April, 1713; Elizabeth, born 4th Feb., 1715, died 2d May, 1746, aged 29; Sarah, born 12th July, 1719, married

Thomas Edes, of Boston, 1738. He rose from a common soldier, and became distinguished for his merit alone.

‡ See *ante*, p. 489.

§ *Evening Post*, 6th Dec., 1762.

|| Thomas, *Hist. Print.*, i. 328.

¶ His son Richard died in Boston, June 5th, 1774, in his 48th year. His father, also named Richard, was a Deacon of Brattle-street Church. After the death of Mr. John Draper, Richard continued the *News-Letter* till his death, which paper had been published by the family for eighty years. The widow of the last named continued the paper (*The Massachusetts Gazette*, and *Boston Weekly News-Letter*) until the Town was evacuated by the British, with whom she retired to Halifax, thence to England, where she was living long after the war.

to invite all the frolicsome, wayward and turbulent young men as participants; and hence the termination was an extravagant and, sometimes, a riotous affair.

The manner of proceeding on these anniversaries was to form a procession at certain head-quarters, thence to proceed through the streets. At the head of the procession went one with a bell in his hand, which notified the people in their houses that the procession was in motion, and that they were to be called upon to contribute something to carry out the celebration.* Those who did not contribute were in danger of having their windows broken, or of receiving some other injury. The money thus obtained was to defray the expense of a supper provided for the leaders.

An imposing pageant was carried along with the procession. It consisted of a figure, or figures, upon a platform, or stage, mounted upon wheels, and drawn by horses. On the front part of the stage a lantern was elevated some six or eight feet, constructed with transparent paper, upon which were inscriptions suited to the occasion; usually significant of some obnoxious political characters of the day. The Pretender, † on a gibbet, stood next the lantern, and in the centre of the platform stood the Pope, grotesquely attired, exhibiting a corresponding corpulency. In the rear stood a devil, with a superabundance of tail, with a trident in one hand, and a dark lantern in the other. Under the platform were placed boys, or persons of small size, who, with rods which extended up through the figures, caused them to perform certain motions with their heads, — as making them face to the right or left, according to circumstances, or rise up as though to look into chamber windows.

Pope Day originated on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, in 1558. At first the Pope and the Devil were the only pageantry, which were burnt as soon as they had been satisfactorily exhibited. After the detection of the Gunpowder Plot, in 1605, Guy Fawkes figured conspicuously. Hence, in process of time, the pageantry became considerably changed, as it respected its subordinate characters. In this country the conductors of the celebration took such liberties in the production and arrangement of characters as suited their fancies. At what time Boston first produced two celebrations, upon the same day and occasion, does not appear. But there were two about this time, occasioned, no doubt, by the rivalry which had grown up between the inhabitants of the North End

* The bellman chanted a ballad as he proceeded, which, according to Tudor, in his life of Otis, ran thus :

“Don't you remember
The fifth of November,
The Gunpowder treason and Plot?
I see no reason
Why gunpowder treason
Should ever be forgot.
From Rome to Rome
The Pope is come,
Amid ten thousand fears,
With fiery serpents to be seen
At eyes, nose, mouth and ears.
Don't you hear my little bell

Go chink, chink, chink ?
Please give me a little money,
To buy my Pope some drink.”

† The effigy of the Pretender was added after the accession of Queen Anne. An epigram used on the occasion has been preserved :

“Three Strangers blaze amidst a bonfire's revel,
The Pope, and the Pretender, and the Devil;
Three Strangers hate our faith, and faith's defender,
The Devil, and the Pope, and the Pretender;
Three Strangers will be strangers long, we hope,
The Devil, the Pretender, and the Pope;
Thus in three rhymes three Strangers dance the lay,
And he that chooses to dance after 'em may.”

and those of the South End. The two celebrating parties, after having marched about to their content, used to meet in and about Union-street, and then would commence a disgraceful fight for the possession of all the effigies. These fights ended in bloodshed, broken bones, and sometimes broken heads. The victors, if South-Enders, carried the trophies to the Common, and there burnt them. If the North-Enders gained the day, they took the trophies to Copp's Hill, and burnt them there.

These celebrations were kept up till 1774, when the patriot leaders of the Revolution found means to reconcile the North and South Ends, and to unite both in the common cause of the Country. So in November of that year both parties joined in one celebration, which they called the Union Pope, and this was the last Pope Day in Boston.

There were now four Newspapers published regularly, namely, the News-Letter, The Evening Post, The Gazette, and The Advertiser, or Post-Boy.

CHAPTER LXVII.

Fire in Newbury-street. — Sermon in Faneuil Hall. — First Stage between Boston and Portsmouth. — Wilkes and Liberty. — Whig and Tory. — Opposition to Government. — Reasons for it. — Discussions about Taxation. — Anti-Stamp Fire Society. — Crown Officers Churchmen. — East Apthorp. — Jonathan Mayhew. — Great Pamphlet War. — The Participants in it. — Independence no new Principle. — Its Leaders. — James Otis. — Oxenbridge Thacher. — Benjamin Pratt. — Thomas Cushing. — Samuel Cooper. — Charles Chauncy. — Samuel Adams. — John Hancock. — Josiah Quincy, Jr. — Joseph Warren.



BULFINCH.*

^{1763.}
Jan. 16. ABOUT ten of the clock in the forenoon of the 16th of January, a fire broke out in a building in Newbury-street, by which five or six houses were destroyed, and several others considerably damaged. The weather was exceedingly cold, and the snow lay very deep; but the fire, occurring in the daytime, was not so destructive as it probably would otherwise have been.

Mar. 6. On the evening of the sixth of March, the Rev. Mr. Samuel Mather preached a Charity Sermon in Faneuil Hall, for the relief of the poor, which was the first sermon delivered in it after it was rebuilt.

* This engraving of the arms of Bulfinch is from a copy in King's Chapel Inscriptions. — Gules, a chevron Argent, between three garbs Or. Crest — From a wreath on a helmet, a dexter arm, couped below the elbow, grasping a baton, ppr.

The first of the family in Boston was Adino Bulfinch, who settled here in 1681, a merchant. From 1709 to 1708, he was often chosen into town offices. He had four sons, John, Samuel, Adino and Thomas. He left a

valuable estate at his decease. His son John married Jeanette, daughter of John Crawford, whose only child, Elizabeth, married Daniel Boyce. By this last marriage were two daughters, Elizabeth, married to Joseph Coolidge, 1772, and Katharine, who married Joseph Coolidge, 2d April, 1778, died 5th Dec., 1829. Samuel had daughters, Abby and Elizabeth, both of whom died unmarried. Adino, the third son, died unmarried also, about 1746. Thomas was educated a physician in Paris,

April. A Stage began to run regularly from Boston to Portsmouth, in New Hampshire. Owing to the trouble of ferrying the stage and horses over Charles River, they were kept at Charlestown, at the sign of the Three Cranes. Bartholomew Stavers was the undertaker, who had his head-quarters at the sign of the Lighthouse,* at the North End of Boston. His vehicle was called the "Portsmouth Flying Stage-Coach," and was to carry "six persons inside, each person to pay thirteen shillings and sixpence sterling to Portsmouth, and nine shillings to Newbury; to set out every Friday morning, between six and seven o'clock; to put up at inns on the road, where good entertainment and attendance were provided for the passengers in the coach. Returning, to leave Portsmouth every Tuesday morning." Mr. Stavers further added, that "as this was a convenient and genteel way of travelling, and greatly cheaper than hiring carriages or horses, he hoped gentlemen and ladies would encourage the same."

This was the commencement of Stage-Coach travelling between Boston and Portsmouth, and was doubtless viewed with almost as much astonishment by the people as the first train of railroad cars was a few years since. Stage-travelling, thus begun, was continued between the two Capitols until within the memory of the young people of this age.

It is said, by one high in authority, that at this period there did not appear to be any cause of dissatisfaction with the administration of government in Massachusetts Bay, except such as arose from persons who had not, but desired, a place in that government. From these and their friends "the sound of 'Wilkes and Liberty' was heard in Boston, as much as in London, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, and squibs were thrown at the characters of officials, in newspapers and handbills.†

Whig and Tory were new terms in New England, or they had not been in general use previous to this time. "All on a sudden the officers of the Crown, and such as were for keeping up their authority, were

whence he returned to Boston in 1722, and became very eminent in his profession. He married Judith, daughter of John Colman, Esq., a distinguished merchant, often mentioned in this History. Dr. Bulfinch had but two children, Thomas, and Judith married to Dr. Samuel Cooper, of Brattle-street Church, noticed in the present chapter. Thomas was of the profession of his father, having completed his studies in medicine in Edinburgh. He married Susan, second daughter of Charles Apthorp, Esq. They had a number of children, three only of whom arrived at marriageable age. Charles, the only son, was born 8th Aug., 1763, married Hannah, eldest daughter of Mr. John Apthorp, 29th November, 1788. Anna married Geo. Storer, May, 1795. Elizabeth married Joseph Coolidge, 20th Sept., 1796. Mr. Charles Bulfinch graduated H. C., 1781, and, after spending some time

in Europe, returned to Boston in 1786. This was the great architect before mentioned in these pages. He was chairman of the Board of Selectmen twenty-one years, during which official service many of the great improvements in the town, yet to be seen, were executed. Among others, the building of Franklin-street, the State House, City Hall, and General Hospital. After the Capitol of the United States was burnt by the British, in 1814, Mr. Bulfinch was applied to by President Monroe to superintend its reconstruction. He was also employed on other public buildings of the General Government. His wife died in 1841, and he survived her but three years, dying April 15th, 1844.

* Robert Whatley lived at the Lighthouse and Anchor at this time; perhaps the same place.

† Hutchinson.

branded with the name of *Tories*, which was always a term of reproach, while their opposers assumed the name of *Whigs*.”*

The reason of much of the present opposition to the General Government in Boston arose from the difficulties thrown in the way of certain measures advocated by Mr. Otis, “the idol of the people.”

The heavy duties upon molasses and other necessary articles amounted almost to a prohibition of those articles, and this occasioned the proposal of Lord Grenville to substitute a stamp duty; but he condescended to give the Colonies an opportunity of taxing themselves in some other way, if they could think of any they liked better. But it was a shallow device of the Minister, and was no sooner proposed by him than seen through by the people, who could see no difference in the principle, as to whether they paid a certain amount of money, demanded of them, out of one pocket or the other. They very naturally said that if the Mother Country could tax them without their consent, it mattered not whether they paid such tax on one article or a dozen, or none at all. They were not represented in Parliament, and, consequently, there was no one in that body to protest against any measure it should propose, however unjust it might be to them.

Oct. The daily discussion of this subject of taxation in Boston, soon produced a considerable excitement among all classes. In October a number of persons formed themselves into a society, which they called “The Anti-Stamp Fire Society.”† It probably became dormant after the repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766, and was not revived until after the Declaration of Independence; it is supposed it did not survive the war, at least under that name.

The officers serving under the Crown were, from highest to lowest, nearly all Churchmen. Hence it is not at all strange that the Episcopal Church should be looked upon with quite as much suspicion as the Government, part of which it was. The Ministers of that Church, viewing themselves secure under the wing of the Government, may have, from a consciousness that it could protect them, acted in some things injudiciously. An Episcopal Church frowned in the very presence of Harvard College. Here, Mr. East Apthorp, “hot from Oxford,” ‡ this year issued his “Considerations on the Institution and Conduct of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign

* Hutchinson.

† I have not ascertained the names of any of the original members belonging to it. It was revived in November, 1776, and the following names appear signed to their “Rules and Regulations”: Edward Walker, William Bant, Joseph Barrell, Samuel Eliot, Joshua Gardner, Thomas Chase, William Hickling, John Lowel, Herman Brimmer, Samuel Alleyne Otis, Zephion Thayer, Lemuel Cox, Nathaniel Abraham, Thomas Lee, Thomas Hill, John Read, Nathaniel Barrett, John Hunt, tertius, Samuel Eliot, Jr., Edward Gray, John Andrews, James Smithwick, and John Hopkins.

‡ “And still more warmed by holy orders from Episcopal hands, returned to his native country; and soon after arose a splendid edifice, as it was then thought, which everybody immediately concluded was intended for an Episcopal Palace, and in time for a Lambeth. All sensible men knew that this system could not be effected but by act of Parliament; and if Parliament could do this, they could do all things. And what security could Americans have for life, liberty, property, or religion?” — *John Adams*. Mr. Adams is often quoted to show the spirit of the times, not that I always fully subscribe to all he says.

Parts;" in which, by implication, the conductors of that society were accused of misapplying its funds in the cause of the Indians. He also openly avowed that the conversion of the Indians was now the "*sole business*" of the Society; "whereas, in truth," he says, "the Indian conversions are only subordinate to their principal, most excellent and comprehensive object, that of giving all the British subjects on this vast continent the means of public Religion." * This was at once construed to mean nothing short of a design to supplant that religion which the founders of the Colony had established.

But the Bostonians found they had a champion in the ecclesiastical field, inferior to none in that of politics. This was the Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, of the West Church, already brought to notice in this history. Viewing Mr. Apthorp's "*Considerations*" in the nature of a challenge,

he composed and published "*Observations on the Charter and Conduct of the Society,*" † in answer to it, in an incredibly brief period. By an extract from the Apostle Paul to the Galatians, which he inserted as a sort of motto in his title-page, it is pretty easy to judge of the whole tone of his work. "Brethren unawares brought in, who came in privily to spy out our LIBERTIES which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into BONDAGE. To whom we gave place by subjection, no, not for an hour."



JONATHAN MAYHEW. †

This was the commencement of a pamphlet war, "which soon interested all men, spread through America, and in Europe brought

forward the aged Doctor [Samuel] Johnson, and at last [Dr. Thomas Secker] Archbishop of Canterbury. All denominations in America became interested in it, and began to think of the secret, latent principle upon which all encroachments upon them must be founded, the power of Parliament. The nature and extent of the authority of Parliament over the Colonies was discussed everywhere, till it was discovered that it had none at all." §

* *Considerations*, 7, 13. — Mr. Adams says: "Upon the death of Dr. Miller, of Braintree, a satirical irony appeared in a newspaper, the point of which turned upon this abuse of the Society's resources." That "*this jeu d'esprit*" soon produced an explosion," which explosion was Mr. Apthorp's "*Observations.*"

† The whole title to Dr. Mayhew's work is too long to be transcribed. His design was to show that between the "*Charter and Conduct of the Society*" there was a "*Non-conformity, with Remarks on the Mistakes of East Apthorp, M. A., Missionary at Cambridge, in Quoting and Representing the Sense of said Charter, &c.*" As also various incidental Reflections relative to the Church

of England, and the State of Religion in North America, particularly in New England." These "*Considerations*" extended to 176 pages, large octavo; printed by Richard and Samuel Draper, in Newbury-street, Edes & Gill, in Queen-street, and Thomas and John Fleet, at the Heart and Crown in Cornhill, 1763.

‡ Paul Revere engraved a portrait of Doctor Mayhew, which accompanied a volume of the Doctor's sermons. It is the most perfectly awful-looking thing of the kind I have ever seen. The above is a copy of that accompanying Bradford's Life of Mayhew.

§ John Adams, who says: "If any gentleman supposes this controversy to be nothing to



James Otis

One of the most masterly productions, caused by the controversy begun by Mr. Apthorp and the Rev. Dr. Mayhew, was by Samuel Adams, though by some, who had probably never read it, ascribed to Mr. Apthorp. It is, according to the judgment of the late President John Adams, "a model of candor, sagacity, impartiality, and close, correct reasoning."

Thus the agency of certain individuals, men of Boston, is touched upon, in tracing the rise of Independence, clearly showing that it was no new principle or idea; but that it was to be asserted as soon as there was power to maintain it. And hence, as in all times reached by history, great spirits suited to the great occasion were not wanting to meet any emergency. And here, before proceeding to other details, it is proper to take some special notice of several of the great men who took the lead in the stirring events already begun.

The commencement of the career of James Otis has already come under notice. He was now but thirty-eight years of age; an age for ardent and energetic action. He studied law under the direction of Jeremy Gridley, now Attorney General of the Province, one of the first civilians of his time. It was Mr. Gridley, who, by virtue of his office under the Crown, pleaded the cause of Writs of Assistance in opposition to Mr. Otis; a circumstance calculated to arouse the energies of the mind of the latter. Mr. Otis well knew that the Attorney General would come into the cause with abilities with which no other lawyer then in the Province could come; that he had every qualification necessary to ensure a decision in favor of the Government which any man could possess. To overcome these was the task which Mr. Otis had undertaken; and thus were master and pupil set against each other in the cause of Writs of Assistance, which was nothing more nor less than the cause of Independence; the great parties to which were the People on the one side, and the Place-men on the other. For this cause Mr. Otis had ample time to prepare himself; and that he did prepare himself there is this evidence, by one who heard the defence he made, and who has left this account of it.

"Alarm was spread far and wide. Merchants of Salem and Boston applied to Mr. [Benjamin] Pratt, who refused, and to Mr. Otis and Mr. [Oxenbridge] Thacher, who accepted, to defend them against this terrible menacing monster, the Writ of Assistance. Great fees were offered; but Otis, and I believe Thacher, would accept of none. 'In such a cause,' said Otis, 'I despise all fees.' Mr. Gridley argued with his characteristic learning, ingenuity, and dignity, and

the present purpose, he is grossly mistaken. It spread an universal alarm against the authority of Parliament. It excited a general and just apprehension that Bishops, and Dioceses, and Churches, and Priests, and Tythes, were to be imposed on us by Parliament. It was known that neither King, nor Ministry,

nor Archbishops, could appoint Bishops in America without an Act of Parliament; and if Parliament could tax us, they could establish the Church of England, with all its Creeds, Articles, Tests, Ceremonies and Tythes, and prohibit all other Churches as Conventicles and Schism-shops."

said everything that could be said in favor of Cockle's * petition, all depending, however, on the 'If the Parliament of Great Britain is the Sovereign Legislature of all the British Empire.' Mr. Thacher followed him on the other side, and argued with the softness of manners, the ingenuity, the cool reasoning, which were peculiar to his amiable character. But Otis was a flame of fire ! With a promptitude of classical allusions, a depth of research, a rapid summary of historical events and dates, a profusion of legal authorities, a prophetic glare of his eyes into futurity, and a rapid torrent of impetuous eloquence, he hurried away all before him. American Independence was then and there born.† Every man of an immense crowded audience appeared to me to go away, as I did, ready to take up arms against Writs of Assistance.‡

In passing from Mr. Otis, § the next upon the same side may be mentioned Oxenbridge Thacher, his colleague, also before noticed. He belonged to one of the most respectable families in New England ; had been educated for the ministry, a calling in which his immediate ancestors had been distinguished ; but his constitution being slender, and his voice weak, he renounced the Pulpit for the Bar. He was about two years older than Mr. Otis ; was a fine scholar, and had acquired much general literature. Being in his manners affable, modest and unassuming, he was well calculated to gain popular favor ; and his practice had become as large as any one in Boston. Whenever he entered into a subject, it was with his whole strength ; and his physical system being entirely unequal to support the intellectual, he fell an

* James Cockle, the Collector of Salem, who, at the request of Charles Paxton, Surveyor General, of Boston, moved in the Superior Court at Salem for its sanction of Writs of Assistance, as has been before observed. Roger Hale was at this time Collector of Boston.

† After what the reader may have seen in the progress of this History, he will probably decide that this sentence is a little poetical. What can be truly said is, it received an impulse then, and a confidence, hitherto unknown.

‡ The stage on which this primary act in the great drama of the Revolution was performed, was, as before stated, in the Council Chamber of the old Town-house still standing at the head of State-street, one of the few remains of revolutionary scenery in the city. That chamber was in the east end, and is thus described by John Adams : "It was as respectable an apartment, and more so too, in proportion, than the House of Lords or House of Commons in Great Britain, or that in Philadelphia in which the Declaration of Independence was signed in 1776. Near the fire were seated five Judges, with Lieut. Gov. Hutchinson at their head, as Chief Justice ; all in their new fresh robes of scarlet English cloth, in their broad bands and immense judi-

cial wigs. At a long table, all the Barristers of Boston, and its neighboring County of Middlesex, in their gowns, bands, and tye-wigs. They were not seated on ivory chairs, but their dress was more solemn and more pompous than that of the Roman Senate when the Gauls broke in upon them. Two portraits, at more than full-length, of King Charles II. and King James II., in splendid golden frames, were hung up in the most conspicuous side of the apartment. I believe they were by Vandyke, being far superior to those of the King and Queen of France, in the Senate Chamber of Congress. Sure I am there was no painter in England capable of them at that time. They had been sent over, without frames, in Gov. Pownall's time. But, as he was no admirer of Charleses or Jameses, they were stowed away in a garret among rubbish, till Gov. Bernard came, had them cleaned, superbly framed, and placed in the Council for the admiration and imitation of all men."

§ For details respecting the family of Otis, see the *New Eng. Hist. & Gen. Reg.*, vols. II. and V., containing articles by one of its members, Mr. HORATIO N. OTIS, of New York, discovering much patience, diligence and research. The admirable life of Otis by Tudor, should be read by every one.

early martyr to the cause he so ardently espoused. He died of disease of the lungs, in 1765, at the age of forty-five. His death is said to have been much hastened by his great anxiety in public affairs.* Hutchinson said of him, "Thacher was not born a plebeian, but he was determined to die one."

Conspicuous at this time was Benjamin Pratt, one of the greatest lawyers in this or any country. His father was poor, but circumstances gave the son an education at Harvard College, where he graduated in 1737, at the age of twenty-eight, and hence, at this period, was about fifty-three years of age. Being older than Otis or Thacher, he was applied to by both parties to argue the great cause of Writs of Assistance, but he had, through the influence of Governor Pownall, received the appointment of Chief Justice of New York, in 1761, and, therefore, declined a service which would have been agreeable to him under other auspices. He, however, enjoyed his high position but a short time, dying there this year (1763).†

Jan. 5. He has been characterized as the embodiment of "wit, sense, imagination, genius, pathos, reason, prudence, eloquence, learning, science, and immense reading." When Mr. Pratt commenced his judicial services in New York, he was viewed with jealousy by the Judges of that Province, over whom he was placed; but that jealousy soon gave way to admiration of his legal knowledge and acumen. His intellectual sagacity, displayed in a very important cause which had been several years depending, at once secured the wavering in his favor, and silenced all who were disposed to entertain a distrust of his abilities.

Another of the leading men was the Hon. Thomas Cushing. "His good sense and sound judgment, the urbanity of his manners, his universal good character, his numerous friends and connections, and his continual intercourse with all sorts of people, added to his constant attachment to the liberties of his country, gave him great and salutary influence from the beginning in 1760." He was son of the Hon. Thomas Cushing, merchant, of Boston, and his mother was Mary, a daughter of Edward Bromfield, and was, at this time, about thirty-seven years of age.‡

* He was son of the Rev. Oxenbridge Thacher, of Milton, who died October 29, 1772, a. 91; grandson of the Rev. Peter T., of Milton, by Theodora, dau. of the Rev. John Oxenbridge, of the First Church of Boston, who died Dec. 27, 1727, in his 77th year; great-grandson of the Rev. Thomas T., of the Old South Church, who died Oct. 16, 1678, a. 58. The Rev. Thomas T., of the Old South, was son of the Rev. Peter T., a Puritan minister of Salisbury, in England.—*Funeral Sermons, and Prince's Christian History*. The introduction of the name of Oxenbridge is apparent. The Reverend John O., before named, was son of "Daniel O., Doctor in Physic," of Daventry, in Northamptonshire, of whom there is a curious account in *Magna Britannia*, iii. 502. See, also, Sewall's *New Haven*,

&c., 57. Mr. PETER THACHER, of Cleveland, Ohio, is expected to give a history of the Thacher family.

† He was son of Aaron Pratt, born in Boston in 1709, grandson of Phinehas, the old planter of Weymouth, a fac-simile of whose autograph is given at page 41. He was married to a Miss Wells, but left no male posterity. He had been appointed Governor of one of the West India Islands, but had not entered upon the duties of the office.—*MS. letter of Mr. E. F. Pratt, of Boston*, 20 June, 1855.

‡ Mr. James S. Loring, author of the "Hundred Boston Orators," has communicated a good account of the Cushing family to the *New Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, which will be found in vol. viii. of that work.



SAMUEL COOPER.*

Among the ministers of the Town, there was, besides Mr. Mayhew, Doctor Samuel Cooper, to whom the patriots were much indebted for the exertion of his great talents in the common cause. He was about the age of Mr. Cushing, having been born the same year, namely, 1725. He was not only great in the pulpit, but he was remarkable for extensive general acquirements. He well understood the nature and objects for which governments were instituted, and was early attached to the cause of religious liberty, and among the first to assert its importance at this crisis. He was a fine classical scholar before he entered college. In 1754 he wrote a

political tract against the Excise Act, which he entitled *The Crisis*. Doctor Cooper was the son of the Rev. William Cooper, and succeeded him in the ministry of the Brattle-street Society. In the founding of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences he was one of the foremost, and became very intimate with Doctor Franklin, the Adamses, and other leading men, and through them became known and valued in France, and other countries of Europe.

Nor should the name of Chauncy be overlooked in a notice of the ministers who contributed to the cause of the Revolution. Doctor Charles Chauncy was now in the vigor of manhood, being fifty-eight years of age.† He entered Harvard College at the age of twelve years, and received his first degree in 1721, at the age of sixteen. In 1727 he became colleague with Mr. Foxcroft over the First Church, and he lived to see the Independence of the United States, if not their Consolidation. He died in 1787, having just entered upon his eighty-third year. He was one of the good men who did not believe benefits would accrue to the country from the preaching of Mr. Whitefield. Neither did Colman, Sewall, Prince, Cooper, Foxcroft, nor Eliot,

* This portrait is from a copy in the March number of the *Boston Magazine* for 1784, engraved for that work by J. Norman; the same, probably, who printed the first Directory of the Town five years after. The plate in the Magazine is a very rude specimen of copper-plate engraving of that or any other time.

† I have a pedigree of the Chauncy family, in the handwriting of Dr. Chauncy above named, the concluding part of which is as follows: "Isaac, the eldest of the sons of Charles Chauncy, had three children; Elisabeth, now alive in London, the widow of the late Rev. Mr. John Nesbitt, one of the Lecturers at Penner's Hall; Isaac, a linen-draper in Bristol, who died in middle age, leaving two daughters; Charles, who came over into this

country, and settled here [in Boston], a merchant, taking to wife Sarah Walley, eldest daughter of the Hon. John Walley, Esq. From this Charles descended Charles, who was born Jan. 1st, 1704-5, and married to Elisabeth Hirst, May the 9th, 1728, by whom he had the following children: Charles, born 16 May, 1729; Elisabeth, born 12 Nov., 1731, and Sarah, born 22 Sept., 1733. Written by me, their father, this 23d day of March, 1743.

CHARLES CHAUNCY."

Isaac, above named, was the oldest son of Dr. Charles Chauncy, President of H. C., who "arrived at Plymouth from England, a few days before the great Earthquake, which happened Jan. 1st, 1638. There were five others, Isaac, Ichabod, Barnabas, Nathanael, Elnathan and Israel." — *Id.* See p. 393, *ante*.



Samuel adams

Engraved for Drakes History of Boston

although some of them were not unwilling to hear him, and to allow him to speak for himself. But Mr. Chauncy rendered his chief service in the cause of Independence in the learned and able attacks which he made upon Episcopacy as it was at that time practised.

Of Samuel Adams, so conspicuous from this time to the firm establishment of Independence, it is no easy task to speak; of whom it has been said, "He was in the Cabinet of his Country what General Greene was in the field; ever early, ever watchful, and never weary of toil or fatigue, until he saw all was well."* And by another: "If Otis was Martin Luther, Samuel Adams was John Calvin. If Luther was rough, hasty, and loved good cheer, Calvin was cool, abstemious, polished and refined, though more inflexible, uniform and consistent, who was destined to a longer career than those before mentioned, and to act a more conspicuous, and, perhaps, a more important part than any other man."†

Samuel Adams was born in Boston, as appears by his father's family record in his own hand, "The sixteenth day of September, at twelve of the clock at noon, being Sabbath Day, 1722." He was son of Samuel Adams, Esquire, a merchant, by Mary, daughter of Richard and Mary Fifield, also of Boston. At the age of eighteen he graduated with high honors at Harvard College, at which early day he exhibited signs of those political principles which he so successfully maintained in his manhood. When he took his Master's degree, in 1743, he proposed this question for discussion: "Whether it be lawful to resist the Supreme Magistrate, if the Commonwealth cannot be otherwise preserved." He maintained the affirmative with marked ability. He was a political writer as early as the commencement of Governor Shirley's administration; in which he always displayed great ingenuity, wit, and profound argument. The office of Collector of taxes in Boston was in those days one of importance. This he exercised to the satisfaction of the people, though it is said with loss to himself. However that may have been, the people all became acquainted with him, and were ever after his fast friends. On the death of Mr. Oxenbridge Thacher, in 1765, he was elected a Representative, and soon after Clerk of the House; in which house his influence soon became almost unbounded. He was now in the midst of the most stirring events, but he possessed a courage which no danger could shake. The prospect which sent dismay, and struck terror into the hearts of many, he met with undisturbed dignity. For nearly ten years he was a member of that House, and he was the soul which animated it to the most important resolutions; and to him belongs the credit of drafting the able State Papers of that period. No man did so much. Now in the prime of life, he pressed his measures with ardor, yet with prudence. He knew how to bend the minds of others to the great purposes of State.‡

* Niles' *Principles and Acts*, 477.

† John Adams.

‡ Dr. Allen.

No man was dreaded by the officers of the Crown like Samuel Adams. In that day of ministerial corruption, a proposition to silence him by bribery was entertained; but when the proposition had proceeded as far as Governor Hutchinson, he replied that bribes were out of the question with such a man, and that if the authors of the proposition knew him as well as he did, it would not be for a moment thought of. "For," he said, "such is the obstinacy and inflexibility of the man, that he never can be conciliated by any office or gift whatever." Here, then, was one man without a price!

The testimony of Thomas Jefferson respecting the character of Samuel Adams will always be viewed by many with the greatest respect. "I can say," says that shrewd and far-seeing philosopher, "that Mr. Adams was truly a great man; wise in council, fertile in resources, immovable in his purposes; and had, I think, a greater share than any other member of Congress in advising and directing our measures in the northern war.* In debate, although not of fluent elocution, he was so vigorously logical, so clear in his views, abundant in good sense, and master always of his subject, that he commanded the most profound attention whenever he rose in an assembly by which the froth of declamation was heard with sovereign contempt."†

There are many engraved likenesses of Samuel Adams. The earliest is believed to be that upon copper, "done" for the Royal American Magazine by the patriotic Paul Revere, and accompanying the April number, of 1744, of that work.‡ The head is surrounded by devices emblematical of the state of the times. Above it is an angel with wings displayed, sounding a trumpet; below is a scroll, inscribed *MAGNA CHARTA*. On the right, a female stands upon a large volume as a pedestal, which volume is inscribed, *LAWS TO ENSLAVE AMERICA*. In the right hand of the female figure is a rod, on which is elevated the Cap of Liberty, while her left arm rests upon the portrait. In her countenance is discovered an expression of security, and her breast is bared in defiance. On the left is a corresponding figure representing Wisdom, the pedestal of which is the prostrate Pope, with but one arm visible, in the hand of which is grasped a hissing serpent.§

* This was doubtless so considered in England; for in the picture of him published in that country in 1780, hereafter to be described, there appears a map suspended in his apartment, with "Canada" inscribed upon it. And in his left hand is exhibited a document disclosing the words, "Plan of the Reduction of Canada."

† From an extract in that popular work, *The Hundred Boston Orators*, by James S. Loring, p. 12.

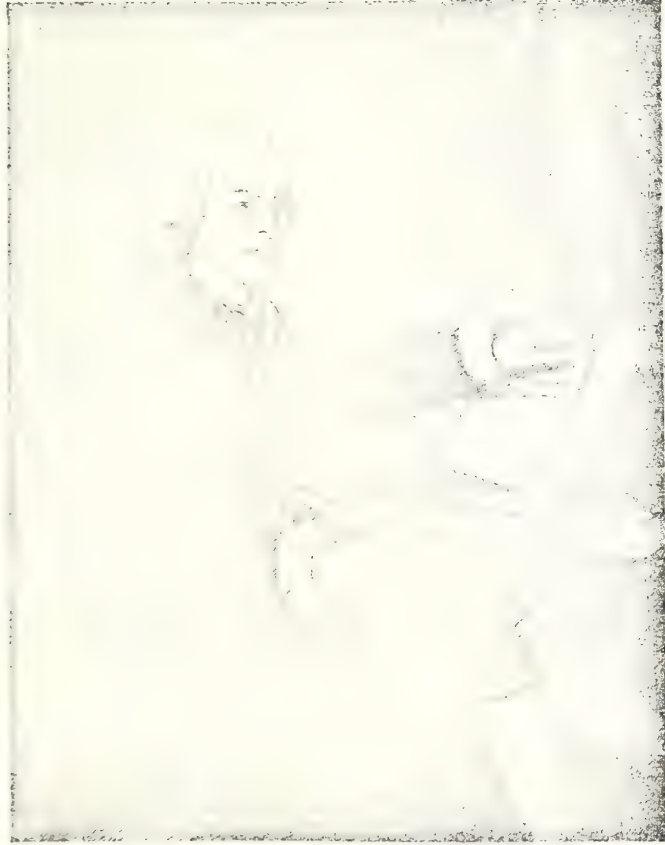
‡ Though this is the best engraving which I remember to have seen by that Artist, it makes but a sorry figure by the side of similar works of art of this age.

The next engraving of a portrait of Mr. Adams that I now recollect is one of full length, sitting, engraved for "An Impartial History of the War in America," and published in

London in 1780. This is a picture of much interest; for, besides being a good engraving, it is a tolerable likeness, which is worthy of remark. How it could have been produced in England at that time is matter for conjecture. The same work contained Hancock, Franklin, Washington, and others, all well done. These were reproduced here, in a reprint of the work by Coverly, with the addition of Warren and others, but they were perfectly shocking as specimens of art.

In the time of Mr. Adams' administration as Governor of Massachusetts, there was a very good mezzotinto portrait of him published, but no name of artist appears upon it. Of the numerous late portraits it is not necessary to add any account.

§ I have been particular in describing this rare portrait, as it is now very difficult to pro-



John Hancock

It is a reproach to the present age that there has not appeared a life of Samuel Adams worthy of him. Unfortunately for his memory, there are no male descendants of his name, and his private papers have not only gone out of the name, but out of New England also.

The most of the conspicuous characters here sketched were from time to time honored by the publishers of almanacs, if the caricature likenesses which they produced can be said to honor them; for that of James Otis, in "Bickerstaff's" Almanac for 1770, could never have been recognized as a likeness. Aware of this, the publishers took care to put his name under it. The same may be said of one of General Warren, in George's, of 1776; nor did Washington and John Wilkes fare any better in "Weatherwise," or Washington and Gates in "Bickerstaff," in 1778.

The numerous portraits of the great Statesman, however well or poorly executed, all represent him as no common man; they discover a majesty and dignity almost without a parallel, exhibiting a nobleness of demeanor, harmoniously blended with that of benignity.*

There are fine paintings of Mr. Adams. That in Faneuil Hall, the noble gift of a noble Bostonian,† is one of the best. Among the thousands who annually visit that renowned edifice, few will probably forget the marked features of Samuel Adams, as exhibited there upon canvas. It has been pronounced by one of the best judges‡ to be Copley's masterpiece. It is from that the copy has been made for this history. The original was presented to the City early in 1842.

John Hancock was five years younger than Mr. Adams.§ He was early secured to the patriot side, and, once having taken that elevated and enviable stand, he ever maintained it without wavering. His great wealth and wide mercantile transactions made his name extensively known before he declared himself in opposition to parliamentary usurpation. Indeed, it was not till a later period than this under consideration, that he came before the people, as one of them, in the great cause now fully commenced. But it was considered proper to introduce him briefly in this connection, but to defer further particulars to a subsequent period.

cure, or even to get a sight of; and as it is an excellent auxiliary in a description of early revolutionary times in Boston.

* The reverend and venerable Dr. JENKS, of this city, recently gave the author some of his recollections of Samuel Adams, whom he knew in his childhood; his demeanor towards children being that of kindness and paternal affection. On a time when, with other children, the future distinguished Divine was playing about his dwelling, the venerable Statesman called him to him, and, patting him upon the head, among other things said to him: "Be good and love learning, and in time you will become a great man." This, the reader may be assured, on no questionable authority, had something to do in directing one to the paths of eminence.

† ADAM W. THAXTER, Esq., who, with no little perseverance, secured it for Faneuil Hall, at a cost of about \$400. It was painted for Gov. Hancock, and when his effects were sold it went into the hands of Samuel A. Wells, Esq., grandson of Mr. Adams. Mr. Thaxter has said, "If he had performed any act to be proud of, it was this." But *this*, though enough to cause his name to be remembered with gratitude by the citizens of Boston, is *not* the only one.

‡ Mr. Howarth.

§ He was son of Rev. John, of Braintree, gr.-son of Rev. John, of Lexington, gr. grandson of Nathl., who was son of Nathl. H., of Cambridge. He was born on the 23d of January, 1737; died Oct. 8th, 1793. For a pedigree of Hancock, prepared by Mr. W. H. Whitmore, see *New Eng. Hist. & Gen. Reg.*, ix., 352.

Josiah Quincy, junior, was still much younger, having been born early in 1744; notice of him will be more properly taken hereafter. But as he was bred in that school of Patriots, many of whom have received a passing glance, it may be but justice to observe, here, that he graduated in 1763, and, being designed for the profession of the law, he pursued his studies under the direction of the learned and able Oxenbridge Thacher; and, as he attended closely upon the courts of the time, noted the arguments of those able barristers, Auchmuty, Gridley, Thacher, Otis, Adams, and others, he was, from the first, imbued with the lofty patriotism of those who advocated the cause of independence; and himself became one of its ablest defenders, as may hereafter appear.*

The conspicuous figure of Gen. Joseph Warren will always rise in the imagination whenever the American Revolution is mentioned, or the pages of its history are opened. Due and deserved honors have been paid to his memory, which will last when the firm granite column, which marks the spot where he yielded up his life's blood in the cause of liberty, shall have given place to other memorials, perhaps in other less sacred causes. He was born in Roxbury, but resided in Boston, where he was a practising physician; and, though at this period he was but twenty-three years of age, he took great interest in political affairs, and became one of the most eminent physicians in the Town. His acts, like his compatriots, are a part of the history of Boston, and will occupy an important place in the sequel.† The same may be said of John Adams, and many others.

Such is a passing glance of some of those leading Patriots who had the boldness and the firmness to stem the torrent of what was then generally believed a power which could not be resisted with even a faint hope of success. And when the immense resources of that power are considered, it is not to be wondered at that many, even stout hearts, quailed at the prospect before them. It was, indeed, literally, the rich against the poor; strength against weakness; while equally true it is, that it was might against right; a fact which the issue has long since established.

* This was the father of the now venerable JOSIAH QUINCY, SENIOR, who, in 1825, published a life of his father worthy of the great patriot, and alike honorable to the son. Had the Memoir been accompanied by a likeness of the former (for we are told that one exists), it would have been a most desirable addition to that able performance.

† An elegant Memorial of Gen. Warren and

his family has been printed by his distinguished nephew, JOHN COLLINS WARREN, M.D., of Boston; which Memoir contains a most beautiful engraving of the General. This work, it is proper to state, was not printed for sale, and the number of copies was very limited. It is to be hoped it will be republished, and in a form for general circulation.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

Cause of Taxing the Colonies. — A Stamp Duty proposed. — Small-Pox. — Inoculation. — Great Numbers fly from the Town. — General Court removed to Concord. — Fire at Harvard College. — Harvard Hall and Library destroyed. — Depressing News from England. — Non-importation Agreement. — Mourning Costume changed. — Habits of Economy adopted. — Power of Parliament questioned. — Colonial Representation in Parliament considered. — Otis' "Rights of the Colonies." — Ellis Callender. — Thomas Hancock. — Numerous Bankruptcies. — The Common. — Small-Pox Hospitals. — Beacon Hill. — Sandemanians. — Geo. Whitefield. — Fire. — General Court meet in Town. — Jealousies in England. — Stamp Act News from there. — Its Effect. — Stamps and Stamp Masters. — Continental Congress. — Fire. — Lightning Rods first used.



ADAMS.*

AFTER the fall of Canada, the Home Government found itself laboring under a great accumulation of debts. Its own immediate subjects had long groaned under excessive taxes, and it was hardly possible to increase them further without the risk of insurrections. The Colonies were represented as prosperous, and they were looked to with anxious eyes by the English Ministers as the only source of relief. They argued that a large part of their present debt arose from defending the Colonies, and it was just and reasonable that the Colonies should contribute to relieve the Mother Country. This was indeed plausible, but it was only a side view of the subject. It should have

* In the *New Eng. Hist. and G. Reg.* for 1853, pages 39—45, is given some account of the Adams family of Boston, originally settled at Braintree, now Quincy. To this family belonged SAMUEL and JOHN ADAMS, two of the most distinguished men of the period now entered upon in this History. By a reference to the work above cited, it will be seen that HENRY ADAMS was the first ancestor in New England of the two patriots here named, and that his ancestry in England is traced up, through sixteen generations, with as much particularity, and consequently with as much certainty, as any pedigrees appear to be, extending over as long a period.

Mr. Burke, in his *Royal Families*, shows the descent of a branch of this family, now represented by EDWARD ADAMS, Esq., of Middleton Hall, Co. of Carmarthen, from EDWARD THE THIRD. We learn, from the same source, that the ancient Arms of this family are still to be seen (as represented in the above engraving) in the upper part of a Gothic window on the south-east side of Tidenham church, near Chepstow, County of Gloucester. These Arms are described: — Argent, on a cross gules, five mullets of five points or, and were those of Lord Ab Adam, whose name appears above the arms (*Johes Ab Adam. 1310*) in Gothic type.

Matthew Adams The family of Matthew Adams (noticed *ante*, p. 634) is probably distinct from that of Braintree; at least, no connection is yet discovered. Since the previous pages of this History were published, my friend, WILLIAM G. BROOKS, Esq., has handed me some extracts made by him from the MS. diary of Josiah Cotton, of Plymouth, which corrects the date of the death of Mr. Adams, and which extracts follow: "Oct. 29th, 1734-5.— We hear that Mrs. Meriel Cotton, youngest daughter to my brother Rowland, is married, or about to be married, to one Mr. Adams, a merchant in Boston; and God render them acceptable one to another, and to y^e people among whom they reside and build up their house. Amen." "Aug. 19th, 1746-7.— Cousin Meriel Adams, a good woman and wife, died at Boston, and left one daughter." "March 2, 1748-9. Mr. Matthew Adams, that married my brother Rowland's daughter, died at Boston."

There will be found in the *New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, vol. x. p. 89, etc., a paper upon the "Descendants of Matthew Adams," in which there are considerable valuable and new materials. There was a Matthew Adams, of Boston, lost at sea in 1768.

been considered at the same time, by those Ministers, that there was no small sum due to the Colonists for the blood and treasure they had spent in conquering a vast extent of country, all of which was added to the British Empire; and they should have entertained the question, "Where were the Colonists to look for their remuneration?" For the Colonies to fight the battles of the Mother Country, and then to be made to pay for it, was the present aspect of things. The people here had done their part in conquering Canada, and this, they very reasonably thought, should exempt them from direct taxation. They had conquered Louisbourg, in 1745, with very small assistance. For this service England made them a partial remuneration. Now it was different. All Canada had been conquered, and the English government spread over it. This government must be supported. The Colonists were willing to pay for their own government, even though not of their own choosing, but to pay for the support of another was, to say the least, of questionable justice. The people were already obliged to support a government forced upon them, daily becoming more and more expensive. New offices were created, and there was, literally, a swarm of place-men pouring in upon them. The present was a great departure from the simple days of the old charter, when those who were to govern were chosen by and from among themselves. This state of things never was, nor could it ever be, agreeable to them, and was only submitted to because it could not be successfully resisted. The numerous office-holders being viewed, therefore, as "spies upon their liberties," it is not strange that whatever could be was kept from the knowledge of the Home Government. Nor is it a matter of wonder that when a census of the Colonies was ordered, it met with opposition from the popular branch of the Legislature. When Governor Bernard brought the subject before them, the true friends of the Country, well knowing that it was for purposes of taxation, directly or indirectly, managed to have it postponed from one session to another for some time; but at length a majority was obtained for the measure.*

1764. The ships which arrived from London, early in May, brought the doings of Parliament relative to the Colonies. They were looked for with interest, and proved to be very important. A committee of the House of Commons reported that, after the twenty-ninth of September of this year, instead of the present duty upon molasses and syrups, one of three pence sterling on the same articles ought to be substituted. The report was long, and related entirely to the "ways and means for raising the supply granted to His Majesty." The committee

* Hutchinson gives a wrong impression respecting this matter, to my apprehension; intimating that the opposition to it arose from a jealousy of something which they could not discover. "Some suspected that it was required for purposes, though they could not

discover them, to the disadvantage of the Province; others, and not a few, seemed to have religious scruples, and compared it to David's numbering the people."—*Hist. Mass. Bay*, iii. 104. This is a direct charge of ignorance by that Historian.

also "Resolved that it was their opinion that, towards further defraying the necessary expenses of defending, protecting and securing these Colonies and Plantations, it may be proper to charge certain Stamp Duties in the said Colonies and Plantations."

Here was created a new cause of alarm. The Duties on some articles were proposed to be reduced, and at the same time, though under another name, they were to be demanded upon others.

The year 1764 was one of great depression to the Town, occasioned by the Small-Pox. As yet there does not appear to have been any proper system adopted for its management, and inoculation had its opponents, singular as that may seem. Early in January,

Jan. 8. Governor Bernard issued a proclamation, forbidding inoculation until the Selectmen should give notice that all means to prevent the spreading of the pestilence were like to prove ineffectual, or till they should give permission for persons to be inoculated. About ten

Jan. 19. days later, the Selectmen advertised that the distemper was 25. in fourteen families;* and a week later, that it was in eleven; that flags were kept suspended from those houses, as a warning to such as were liable to take the infection.

Feb. The small-pox continued to spread, and great alarm prevailed. People were constantly flying from the town in various directions. Many of the merchants and traders removed their goods into the country, opened stores in private houses, and there advertised them for sale.† These persons were probably generally

* "All of which were in Fish-street, near where the first person who had it dwelt: except Mr. Lebrons, by the Rev. Mr. Eliot's meeting-house; Mr. Hall's, in Paddy's Alley, to the northward of Mill-bridge; Mrs. Jarvis's, near the North Battery; Mr. Pease's, at the head of Mr. Gray's ropewalk." The "first person," mentioned above, was Capt. Joseph Bulkley, who died of the small-pox Jan. 21. He arrived from Newfoundland some time previous. His was the only case in town at the time of his death.

† Samuel Blodget fled to Medford, "to a house nigh the south side of the Bridge," with his broadcloths and W. I. goods; Joshua Blanchard, to Watertown Bridge, where he opened his English goods, 7 by 9 and 8 by 10 glass, &c.; William Greenleaf to Watertown, also, to the house of Mr. Saltmarsh. He had English goods and "a few Boston Lottery Tickets." Stephen Deblois, Jr., fled to Dedham, and got into the house of the Old Almanack-maker, Dr. Ames. He had a great assortment, "too numerous to mention," from fowling-pieces to violin-strings, "as cheap as in Boston." Gilbert Deblois did not stop short of Weston, with his large stock of hardware, and had "a commodious shop and store adjoining the house of Mr. Josiah Smith, innholder, on the Great Road to Worcester, at

the sign of the Half Moon, near the Meeting-house." He had "New England rum by the hogshead, barrel, or less quantity, W. I. goods," &c. Thomas Handasyd Peck removed his hats and furs to Roxbury. Ezekiel Lewis, Jr., went to the same town, "at the Upper end, commonly called Spring-street, in the house of Ebenezer Whiting." Besides English goods, Mr. Lewis sold powder and shot, W. I. goods, &c. Theophilus Lillie, with a similar assortment, set down "near Milton Meeting-house." Thomas Knight, who kept at the "Sign of the Three Kings" in Cornhill, said "he had no one in his family to have the small-pox," and would sell his W. I. and English goods where he was. Richard and Samuel Draper, who printed the Mass. Gazette and News-Letter, in Newbury-street, gave notice, on the 1st of March, that "the small-pox was in no house nigh the Printing Office of the printers thereof." Wm. Blair Townsend, at the "Sign of the Three Doves," said, "as no person would have the small-pox in his house, and he should be careful of going where it was," people might come to his shop, "through the Common," without danger. But "Stephen Cleverly & Co." would not risk it, and went to Dedham, and opened their W. I. and English goods close by Samuel Dexter, Esq. Ralph Inman went to Wal-

such as had not had the small-pox. And, on the other hand, persons in the country, who had not had it (who were a great majority), would not venture into town. Hence, business was almost at an end. This state of things lasted about three months. But by the beginning of April there was such general confidence in inoculation, that in the previous five weeks near 4000 persons received it; of which number only about one in a thousand died. People flocked in from New Hampshire, and even from Connecticut, to forestall the small-pox by this practice.

Mar. 10. The Governor issued a Proclamation, proroguing the General Court, which was to have met in Boston on the 28th of March, to meet in Concord on the 18th of April, "there being nothing in prospect for his Majesty's immediate service."

Mar. 12. At the Town-meeting, James Otis was Moderator, and Joshua Henshaw, Joseph Jackson, John Scollay, Benjamin Austin, Samuel Sewall, Nathaniel Thwing, and John Ruddock, were chosen Selectmen. David Jeffries was Town Treasurer.

Mar. 22. The Treasurer of the Province gave notice, on the twenty-second of March, that as it was probable the town would be generally infected in a few days, and it would be hazardous for any persons to come in, he would keep his office at the house of Mr. John Greateon, in Roxbury, innholder, where dues to the Province might be paid.

Jan. 25. A distressing fire occurred at Cambridge on the 25th of January. It was discovered soon after twelve o'clock, in the morning, in what was then called the Old College, or Harvard Hall, which was entirely consumed, together with the Library, and the extensive Philosophical Apparatus. Stoughton and Massachusetts Halls were preserved from the flames with great difficulty, they having been on fire several times. The fire was supposed to have originated under the hearth (which was laid upon timber), as it had been kept up for a week or more for the accommodation of the General Court then sitting there.* Harvard Hall was four stories high, ninety-seven feet in length, forty-two in breadth, and had been built almost one hundred years.†

Although the General Court were burnt out, no notice of it appears in their journals; nor does there appear to have been any interruption in the business of the session,‡ which was continued in the house of Mr. Ebenezer Bradish.

tham, and so did Herman Brimmer. Richard Salter removed to Watertown, and Powers Marriott to Milton, "beyond Milton Bridge, over against Col. Gooch's house." He sold English and India goods. These are all I have space to mention.

* They had been driven from the Town Hall in Boston by the small-pox. The library-

room of the College was occupied by the Governor and Council, and the Representatives had a room below.

† It was erected in 1672. See Mass. Gaz. and News-Letter, 26th Jan., 1764. Mr. Quincy has been minute in his account of this conflagration, in his *Hist. Har. Col.*, ii. 112-13.

‡ There is, indeed, this entry on the 26th

Boston had not emerged from one trouble before another was upon it. Amidst the small-pox distress, frequent advices were received from England, that oppressive taxes and restrictions were laid, or to be laid, on the Colonies; and, worst of all, that some persons, brought up and educated in Boston, were movers of the oppression.* To this effect wrote a gentleman in London to another in New York. Feb. 7. He said "he could write nothing agreeable; that there would soon be sent over a parcel of Marmadonian ravens, who would rip up and feed upon the very vitals of the people; such as officers of stamp duties, appraisers of lands, furniture and other goods; and that the Ministry were determined to make the Colonists pay for the peace which they liked so well."

Such intelligence, with the news of the arrival of several Lieutenants of the Navy,† to command cutters on the coast, whose duty it was to see that the Custom House was not defrauded, was exceedingly alarming, especially to the commercial part of the people.

With these prospects before them, many of the inhabitants of Boston decided upon a non-importation system, and a non-consumption of articles on which heavy duties were laid. It was the practice then, as it is at this day, to dress in black clothes on mourning occasions. It was decided to discontinue such dresses, and the custom of wearing black on those solemn occasions was generally laid aside.‡ An agreement to this effect was drawn up and very generally signed by the inhabitants of the town, also by some members of the Council and Representatives.§ This would affect the sales of English goods, and none were to be purchased but at fixed prices. At the same time another agreement was very extensively signed, to eat no lamb-flesh during the year. This was to increase the sheep in the country, and consequently to encourage the manufacture of woollen goods, which were imported from England in large quantities.

following: — "Whereas, the Files of the General Court, and the Minutes of Council, for the present Session, are consumed by fire, Resolved, That there be allowed and paid out of the publick Treasury all such grants and allowances as shall appear upon the Journal of the House to have been made by them before the 25th instant, and which shall not appear to have been non-concurred by the Board, or refused by the Governor, and for which warrants have not been already issued." — *Journal House Rep.*, 227.

* "What is most unlucky for us is, there is one Mr. Huske, who understands America very well, and has lately got a seat in the House of Commons; but, instead of standing an advocate for his injured country (for he is an American born, and educated in Boston), he has officiously proposed, in the House of Commons, to lay a tax on the Colonies, which will amount to £500,000 per annum, sterling,

which he says they are well able to pay; and he was heard by the House with great joy and attention." — *Letter from London*, 7th Feb. 1764.

† Six of those officers arrived at New York in the *Juno* frigate, on the 29th of March, viz.: Thos. Langham, Thos. Allen, Robt. Dugdale, — Candler, Thos. Hill, and Ralph Dundass.

‡ The only sign made use of was a piece of black crape about the hat, which was in use before, and a piece of the same stuff tied around the arm.

§ The Rhode Islanders came heartily into this arrangement. One of them wrote, at Newport: "As we have always manifested a great attachment to *Boston fashions*, however ridiculous and extravagant, it is to be hoped we shall not show an aversion to such as are decent, reputable, and prudent; but that we shall cheerfully join in the above resolutions."

As yet it was not generally agreed that Parliament had not the right to tax the Colonies ; but it was agreed that if Parliament exercised that power, the people had a right not to use the goods taxed with duties.

Through the teachings of such men as Otis and Adams, the people soon became very strong in the belief that any kind of taxation, without representation, was arbitrary, illegal, and liable to the grossest abuses ; and in England the same doctrine was not seriously denied. A few, indeed, advocates of despotism, had the hardihood to aver that the Colonists had no rights, except what the Crown or Parliament might think proper to grant them. But when the Ministry saw the stand made by the Bostonians, they began to think there would trouble arise in levying taxes, unless the question of representation should be disposed of satisfactorily to the party complaining of the grievance. They therefore were about to propose, or did in fact propose, that the Colonies might send Representatives to Parliament. But before any actual decision was arrived at in England, the leaders in Boston had discovered, and not only discovered but avowed openly, that Parliament had no right to tax the people here at all. Hence, the Mother Country was placed in a truly awkward position. It must give up its pretended right, or attempt to maintain it. Here was a dilemma, out of which a deliverance only by the sword was eventually effected.

Mr. Otis published, early in the year, his "Rights of the British Colonies Vindicated." In that he did not claim an exemption of the Colonies from parliamentary taxation. His language upon the point, however, is somewhat equivocal ; and he laid great stress upon the inseparability of representation and taxation.

However, the idea had pretty extensively taken root, before the end of this year, that the way to make the King's taxes under the name of duties lightly felt was to make little use of the articles on which such duties were laid. Encouraging letters were received in Boston, from people of several other Colonies,* approving of the course they had entered upon. An occasion, though a melancholy one, soon presented itself, when the swarm of Custom House and other officers of the Crown had an opportunity to see that the Non-consumption Agreement lately entered into might amount to something more than they had anticipated. The occasion referred to was the funeral of Mr. Ellis Callender,† which was conducted conformably to that Agreement, "by a great number of respectable inhabitants." The corpse was placed in a very plain coffin, and followed to the grave by a long train of mourners, "without any sort of mourning at all. Mr. Andrew Hall, the chief mourner, appeared in his usual habit, with a crape round his arm, and his wife, who was sister and nearest relation to

* Rhode Island, New York, and Pennsylvania.

† He was a son of the late Rev. Mr. Elisha Callender, of the Baptist Society.

the deceased, with no other token of mourning than a black bonnet, gloves, ribbons, and handkerchief." The funeral was attended "by a large procession of merchants and gentlemen of figure, as a testimony of their approbation of this piece of economy, and as a mark of their esteem for a family who have shown virtue enough to break a custom too long established, and which has proved ruinous to many families in the community."*

This was, perhaps, the first public demonstration of the determination of the people of Boston to carry out the views expressed in the late Agreement. There was a much greater funeral occasion but a little more than a month before this of Mr. Callender's, but the time for a demonstration had not then arrived, or the individual of the occasion did not warrant such an exhibition of opposition to taxation principles.

The individual occasion referred to was the funeral of the Hon. Thomas Hancock, "one of His Majesty's Council." He died of apoplexy on the first day of August, "about three of the clock in the afternoon, having been seized about noon of the same day, just as he was entering the Council Chamber." He was in the sixty-second year of his age, "and was one of the most noted merchants in New England."† He was the first American to found a professorship of any kind in this country.

But the practice of wearing expensive mourning-dresses was soon very generally laid aside. Other funerals, which soon after followed



HANCOCK HOUSE.

* *Gazette and News-Letter.*

† He was buried on the following Monday, August 6th, "with great respect." He was son of the Rev. Mr. John Hancock, of Lexington, and was born there July 13th, 1703; being sent to Boston early in life to learn the business of stationer, etc., which business he left for a more extensive field of mercantile enterprise. "His house was the seat of hos-

languages in Harvard College; £1,000, law-ful money, to the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians; £600 to the Town of Boston towards an Insane Hospital, and £200 to the Society for carrying on the Linen Manufactory. But, "having no issue, he left the bulk of his estate to his nephew, Mr. John Hancock, eldest son of the late Rev. Mr. [John] Hancock, of Braintree."

His wife, as mentioned in a previous note, p. 648, was Lydia Henchman. The once splendid mansion in Beacon-street, yet standing, was built by the Hon. Thomas Hancock,

Thomas Hancock

pitality, where all his numerous acquaintances and strangers of distinction met with an open and elegant reception." He was bountiful to the poor, and what added to such bounties was their being privately made. By his will he gave £1,000 sterling for the founding of a professorship of the Oriental

and which, as my friend N. I. Bowditch informs me, was finished in 1737. He purchased the lot on which it stands in 1735. Our artist, MR. KILBURN, made a drawing on the spot, of which the annexed engraving is an exact copy. How long will modern improvements allow the "Hancock House" to remain?

that of Mr. Callender's, were conducted in the same manner in which his was, in respect to mourning garments. It was now further proposed "to give no other gloves than are of the manufacture of the country, in lieu of white ones, that are seldom drawn on a second time." It was suggested to the glovers that, "it might not be amiss if some peculiar mark of distinction were put upon them, as a bow and arrow, or pine tree,* instead of the usual stitching on the back." And "a great number of the respectable tradesmen of the Town came into a resolution to wear nothing but leather for their working habits for the future, and that to be only of the manufacture of this Government."

The course of the Government, and the determined stand made by the people, had a ruinous effect on the business of Boston and its vicinity, and innumerable bankruptcies were the consequence; a catalogue of the names alone of those who became bankrupts would make a formidable portion of the whole community, embracing names connected with all branches of business, and almost every family; and, for a long period, the newspapers are nearly filled with advertisements of insolvent estates. Debtors, then, to avoid being thrown into loathsome prisons, were compelled to abscond or keep themselves concealed. Women as well as men were obliged to resort to the same humiliating means, the better to enable them to contend with misfortune.

But amidst all the trials to which the people were subjected during this period, the consequence of the Schools of Boston is strikingly observable. Booksellers flourished, newspapers increased, and a Circulating Library of above twelve hundred volumes was established.† The most extensive bookseller of that day in Boston was the proprietor of this Circulating Library. A few months later his advertisement of books, "just imported," covers an entire page of the Massachusetts Gazette, in which he says his stock comprised "above ten thousand volumes," which would be more for the Town then, than a stock of 150,000 is at this time (1855).

May 15. The gentlemen chosen to serve as Representatives in the General Court this year were the same as last year; namely, Royall Tyler, James Otis, Jr., Thomas Cushing, and Oxenbridge Thacher, Esquires. Elaborate Instructions for their government were

* The lofty, majestic, and useful pine was always an object of great regard. Whoever has paused beneath its lofty branches, when swayed by tempests, and in a primitive wildness, as the writer has, will never forget a feeling which no other occasion can produce in the mind.

But what "Robert Hall, gardener," wanted of a great quantity of "pine-tree seeds of different sorts," for which he at this time advertised, is not within the knowledge of the writer. He said he wanted ten pounds of that commodity, "more or less," and would pay a dollar a pound for it, "at his house, the head of Long-lane" (Federal-street).

† John Mein, of the late firm of Mein &

Fleeming, before noticed, was the proprietor. It was opened about the 7th of November, 1765. In his advertisement Mr. Mein says he was influenced to undertake it "by the repeated request of a number of gentlemen, the friends of literature." It was kept at the London Bookstore [late Rivington & Miller's], second door above the British Coffee-House, north side of King-street. Yearly subscribers to pay £1 8s., Quarterly, 10s. 8d., in advance. He had a printed catalogue of his library. He took the side of royalty, and was one of the very few who would not come into the non-importation arrangement, and was advertised by the Liberty party. He came from Scotland, with Mr. Robt. Sandeman, in 1764.

drawn up by a Committee* appointed by the Town. Such Instructions were common, and drawn with much ability. They were entered at length upon the Records. The following passages from those at this time, are a very important part of the History of the Town. They commence by observing to those gentlemen that their election was a strong testimony of the inhabitants to their integrity and capacity; that they expected from them their "power and influence in maintaining the invaluable rights and privileges of the Province, of which this Town was so great a part, as well those rights which were derived to them by the Royal Charter, as those which, being prior to and independent on it, they held essential as free-born subjects of Great Britain." These Instructions continue: "You will endeavor, as far as you shall be able, to preserve that independence in the House of Representatives which characterizes a free people; and the want of which may, in a great measure, prevent the happy effects of a free government. Cultivating, as you shall have opportunity, that harmony and union there, which is ever desirable to good men, when founded in principles of virtue and public spirit; and guarding against any undue weight which may tend to disadjust that critical balance upon which our happy Constitution and the blessings of it do depend. And for this purpose we particularly recommend it to you to use your endeavors to have a law passed, whereby the seats of such gentlemen as shall accept of posts of profit from the Crown, or the Governor, while they are members of the House, shall be vacated, agreeable to an Act of the British Parliament, till their constituents shall have the opportunity of reëlecting them if they please, or returning others in their room. You will have a special regard to the morals of the people, which are the basis of public happiness; and endeavor to have such laws made, if any are still wanting, as shall be best adapted to secure them; and we particularly desire you carefully to look into the laws of Excise, that, if the virtue of the people is endangered by the multiplicity of oaths therein enjoined, or their trade and business is unreasonably impeded or embarrassed thereby, the grievance may be redressed."

Those Instructions further propose that, "as the Province still lies under a very grievous burthen of debt," occasioned by the war with France, frugality should be strongly recommended as one means of lessening the public debt; and that the necessity of continuing garrisons on the eastern frontier should be inquired into, as it was now "a time of profound peace; the French being totally subdued, and there being hardly any remains of the Indian tribes left ever again to give annoyance."† They continue: "Our trade has for a long time labored under great discouragements; and it is with the deepest concern that we see such further difficulties coming upon it as will reduce

* It consisted of Richard Dana, Samuel Adams, John Riddock, Nathaniel Bethune, and Joseph Green, Esquires.

† Governor Bernard was of a different opinion. See his message at Concord, 31 May, of this year.

it to the lowest ebb, if not totally obstruct and ruin it. We cannot help expressing our surprise, that, when so early notice was given by the Agent of the intentions of the Ministry to burthen us with new taxes, so little regard was had to this most interesting matter, that the Court was not even called together to consult about it till the latter end of the year; the consequence of which was that the instructions could not be sent to the Agent, though solicited by him, till the evil had got beyond an easy remedy. We therefore expect that you will use your earliest endeavors in the General Assembly that such methods may be taken as will effectually prevent these proceedings against us."

The Instructions then proceed to show, by close and cogent reasoning, "that such severities will prove detrimental to Great Britain itself. But what still heightens our apprehensions is," they say, "that those unexpected proceedings may be preparatory to new taxations upon us. For, if our trade may be taxed, why not our lands? Why not the produce of our lands, and everything we possess or make use of? This we apprehend annihilates our Charter right to govern and tax ourselves. It strikes at our British privileges, which, as we have never forfeited them, we hold in common with our fellow-subjects, who are natives of Britain. If taxes are laid upon us in any shape, without our having a legal representation where they are made, are we not reduced from the character of free subjects to the miserable state of tributary slaves?"*

These and the other Instructions, given from time to time by the Town to their representatives, embody the grievances, not only of Boston, but of the whole country.

May 15. According to the annual custom, the Town proceeded to fix the salaries of the School-masters. Mr. John Lovel, of the South Grammar School, 120 pounds; Mr. Peleg Wiswall, of the North Grammar School, 100 pounds; Mr. Samuel Holyoke, of the Writing School in Queen-street, eighty; Mr. John Proctor, of the same school, 100; Mr. John Tileston, of the North Writing-School, 100; Abia Holbrook, of the Writing School on the Common, 100; Mr. James Lovel, Usher to the South Grammar School, sixty; Mr. Ephraim Langdon, Usher in the North Grammar School, sixty; and Mr. John Vinal, Usher in the Writing School in the Common, fifty pounds.

The price of committing depredations on the Common was very low; or but a very small reward was offered by the Selectmen for the detection of those who committed them, notwithstanding they say "the Town has suffered considerable damage from persons passing over it with horses and carriages, and breaking down the rails and enclosures." Two dollars was the reward tendered!

May 17. It was complained of, as a great grievance, that people from other towns obtruded themselves into this to be inoculated for

* James Otis uses the same language in his "Rights of the British Colonists Vindicated," before noticed. That work was published on the 23d of July of this year. Hence he probably adopted the language of the Instructions purposely.

the small-pox, when the Selectmen were using all their exertions to clear the Town of the distemper. They therefore ordered the inhabitants to give them notice when any such intruders appeared. They at the same time gave notice that the period for inoculating in the Town was now ended. The physicians * also gave notice that they had removed their inoculating Hospital from Castle William to Noddle's Island, at the mansion-house where Robert Temple, Esq., had lately resided; "which contained elegant rooms, suitable for the reception of persons of the first condition." One of the physicians, Dr. Gelston, to reside constantly on the island, and the others were to attend when desired. Dr. Barnet continued to reside at the hospital at Point Shirley. There were supposed to be "more down with the small-pox, in the natural way, than there has been or will be this season."

On account of the prevalence of the contagion, it was decided not to have any Election Sermon this year,† although a gentleman had been elected to deliver one as usual.‡

Up to this time Beacon Hill had probably suffered very little diminution in height; the people of the Town appear to have looked upon it as among the natural objects to be preserved and transmitted unimpaired to other ages. But there was a certain owner of a small tract of land on the north side of the hill, who, having a right, as he believed, to dig up his ground to any extent he pleased, in prosecution of that right had jeopardized the very existence of this famous eminence. The individual in question was named Thomas Hodson. He was reasoned with by the Selectmen, but they could not succeed in dissuading him from persisting in digging gravel on his lot, to the general damage of the Town, and the particular damage of Beacon Hill. The subject was therefore brought up in Town-meeting, and a Committee was raised to take Thomas Hodson and his digging gravel into consideration. Accordingly, Thomas Hancock, William Phillips, Joseph Sherburne, Joshua Henshaw, and James Otis, Esquires, were appointed to serve as such committee. They accepted the appointment, and a few days after reported that the said Thomas Hodson would dig ground on his lot, and had dug to that extent that the said hill was in very great danger of being destroyed, and that there was no prospect of the Town being able to buy him off. That is to say, he would not sell his land to the Town. That they saw no way to prevent the destruction of Beacon Hill without the interposition of

* They were N. Perkins, M. Whitworth, J. Lloyd, S. Gelston, and J. Warren. There were besides them, practising in Boston, Doctors Kast, Sprague, Lord, Church, Roberts, Jackson, of Portsmouth, N. H., Sylvester Gardiner, Gardner, Barnett, Clark, John and William Perkins, Youngst, Bulfinch, Pecker, Doubt,* Crozier, and Pyncheon. These gentlemen gratuitously inoculated 526 poor of the Town, and 499 were inoculated at the expense of the Town; making in all, 1025.

* Dr. Nyott Doubt. He died on the 11th of June following.

† There appeared this announcement in the Gazette and News-Letter of the 24th of May, relative to this important part of Election services:

"As the election of Counsellors this year is to be at Concord, and the gentleman appointed to preach on that day is obliged to be conversant with persons sick of the small-pox in this Town, we hear, that to prevent all apprehensions of danger, there will be no sermon on that occasion."

‡ The Rev. Andrew Eliot. — *Jour. H. Reps.*, p. 226.

the General Court. It was therefore voted that the Representatives should be instructed to move in the Legislature for an act by which this and similar mischiefs might be prevented. No law, however, appears to have been passed concerning it.

June 6. One of the Representatives of the Town, Royall Tyler, having been elected a Counsellor, Mr. Thomas Gray, merchant, was chosen in his stead.

The Rev. Mr. Whitefield, who had been for some time sojourning in this vicinity, preached a farewell sermon on the fifth of May, in the Old South, being about to depart for the southern colonies.

In the time of the election, on the sixth, a fire occurred near the lower end of Auchmuty's-lane,* but it was confined to a turpentine distillery, which it consumed, but the damage was not great. From the second of April to the seventh of June, the burials, including those who died of the small-pox and other diseases, were 175 whites, and twenty-nine blacks.

July 18. The brig Hannah, Capt. Robert Jarvis, arrived from London, bringing several gentlemen of note. Among them were Benjamin Hallowell, Jr., Esq., who had lately been appointed Controller of His Majesty's Customs for this Port, the Rev. Mr. William Walter, an assistant minister at Trinity Church, and Mr. John Timmins, merchant.†

Aug. 2. The Selectmen gave notice that there were but two cases of the small-pox in Town; "one in a house in Orange-street, and one at a house behind Fort Hill."

The Town having suffered from a disproportionate taxation in respect to the Colony tax, for some time past, had petitioned for an abatement. After much delay the General Court granted the sum of 3,000 pounds in 1763. This was but a part of what was claimed by the Town as justly due, and it was consequently refused. But, subsequently, a vote passed in Town-meeting, "that, considering the distressing circumstances of the inhabitants by means of the small-pox, and the absolute necessity of ready money for the poor and needy, the Town do accept the grant."

The new religious sect, since called Sandemanians, were first known in Boston this year. They took their name from Robert Sandeman, a native of Perth, in Scotland, whose writings had been read with avidity by some of the people here. They accordingly invited him to visit them, which he did, arriving in Town on the eighteenth of October, direct from Glasgow. On the following Sunday he preached to a few followers at Masons' Hall. After this he had regular meetings in a large room in the house of Mr. Edward Foster, in that part of Prince-street called Black Horse lane. His followers becoming more numerous, meetings were held at the Green Dragon Tavern.‡ Soon after, his

* That part of Essex-street between Short and South streets.

† The following ships of war were now lying in the harbor: The Fortune, 14 guns, Capt. Bishop; Cygnet, 18, Leslie; Jamaica, 14, Burden; Magdalene, 8, Capt. Dugdale.

‡ They petitioned for the use of Faneuil Hall, 3 May, 1765, but the petition does not appear to have been granted. Masons' Hall was, I suppose, in the Green Dragon Tavern. The name of this tavern, as elsewhere mentioned, was changed to "The Freemasons' Arms."

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friends built a house to worship in, at the foot of a lane "leading to the Mill Pond, somewhere between the two Baptist meeting-houses." This house was burnt on the fourth of April, 1773, by a fire which originated in the cabinet-shop of Mr. Alexander Edwards, on a Sunday. Several other buildings were at the same time burned. After the destruction of their meeting-house, the Sandemanians met for a time in a School-house; then at Mr. Shippie Townsend's,* in Cross-street, until a new house could be built, which was soon after erected in the rear of Middle-street. Here they held their meetings until about 1823; at which time their numbers were so much diminished that they were discontinued. Their house was soon after occupied as a Primary School. Mr. Walford Butler, who died in Boston in 1829, at the age of eighty-nine, is said to have been the last of the denomination here.

Those who first adhered to Mr. Sandeman in Boston, were, Edward Foster, Alford Butler, and George Ogilvie, or Oglevie, with their families. To these were soon joined, Edward King, Henry Capen, Adam Chizeau, Ebenezer Allen, Barnabas Allen, Hopestill Capen, Benjamin Davies, Isaac Winslow, Colburn Barrell, Walter Barrell, Mr. Peck, Hannah Robinson, Susanna Davies, Mary Cotton, Mary West, Keziah West, Mrs. Stayner, and a few others; and, at a later period, Mr. Joseph Howe, Mr. Samuel Harris and his wife. One of Mr. Sandeman's Deacons was Daniel Humphries, Esq., brother of Col. David Humphries, of the Revolution. He went to Danbury, in Connecticut, and afterwards to Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, where he was District Attorney of the United States, and died there in 1827, aged eighty-eight.

1765. The next year, in the month of June, a meeting-house was erected for Mr. Sandeman at Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, "near the Canoe bridge," and in the following November he preached in that town, "in the audience of some hundreds of people, to the acceptance of many." He died in Danbury, in Connecticut, April the second, 1771, at the age of fifty-three.

Jan. 9. The General Court now assembled in Boston at its former place of meeting, to which it had been prorogued by the Governor on the 24th of November. It had been notified to meet on the twelfth of December, but that notification was countermanded, and the assembling was postponed to the present time, because, as Mr. Bernard says in his Proclamation, there was nothing in prospect for His Majesty's immediate service requiring an earlier meeting.

The spring arrivals from England furnished new proofs of an increasing jealousy on the part of the Mother Country in respect to the growing prosperity of these Colonies. Since the addition of the French

* He was a block-maker, and his shop was on Barrett's wharf, "two wharves below the Draw-Bridge in Anne street." Dr. David Townsend was his son. The father was known as Deac. Townsend, and was the author of

"Gospel News," 8 vo., 1794, and some other theological works. He died 31 Aug. 1798. He was Deacon of the Universalist Church at the time of his death; perhaps a son of Mr. Elias Townsend, of Boston, block-maker.

possessions to them, their importance was magnified to a great extent, and various projects were talked of relative to their commerce and internal regulations. The managers in that country had found out that the New England people tried to keep what was doing among them in the way of manufactures from their knowledge. In the Government organs, or publications, it was said that "The setting up manufactures in the Colonies was no new complaint; for as early as 1719, Governor Shute informed the Board of Trade that in some parts of Massachusetts the inhabitants then worked up their wool and flax, and made a coarse sort of stuff for their own use. There were also hatters in the maritime towns; they also manufactured the greatest part of their leather; and that six iron furnaces and nineteen forges were set up for making iron." * Governor Belcher, who succeeded Governor Shute in 1731, confirmed the same; and Col. Jeremiah Dunbar, Surveyor General of His Majesty's Woods in North America, in his letter to the same Board, of September, 1730, mentioned "their manufacturing and exporting hats to Spain, Portugal, and the West Indies." Colonel Dunbar further informed the Board of Trade, "that it was with the greatest difficulty they [the Officers of Government] were able to procure true information of the trade and manufactures of New England; that the Assembly of the Massachusetts Bay had the boldness to summon him [Col. Dunbar] before them, and pass a severe censure upon him, for having given evidence at the Bar of the House of Commons with respect to the trade and manufactures of this Province."

For the more ready management of the business of government, the establishment of a Line of Packets was in contemplation, between England and the newly acquired possessions.

As an important item of news from London it was published that the Queen had decided to wear a muff made of fur this winter, and it was not doubted but that all the ladies would follow the example; and that the French ladies would wear feathered muffs, and not fur ones as heretofore, because, by the loss of Canada, the fur market was lost to France.† Whether the ladies of Boston wore fur or feather muffs, or no muffs at all, is not mentioned.

Feb. 12. A remarkable woman died on the twelfth of February, named

Ruth Barnaby; not only remarkable for her great age, but for her usefulness, her retentive memory and physical constitution. She was born at Marblehead, in August, 1644, and hence at her decease was in her 101st year. She practised midwifery forty years in Boston. To avoid the small-pox she had formerly removed from the town, but when it broke out here last spring, being then in her 100th year, she

* It was said about this time, in England, "We hear the North American Colonies endeavor to rival the Mother Country in divers material articles, which will occasion some wholesome regulations shortly to take place. Demands for iron ware, from New England, have sunk this year upwards of £10,000."

This was certainly a lesson to the advocates of taxation, by which they should have profited.

† One might expect to find something respecting the antiquity of muffs in Hayden's Dictionary of Dates, but there is nothing. Their antiquity is doubtless nearly coeval with the origin of the race who use them.

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gave out that she would not remove out of Town again, in consequence of it, but would remain and be inoculated. But this precaution was not taken, and yet she escaped the disease, although it visited the family in which she resided. A few months after she was born, her father removed with his family to New Harbor, in Maine, not far to the eastward of Pemaquid. She resided there until Philip's war, about eleven years, and then returned to Boston, where she continued till her death.

March 22. The world-renowned Stamp Act passed the British Parliament in March, and received the King's assent on the 22d of the same month, but a copy of the Act itself did not reach Boston until several months after.*

April 4. On the fourth of April, the Publishers of one of the Boston papers announced that they had seen the Resolves of the House of Commons respecting a Stamp Duty in the Colonies; fifty-five in number; — "a terrible string of them!" they said. Those which more immediately affected the Printers and Publishers, were, one penny to be laid on every newspaper of one sheet; two shillings for every advertisement inserted therein; two pence for every almanack; every book and pamphlet according to number of sheets; deeds, bonds, &c., were subject to higher duty.

When those resolves were passed, one member remarked "That where the Colonies stand on such high pretensions of independence on the supreme legislative authority of Great Britain, there was no moderating anything;" and among the speakers upon the same occasion, there was not one who did not declare that America ought to be taxed. This information, however, proved to be incorrect, as there were several members who spoke against the measure.†

About the same time Thomas and John Fleet, at the Heart and Crown in Cornhill, issued an edition of Dummer's Defence of the New England charters. Thus was given an invitation, to all who had a mind to read, to look into the rights of parliamentary taxation. Other works were from time to time republished with the same view. A little later an edition of Wood's New England's Prospect was sent forth; and although the original work had nothing in it relative to the political state of these times, some able writer accompanied it with a dissertation



* The Stamp here represented is copied from the London Morning Chronicle of 1775. The impression was usually in deep red or crimson ink, and often from a different engraving. The Stamp Act was reprinted in Boston by Edes & Gill, in Queen-street, 1765, in a

folio pamphlet of 24 pages, a copy of which is now before me. A copy may be seen in Mr. Lossing's *Field Book of the Revolution*.

† Edmund Burke declared that "no more than two or three gentlemen spoke against the Act." That "there was but one division in the whole progress of the Bill, and the minority was but 39 or 40. In the House of Lords," he said, "I do not recollect that there was any debate or division at all." "But amongst the 'two or three speakers' against the Bill was Col. Barré, who, in reply to Mr. Charles Townsend, the most eloquent of its supporters, made an admirable and forcible appeal to the House." Gen. Conway and Alderman Beckford were the other two.—*Britton's Authorship of Junius*, p. 37.



having special reference to them. Nor should mention be omitted of an essay on the Canon and Feudal Law, by John Adams. A work of power and ability.

Unfavorable reports respecting the temper of the people of Boston were often circulated in London. These, getting into the gazettes, came back to Boston, and were again published. "Indeed," says a London paper of the sixth of May, "at present all America seems to be in a violent agitation; they sing, up and down the streets of Boston, the downfall of Old England, and the rise of New." And a gentleman in London wrote to a friend in Boston, under date of the eleventh of June, saying, "We have been making an addition to your troubles by levying very heavy duties upon you, and if these are tamely borne, you may yet have a few more."

News had been received at Boston, in July, that a large quantity of stamped paper had been shipped for America, and on the fifth of August was published for the first time in the *Massachusetts Gazette & News-Letter*, a list of persons who had been appointed to distribute Stamps in the various Colonies. Among them was Andrew Oliver for Massachusetts. Rather than submit to this tax upon paper, several newspapers in the other Colonies had been suspended by their Proprietors.* A vessel having stamps on board arrived in Boston harbor in September.

Aug. Soon after, another letter from London announced that "Lord Bute and all that party were totally routed, to the joy of all the people there." †

June. At the June session of the General Court, the House of Representatives issued a Circular to the other Colonies, purporting that they had unanimously agreed to propose a meeting of Delegates from each of them, to meet in New York on the first Tuesday in October; there "to consult together on the present circumstances of the Colonies," and inviting those Colonies to send Delegates for the objects proposed. This was the origin of the "Continental Congress." The General Court soon after appointed, as its Delegates, the Hon. James Otis, Jr., Gen. Timothy Ruggles, and Col. Oliver Partridge, and one hundred and ten pounds sterling was voted to each, "to defray the expenses of their journey to New York." It may at this day be looked upon as extraordinary that the Council should concur in this appropriation, and still more extraordinary that it was approved by the Governor; but such are the facts.

* In the *Gazette and News-Letter*, of 26 April, 1765, there is this paragraph:—"It is said that the prospect of the Stamp Act has put a stop to three Gazettes already on this Continent, viz.: Virginia, Providence, and one of the New York." It is also said, "The Maryland Gazette is in a very ill state, occasioned by a violent cruel kick, and it is thought cannot possibly survive the month of October

next." It was then expected that in October the Stamp Act would go into effect.

† In an extract from a London paper, published here on the 16th of August, is this passage:—"A coffin of exquisite workmanship was preparing for the interment of a young gentleman called the Stamp Act, who, it is said, expired soon after Lord B——e [Bute] went to Scotland."

May 14. In Town-meeting, on the 14th of May, a report was made by a Committee appointed in March preceeding, to inquire "by what terms or tenure the mill-owners hold the Mill-pond Mills." They stated that on the 31st of July, 1643, there was granted to Henry Simons, George Burden, John Button, John Hill, and their partners, all the cove on the north-west side of the causeway leading towards Charlestown, with all the Saltmarsh bordering thereupon, not formerly granted, on these conditions : that, within three years they erect thereon one or more corn-mills, "and maintain the same forever." Also, make a gate ten feet wide to open with the flood for the passage of boats into the cove, &c. This gate was also to be "maintained forever." Four years after a committee took possession of the premises, as having reverted to the Town.

June 4. On Tuesday evening of the fourth of June, died the Hon. Thomas Lechmere, at an advanced age. He was for many years Surveyor General of His Majesty's Customs for the Northern District of America. The then late Lord Lechmere was his brother. His wife Ann died in 1746. The Point bearing the name Lechmere received its name from this family.

Aug. 17. The Rev. Timothy Cutler, D. D., Rector of Christ Church, died on Saturday morning, the seventeenth of August, at the age of eighty-two, after a long confinement. The Rev. Mr. Caner, of King's Chapel, preached a Sermon at his funeral, after which the remains were deposited under the Church.*

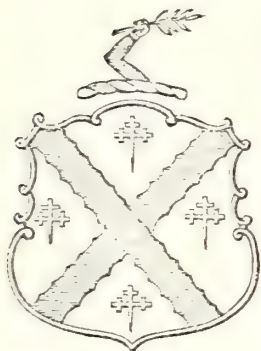
Aug. 21. On the morning of the 21st of August a fire broke out in one of six work-shops making the corner between Quaker-lane and Water-street, when the whole six were at once in flames, but by the extraordinary exertions of the inhabitants the fire was confined to these shops, and the upper part of them only was destroyed. They were all in one large structure.

At this fire an engine of home manufacture was made trial of, and "was found to perform extremely well." It was made by Mr. David Wheeler, a blacksmith, in Newbury-street. At the same time notice was given that there was now an opportunity for those disposed to encourage native artists ; that Mr. Wheeler would manufacture engines "as good as any imported ;" and the same artisan proposed "to make and fix iron rods with points, upon houses or any other eminences, for prevention from the effects of lightning." This was doubtless about the time of the first introduction of lightning-rods into Boston.

* There is extant a fine mezzotinto likeness of Dr. Cutler. Boston, by "P. Pelham, pinx ; et fecit. 1750." It was published and sold in A copy is in the author's collection.

CHAPTER LXIX.

Stamp-Act Riots. — Their Cause. — Evasion of Revenue Laws. — Ilms of Hanover Square. — The Great Tree. — Effigies upon it. — Burnt at Fort Hill. — Stamp Office demolished. — Andrew Oliver's House attacked. — Union Club. — Oliver's Resignation. — Jared Ingersol. — Proclamation. — Reward for Rioters. — Rioters encouraged. — Destroy Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson's House. — His Narrative of the Affair. — Dr. Mayhew. — William Storey's House attacked. — Benj. Halliwell's. — Town-meeting. — The Rioters denounced. — Another Proclamation. — Case of Mackintosh. — Prisoners set at Liberty. — George Masservey. — News of a Change of Ministry. — Rejoicings. — The Great Tree decorated and inscribed "Liberty Tree." — Lord Gordon. — Col. Barré. — General Conway. — Riots out of Massachusetts. — Arrival of Stamps. — None to receive them. — A General Court convened. — Death of Joseph Green.



OTIS.*

Aug. 14. THE serious outbreak of the fourteenth of August served to widen the breach between the inhabitants of the town and the King's officers, beyond anything which had occurred hitherto. Its immediate occasion appears to have been an assurance that there was no escape from the hated Stamp-tax. The Revenue Laws of the Custom-House had been, for a long time, very successfully evaded, but the Stamp-law admitted of no such evasion. Nothing could be done legally, where any kind of a written instrument was required, unless that instrument bore upon it the odious Stamp.

Newspapers could not be issued, the business of the courts could not move, no process was valid, no vessel could go to sea, no person could be married, no debts could be collected. This Act was made, it may be, to punish the people for their former evasions of the Revenue Law, as well as effectually to ensure its observance for the future.

The Revenue Laws, as is well known, were regarded as the most unjust aggressions upon the liberties of the people upon whom they were made to bear; and, hence, to elude their operation was consid-

* A full and interesting account of the family of Otis will be found in the *New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, vol. ii. 281, &c., vol. iv. 163, &c., and vol. v. pp. 177—223, collected with persevering industry by HORATIO N. OTIS, Esq., of New York. Of the great patriot of the name, the Hon. JAMES OTIS, there is an excellent Life by the late William Tudor, which deserves a new edition, with the additions and corrections which can be easily made by a skilful hand, from the great store-houses of materials now accessible.

The first of the name of Otis in this country was John, who settled in Hingham, 1635, and

had, by wife Margaret, John, married to Mary Jacob. They had also a son John, who married (for his second wife) Mary Bacon, and had issue, among others, James, who married Mary Alleyne. These were the parents of the great patriot, the Hon. James Otis, whose wife was Ruth Cunningham, of Boston. He was the eldest of thirteen children. The tenth child was named Samuel Alleyne, who married, 1st, Elizabeth, only daughter of the Hon. Harrison Gray; and, 2d, Mary, widow of Edward Gray, and daughter of Isaac Smith. The late Hon. Harrison Gray Otis, third mayor of Boston, was the first child by the first marriage.

cred, if not just and proper in every sense, quite justifiable under the circumstances. Now the case was different; no chance being left for evasion.

The sky had hitherto been partially obscured, but now all was total darkness. This state of things produced the scenes of the fourteenth of August, before alluded to, which are, in the next place, to be related.

As localities are of the utmost importance in describing any transaction, it is necessary to observe that, at the junction of Essex and Newbury streets* (now Essex and Washington), there stood a number of majestic elms. This place was sometimes called Hanover Square. On one of these elms, usually called the Great Tree, which stood close to the street, were discovered, very early on Wednesday morning, suspended from a branch, "two effigies; one of which, by the labels, appeared to be designed to represent a Stamp Officer; the other a Jack Boot, with a head and horns peeping out of the top; said by some of the Printers to be the Devil or his Imp; but, as we are not acquainted with that species of gentlemen, we cannot so well determine whether it was an exact resemblance or not." This is the account published, eight days after the occurrence, in the News-Letter, a print which took sides with the people, and which, for apparent reasons, is here extracted. The News-Letter proceeds: "The report of these images soon spread through the Town, brought a vast number of spectators,† and had such an effect on them, that they were immediately inspired with a spirit of patriotism, which diffused itself through the whole concourse. So much were they affected with a sense of liberty, that scarce any could attend to the task of day-labor, but all seemed on the wing for freedom. About dusk the images were taken down, placed on a bier, supported in procession by six men, followed by a great concourse of people, some of the highest reputation, and in the greatest order, echoing forth 'Liberty and Property! No Stamps!' &c. Having passed through the Town-house, they proceeded with their pageantry down King-street, and, it is said, intended for the north part of the town. But orders being given, they turned their course through Kilby-street, where an edifice had lately been erected, which was supposed to be designed for a Stamp-office.‡ Here they halted, and went to work to demolish that building, which they soon effected without receiving any hurt, except one of the spectators, who happened to be rather too high the brick wall when it fell. This being finished,

* The reader is reminded that Orange-street terminated at what is now Boylston-street. This was its northern termination. The elms made the corner of Orange, Newbury, and Essex streets. The *Saxon of the Old School* errs in saying "Auchmuty's-lane, now Essex-street." That part of Essex-street was never, I think, called Auchmuty's-lane. Essex-st. had been so called nearly sixty years, having received that name as early as 1708.

† Not only the inhabitants of the town collected in great numbers to view them, but the people came in from the country in vast numbers; so that when the procession moved from the place there were several thousand persons in it.

‡ Gordon says it was not so designed. Hutchinson does not say as much, but that "it was conjectured" to have been erected for that purpose.

many of them loaded themselves with wooden trophies, and proceeded, bearing the two effigies, to the top of Fort Hill, where a fire was soon kindled, in which one of them was burnt; we can't learn whether they committed the other to the flames, or, if they did, whether it did not survive the conflagration; being, it is said, like the salamander, conversant in that element.

"The populace after this went to work on the barn, fence, garden, and dwelling-house, of the gentleman [the Hon. Andrew Oliver] against whom their resentment was chiefly levelled, and which were contiguous to said hill. And here, entering the house, they bravely showed their loyalty, courage, and zeal, to defend the rights and liberties of Englishmen. Here, it is said by some good men that were present, they established their Society by the name of the Union Club. Their business being finished, they retired and proceeded to the Province-house, which was about eleven o'clock, gave three huzzas, and all went quietly home.

"The next day the Honorable Gentleman who had been appointed to the duty of Distributor of the Stamps when they should arrive, supposing himself to be the object of their derision, informed the principal gentlemen of the Town that, as it appeared so disagreeable to the people, he should request the liberty of being excused from that office; and in the evening the populace reassembled, erected a pyramid, intending a second bonfire; but, upon hearing of the resignation, they desisted, and repaired to the gentleman's gate, gave three cheers, and took their departure without damage.

"But having heard it propagated that an Honorable Gentleman [Lieut. Gov. Hutchinson] at the North part of the Town, had been accessary in laying on the Stamp-duties, &c., they repaired to his house, where, upon being informed, by some gentlemen of integrity and reputation, that he had not only spoke but wrote to the contrary, they retired, and, having patrolled the streets, returned to their respective habitations as quietly as they had done the night before."

That the leaning of the writer of the above might not be mistaken, he closed by a memorable saying of Lord Burleigh, much in use in those days, — "England can never be undone but by a Parliament." Thus the mob was encouraged, and, as by the sequel it will appear, a very partial account was given of what had taken place. The course taken by the papers under the control of the Government had some effect in producing the above, for the News-Letter had been jeered by them because it had not come out with early denunciations of the proceedings of the mob. That occasioned it to introduce the account above given, with a sort of apology, or defence, in which, it is said, "It was out of our power to give a perfect account before, as the transactions were not finished, and a partial one would have drawn down the resentment of many of the true Sons of Liberty." It was then remarked that the News-Letter was a tool to no one, and hence it

labored under a disadvantage about getting correct information, while pens enough stood ready to assist on the other side.

The immediate cause of the proceedings now under consideration is attributed by Mr. Hutchinson to the arrival of Jared Ingersoll, Esq., from London, and the attentions shown him by Mr. Oliver; the former having been appointed Stamp Officer for Connecticut. His arrival was only a few days before the fourteenth, and, when he left Boston, Mr. Oliver accompanied him out of the Town. This exhibition of brotherhood between the "brothers in iniquity," as some expressed it, called forth audible murmurings among the people, and the Boston Gazette contained an article which was pronounced inflammatory by the Government party. It is also said that the news of the "Virginia Resolves" * had not only encouraged the people to resist the Stamp Law, but that they had "highly inflamed them." However, it was on the morning of the following day that the effigies or images were discovered upon the Great Tree, as has been described.

The persons who prepared and suspended these effigies, "upon the limb of a large old elm, toward the entrance of Boston," were John Avery, Jr., Thomas Crafts, John Smith, Henry Wells, Thomas Chase, Stephen Cleverly, Henry Bass, and Benjamin Edes. The figure representing a Stamp Officer, even without the label appended to it, was at once recognized as intended for Mr. Oliver.

The Sheriff, Stephen Greenleaf, Esq., with his Deputy, Mr. Benjamin Cudworth, was early on the spot, "but, by advice of some of the graver persons present, forbore any attempt to remove the Image." The Governor had already convened the Council, but the majority of that body, on hearing the report of the Sheriff, "advised not to meddle with the Image;" arguing that the people were orderly, and, if left alone, would take it down and bury it without any disturbance; while an attempt to remove it might bring on a riot, the very mischief sought to be prevented. This was in the forenoon of the fourteenth. The Governor convened the Council again in the afternoon, who were in session in the Town-House when the effigies were carried through it, as mentioned in the News-Letter account above extracted. It is likewise mentioned that the pageant was preceded "by forty or fifty tradesmen, decently dressed." †

On the day following the riot, Governor Bernard issued a Proclamation, offering 100 pounds reward to be paid "upon

* These were the first Acts of any Assemblies against the authority of the Act of Parliament. They were expressed in such terms, that many people, "upon the first surprise, pronounced them treasonable; particularly, Mr. Otis, in the hearing of many persons in King-street."—Hutchinson, iii. 119. This, as it respects James Otis, may be very true. It is also very true that all such opposition partook of the nature of treason; and but for

treason there would have been no Revolution; and but for a Revolution there would have been no Independence; however unjust may have been the requirements of Government, they do not, in a *legal* point of view, affect the nature of the offence. If the People possess the power to *rebel* successfully, rebellion is at once dignified with the name of REVOLUTION.

† Hutchinson. — The reason for destroying Mr. Story's house, it is said, was, "because he



the conviction" of any person concerned therein.* But the current of public sentiment was already too strong to be turned by, or even to heed Proclamations, as will presently be seen.

Notwithstanding many persons were much distressed at the wanton destruction of the property of an estimable fellow-townsmen and gentleman, and viewed the ruins with the sincerest and deepest regret, yet "their prejudices were not abated against the Stamp Act."

This aspect of affairs brought Mr. Oliver "to a sudden resolution to resign his office before another night, and he immediately signified, by a writing under his hand,† to one of his friends, that he would send letters, by a ship then ready to sail for London, which should contain such resignation; and he desired that the Town might be made acquainted with it, and with the strong assurances he had given, that he would never act in that capacity." This is Mr. Hutchinson's statement of the case of his friend and relative.

did something amiss in the Office he sustained in the Customs, relating to some gentlemen's characters in this Town:" and Mr. Hallowell, "they say, had given out he would not value taking the post of Stamp Master."—*Copy of a Letter from Joshua Henshaw, Jr., then in Boston, to David Henshaw of Leicester, dated 28 Aug., 1765.* The original was recently in possession of Mr. T. J. WHITMORE of Cambridge.

* As Gov. Hutchinson does not give the Proclamation in his Appendix, it is thought it would be proper to add it in a note here.

"By His Excellency FRANCIS BERNARD, ESQ., Captain-General, &c. A PROCLAMATION.

"WHEREAS, yesterday, towards evening, a great number of people unlawfully and riotously assembled themselves together, in the town of Boston, armed with clubs, staves, &c., and, with great noise and tumult, pulled down a new erected building, belonging to the Secretary of the Province, and, having so done, surrounded his dwelling-house, pulled down part of his fences, broke his windows; at length with force and violence entered the house and damaged and destroyed his furniture, and continued thus unlawfully assembled until midnight, and committed divers other outrages and enormities, to the great terror of his Majesty's loyal Subjects. I have therefore thought fit, with the advice of his Majesty's Council, to issue this Proclamation; requiring all Justices of Peace, and all Officers, civil and military, to use their utmost endeavors for discovering, apprehending and bringing to justice and delivery of the persons concerned in the unlawful assembly aforesaid. And I do hereby promise, that whosoever shall discover and detect any of the persons concerned in the outrages aforesaid, so that they or any of them may be lawfully convicted, shall receive out of the Public Treasury of this Province the sum of ONE HUNDRED POUNDS as a re-

ward, to be paid upon the conviction of such offender or offenders: And any person concerned therein, over and above the reward aforesaid, upon discovery of any of his accomplices as aforesaid, shall receive his Majesty's free and gracious pardon.

"GIVEN at the Council Chamber in Boston, the 15th day of August, 1765, &c. &c.

"FRA. BERNARD.

"By His Excellency's Command,

"Jno. Cotton, Dep. Secr.

"GOD Save the KING."

† On the 26th of August following, Mr. Oliver wrote to his friend Ingersoll: "Sir, the newspapers will sufficiently inform you of the abuse I have met with; I am therefore only to acquaint you, in short, that after having stood the attack for 36 hours, a single man against a whole people, the Government not being able to afford me any help during that whole time, I was persuaded to yield in order to prevent what was coming on the second night; and, as I happened to give out in writing the terms of capitulation, I send you a copy of them; assuring you, at the same time, that this only was what was given out by my leave. I should be glad to hear from you, and am,

"Sr. Yor. most humble Servant,

"ANDW. OLIVER."

[At the foot of the letter follows the Capitulation.]

"Mr. Oliver acquaints Mr. Waterhouse that he has wrote to the Lords of the Treasury to desire to be excused from executing the office of Distributor of the Stamps, and that, when they arrive, he shall only take proper care to secure them for the Crown, but will take no one step for distributing the same, at the time appointed by the Act. And he may inform his friends accordingly. Thursday afternoon, 15 August."—*From a copy of the original, in possession of Dr. F. E. OLIVER, of Boston.*

The determination of the Distributor being made known to the people, they were highly elated at their success, and looked upon it as, what in fact it was, a great victory; and it encouraged them to organize more effectually in opposition to the Government. They were so much pleased with Mr. Oliver's resignation, that the same night they assembled on Fort Hill, and kindled a bonfire in honor of the event. And, having been completely victorious, the officers of Government were encouraged to hope that the authors of the disturbance would quietly resume their wonted affairs; but they soon found they had deceived themselves, and that even more serious troubles awaited them.

On the night of the attack on Mr. Oliver's house, Lieut. Governor Hutchinson was in that house, and, as he acknowledges, had "excited the Sheriff and the Colonel of the regiment to suppress the mob." This, of course, it was his duty to do. But duty, on the part of those the people considered as their oppressors, was but a small argument with them for their forbearance to inflict retaliatory injury. Therefore, the Lieut. Governor was next to be called upon to make atonement for his *offences* against the sovereignty of the people. And as no one could give so faithful an account of what befell him as himself, his own relation of the whole transaction will presently be given in his own words.

"A report was soon spread that he * was a favorer of the Stamp Act, and had encouraged it by letters to the Ministry. Whereupon, on the evening of the sixteenth of August, the mob surrounded the house of the Lieutenant Governor and Chief Justice.† Upon notice of the approach of the people, he caused the doors and windows to be barred, and remained in the house. After attempting to enter, they called upon him to come into the balcony, and to declare that he had not written in favor of the Act, and they would retire quite satisfied. This was an indignity to which he would not submit; and therefore he made no answer. An ancient reputable tradesman obtained their attention, and endeavored to persuade them, not only of the unwarrantableness of their proceedings, but of the groundlessness of their suspicions of the Lieut. Governor, who might well enough wish the Act of Parliament had not passed, though he disapproved of the violent opposition to its execution. Some were for withdrawing, and others for continuing; when one of the neighbors called to them from his window, and affirmed that he saw the Lieut. Governor in his carriage, just before night, and that he was gone to lodge at his house in the country.‡ Upon this they dispersed, with only breaking some of the glass."

Meanwhile, Dr. Mayhew preached a sermon in his own Church, from

* The Governor wrote in the third person.

† Mr. Hutchinson, it will be remembered, held both these offices.

‡ Mr. Hutchinson had an elegant country seat in Milton, on the summit of the hill just

beyond the Neponset river, on the main road. The beautiful trees, which shade the avenue leading from the river to that locality, are said to have been planted by Gov. Hutchinson's own hand.

the text, "I would they were even cut off which trouble you." * The Doctor's enemies seized upon this circumstance, and reported that he had preached a sermon which went to encourage the people to resist the Government, and had caused the mob to commit the violence of which they had been guilty. This account of the Sermon was circulated immediately after the enormities of the twenty-sixth, next to be detailed.

As a reason for the proceedings of the mob against him, Governor Hutchinson makes the following declaration: "Certain depositions had been taken, many months before these transactions, by order of the Governor [Bernard], concerning the illicit trade carrying on; and one of them, made by the Judge of the Admiralty, had, at the special desire of the Governor, been sworn to before the Lieutenant Governor, as Chief Justice. They had been shown at one of the Offices in England to a person who arrived in Boston just at this time; and he had acquainted several merchants, whose names were in some of the depositions as smugglers, with the contents. This brought, though without reason, the resentment of the merchants against the persons who, by their office, were obliged to administer the oaths, as well as against the Officers of the Customs and Admiralty, who had made the depositions."

These causes, though they may have more readily occurred to the Lieut. Governor than others, do not seem to be quite sufficient to warrant the conclusion that they were the only ones, or even the chief causes of the troubles. Gordon, who wrote at the time, and was conversant with the stirring men of the period, dates the prime cause much earlier. However, on Monday evening following the decease of Aug. 26. Dr. Mayhew, "about twilight, a small bonfire appeared to be kindled in King-street, and surrounded only by a few boys and children; but one of the Fire Wards, perceiving it to rise to a dangerous height, interposed and used his endeavors to extinguish, or at least to diminish it; in which salutary attempt, after several whispers from a person unknown, warning him of danger, he received a blow and such tokens of insult and outrage as obliged him to desist and take his departure."

* Galatians v. 12, 13. When it came to the knowledge of Mr. Mayhew that he was charged with causing the destruction of Gov. Hutchinson's house, he wrote a letter to that gentleman, in which he said: "God is my witness, that from the bottom of my heart I detest these proceedings; and that I am sincerely grieved for them, and have a deep sympathy with you and your distressed family on this occasion. I did, indeed, express myself strongly in favor of civil and religious liberty, as I hope I shall ever continue to do; and spoke of the Stamp Act as a great grievance, like to prove detrimental, in a high degree, both to the Colonies and the Mother Country; and I have heard your honor speak to the same purpose. But, as my text led me to do, I cautioned my hearers, very particularly, against the abuses of liberty, and expressed the hopes that no persons amongst ourselves had encouraged the bringing of such a burden on their Country, notwithstanding it had been strongly suspected. In truth, sir, I had rather lose my hand than be an encourager of such outrages as were committed last night. I do not think my regard to truth was ever called in question by those that knew me; and, therefore, hope your Honor will be so just as to give entire credit to these solemn declarations."—Gordon's *Hist. Am. Revolution*, i. 178-9. Ed. Lon. 1788.

This is the commencement of the account of what may be denominated the Great Riot, as published in a "Supplement to the Boston News-Letter," printed one week after it happened; and, as Mr. Hutchinson but barely alludes to it, this account is continued from the same source as the transactions preceding the destruction of the house of the Lieutenant Governor, which, as before stated, will be given in his own words.

"Soon after this" (the departure of the Fire Ward), "daylight being scarce in,* the fire gradually decaying, a peculiar whoop and whistle was observed to be sounded from various quarters, which instantaneously drew together a great number of disguised ruffians, armed with clubs, staves, etc. No sooner were they assembled than an attack was made on the dwelling-house of William Story, Esq., opposite the north side of the Court-house; the lower part of which, being his office as Dep. Register of the Court of Vice-Admiralty, was in a few moments laid open. The public files of that Court, Mr. Story's private papers, books of accounts, etc., were exposed to ravage and destruction, and improved as fuel to revive the expiring flames of the bonfire. Little more than half an hour sufficed them here.

"Boisterous and intrepid, from the first object of their rage, they rushed onward, increasing still in numbers and fury, to the new and elegantly-finished building of Benjamin Hallowell, Jr., Esq. [Comptroller of the Customs in Hanover-street],† where, after tearing down the fences, breaking the windows, etc., they at length entered the house, and, in the most savage and destructive manner, broke and abused his furniture, chairs, tables, desk, glasses, china, and, in short, everything they could lay their hands on; at the same time purloining his money,‡ and dispersing his private books and papers, until, by the effect of wine and the other stores of his cellar, they ripened in ebriety and madness, and became fit for the next more desolating and barbarous operation."

* Another account says the mob went first to Mr. Charles Paxton's house (which was in Tilley's-alley, afterwards Hutchinson, now Pearl-street, and stood on the east side of the street, some four doors from Milk, an elegant three-story brick). But Mr. Paxton was only a tenant, and did not own the house, and its real owner, happening to be there, assured them of the fact. He assured them also that Mr. Paxton had gone off, and had carried away most of his valuables; that, as he (the owner of the house) had not done them any harm, he hoped they would not injure his property, and, at the same time, proposed to treat them with a barrel of punch "at the tavern." This offer was immediately accepted. That after the punch was disposed of, the Mob went directly to Mr. Story's. There is no allusion to this prelude to the tragedy in the Governor's Proclamation of Aug. 28th. The

barrel of punch probably prepared the way for the other mischiefs.

† After the numbering of buildings was adopted, that occupying the site of Mr. Hallowell's was No. 47. The Hon. John Coffin Jones afterwards lived on the same spot. Here stood his mansion-house when the first Directory of the Town was made (1789), and here he resided many years. Before 1818 he removed to Pearl-street, and afterwards to Somerset Place, where he died, 25 Oct., 1829, aged 82. A church was built in Hanover-street, upon the site of Mr. Jones' former mansion, over which the Rev. Dr. Lyman Beecher was installed 22 March, 1826. This church was burned on the 1st of Feb., 1830, and the ground on which it stood has been since improved for stores.

‡ "About £30 sterling."—*Governor's Proclamation.*

"They came with intoxicated rage,"* writes Mr. Hutchinson (whose account follows), "upon the house of the Lieut. Governor.† The doors were immediately split to pieces with broad axes, and a way made there, and at the windows, for the entry of the mob; which poured in, and filled in an instant every room in the house.

"The Lieut. Governor had very short notice of the approach of the Mob. He directed his children and the rest of his family to leave the house immediately, determining to keep possession himself. His eldest daughter, after going a little way from the house, returned, and refused to quit it unless her father would do the like. This caused him to depart from his resolution a few minutes before the mob entered. They continued their possession until daylight; destroyed, carried away, or cast into the street, everything that was in the house; demolished every part of it, except the walls, as far as lay in their power, and had begun to break away the brick work.‡

"The damage was estimated at about 2,500 pounds sterling, without any regard to a great collection of public as well as private papers, in the possession and custody of the Lieut. Governor.§

"The Town was the whole night under the awe of this mob; many of the Magistrates, with the Field Officers of the militia, standing by as spectators; and nobody daring to oppose or contradict.

"The Governor was at the Castle,|| and knew nothing of what had happened until the next morning. He then went to Town, and caused

* In a MS. note in a copy of Snow's History it is said, that "Mr. John Rowe led the Mob against Mr. Hutchinson's house: but there was no intention to commit such violence as was committed." The authority cited is "*C. Hopkins to R[edford] Webster.*" But Hutchinson himself says the leader was Mackintosh.

† In Garden Court-street. It was taken down about 1830.

‡ Governor Bernard's proclamation is more particular. It says those who had been at Mr. Hallowell's, "or other riotous people, did on the same night attack the dwelling-house of the Hon. Thomas Hutchinson, Esq., Lieut. Governor of the Province, and forcibly enter the same, break down and destroy the wainscot and partitions therein, leaving the house a mere shell from top to bottom, break and destroy every window, with all the furniture belonging thereto, destroy or carry off all the wearing apparel, jewels, books and papers of every kind belonging to his Honor and his family, drink, take away or destroy eight pipes and three quarter-casks of wine, and every bottle of liquors, and all provisions and stores of what kind so ever in his cellars, and carry off about £900 sterling in money, with all his Honor's plate; and did afterwards deliberately cut down the cupola or lantern on top of the house, and uncover great part of the roof," etc.

In an extract in Snow's History it is said, "they [the Mob] worked three hours at the cupola before they could get it down, and they uncovered part of the roof; but I suppose the thickness of the walls, which were of very fine brick work, adorned with Ionic pilasters worked into the wall, prevented their completing their purpose, though they worked at it till daylight. The next day the streets were found scattered with money, plate, gold rings, etc. The whole loss in this house is reckoned at £3,168 17s. 9d. lawful." This was the amount he received afterwards as an indemnity for his loss of property. — *Eliot*. But Gordon says, "Mr. Hutchinson's loss was £2,396 3s. 1½d.; Mr. Oliver's, £129 3s.; Mr. Hallowell's, £289 0s. 3½d."

§ These papers he was using in compiling his History, the first volume of which was issued the last year (1764). In the Preface to the second volume he thus alludes to this destruction of his papers: "The loss of many papers and books, in print as well as manuscript, besides my family memorials, never can be repaired." Nor can any estimate be made of the real loss to the history of the Country.

|| Gov. Bernard had a seat at Jamaica Plain, in Roxbury, about which Luther M. Harris, M. D., has communicated some interesting particulars to the *New Eng. Hist. & G. Reg.* for Jan. 1856, p. 23.

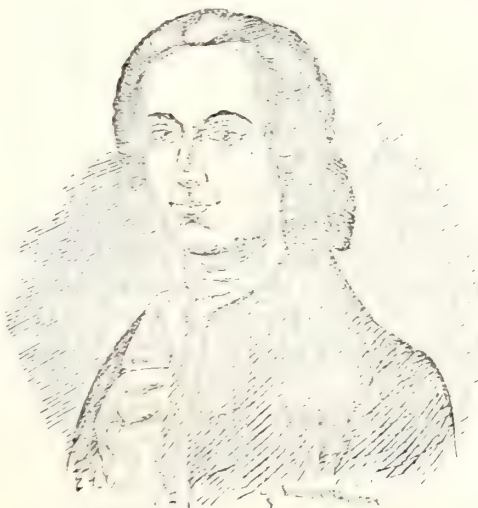
a Council to be summoned. Before they could meet, the inhabitants of Boston assembled in Faneuil Hall; and in as full a meeting as had been known, by an unanimous vote, declared an utter detestation of the extraordinary and violent proceedings of a number of persons unknown, against some of the inhabitants of the Town the preceding night; and desired the Selectmen and Magistrates of the Town to use their utmost endeavors to suppress the like disorders for the future; the freeholders and other inhabitants being ready to do everything in their power to assist them. It could not be doubted that many of those who were immediate actors in, as well as of those who had been abettors of, those violent proceedings, were present at this unanimous vote."

By advice of the Council, the Governor issued a Proclamation, offering a reward of 300 pounds for the detection of the ringleader, and 100 pounds for others concerned in the riot. Many of them were probably well known. Indeed, several were apprehended, among whom was one Moore; but courts and law had the majority of the people against them, and consequently jails had lost their strength.

One Mackintosh,* a mechanic of the Town, was apprehended in King-street, as a ringleader; but the Sheriff who had him in charge was at once surrounded by a number of merchants, and other persons of property and character, who assured him that if Mackintosh was proceeded against, not a man would appear in arms, as had been proposed, for the security of the Town the next night. Whereupon the Sheriff released him, and made return of his doings to the Governor, then in Council. Some of the Council thought the Sheriff could not be excused; but no action of disapprobation followed in that body; all

being ready, probably, like the Lieutenant Governor, to exclaim: "To this feeble state were the powers of Government reduced!"

Six or eight others were apprehended, and on examination were committed to jail; but before their trial came on, a party of men entered the house of the Jailer in the night, compelled him to deliver them the keys of the prison, which they opened and set the accused at liberty. All this was effected without tumult or alarm to any except the Jailer and his immediate family. The persons liberated kept out of the way for a time; "but



Mackintosh

* Perhaps Peter M'Intosh, a blacksmith, at the South End.

there was no authority," says Hutchinson, "which thought it advisable to make any inquiry after them."

Aug. 27. The day following this riot was the first day of the Superior Court for the County of Suffolk. And while the four Judges appeared in their robes of office, Mr. Hutchinson, as Chief Justice, appeared in his ordinary dress, in which he was sitting in the evening when the Mob came to his house; because his robes and every other garment had been destroyed or carried off.* Therefore, instead of a Charge to the Grand Jury, the Chief Justice made a long speech to the people, in which he endeavored to convince them of the fatal effects to the Province of the violent opposition to Government which had begun to take place. The Court then "showed their resentment by refusing to do any business while the Town was in that disorderly state, and adjourned for six weeks."

Governor Hutchinson observes, that "many of the most ruffian part of the Mob, who left the Town the next day after the Riot, returned in the evening, and attempted again to collect the people together, in order to further rapine; but a military watch having been ordered, and the Governor's company of Cadets appearing in arms, and showing great spirit, the Mob was dispersed."

Sept. 10. About the tenth of September, there was a ship arrived direct from London. In her came George Messervey, Esq., with a Commission as Distributor of Stamps for the Province of New Hampshire. Having understood that such officers were not very welcome in Boston, Mr. Messervey thought it best, before coming on shore, to signify by letter to some gentlemen in the town, "that, as such an office would be disagreeable to the people, he should resign it." This announcement being made known, a large number of his friends and other gentlemen assembled on the end of Long Wharf to greet him on his landing, which immediately followed. Here he made a declaration to this effect: "As he was the unhappy man who had personally accepted of an office odious to his Country, he freely resigned it, and would never act in that capacity." Upon this, three cheers were given "by a vast concourse of people" which had now assembled. Mr. Messervey was then escorted into the Town. On arriving at the head of the wharf the cheering was repeated, and again on the Exchange, in King-street. In the ship with the Stamp Master came one box of Stamps for New Hampshire, but no other mention is made of them.

News came by the same ship that there was a change of Ministry "at home," and that the Stamp Act would be laid aside. All this,

* The paraphernalia of office in those days was supposed to be of great consequence. Soon after the Revolution it was entirely dispensed with. Mr. Gordon says, "Mr. Hutchinson attended in his only suit, and necessarily without those ensigns of office so wisely calcu-

lated to produce regard to authority." Bag-wigs, gaudy robes, and sashes, might have some influence in inspiring respect where ignorance abounded, while they only excited contempt in a community where intelligence and common sense had their due influence.

together with what had just transpired, filled the Town generally with joy; "and in the evening, many loyal healths were drank by numbers of gentlemen who met at several public places for that purpose."

Sept. 11. But the demonstration did not end here; for, on the following morning, all the bells were rung, "and joy and gladness appeared on every countenance. At the south part of the town, the trees, for which many have so great a veneration, were decorated with the ensigns of loyalty, and the Colors embroidered with several mottoes. On the body of the largest tree was fixed, with large deck nails, that it might last, as a poet said, 'like oaken bench to perpetuity,' a copperplate, with these words stamped thereon, in golden letters, 'THE TREE OF LIBERTY, August 14, 1765.'" A great holiday ensued. Liquor was freely served out to the multitude who had assembled about Liberty Tree, and salutes were fired. Soon after one o'clock, "some of the train of artillery brought down some cannon, placed them before the Town-house, and fired several rounds." This appears to have been done without the authority of the Commander in Chief, and without any notice to the Governor and Council, then sitting.

Sept. 12. The next day there was a Town-meeting in Faneuil Hall; the principal motive for which appears to have been to show respect to Lord Adam Gordon, who, on the previous Sunday, had arrived in Town from Albany, and to engage him to use his influence, on his return to England, to effect the repeal of the Stamp Act.* Accordingly, a committee was appointed to wait upon him, at the head of which was James Otis, the Moderator. His Lordship received the Committee with all due respect, but, in reply to Mr. Otis's address, his language was so well guarded, that, while it contained nothing to encourage the Patriots, it gave them no special ground to think he would take particular pains to serve them. He was attached to the Army, was Colonel of the sixty-sixth regiment, and soon after left for England. The meeting was adjourned to the eighteenth following.

At the Town-meeting of the twelfth of September, gentlemen, as usual, were appointed to draw up Instructions for the Representatives.

Sept. 18. At the adjourned meeting, those Instructions were reported and accepted. At the same meeting, special notice was taken of those gentlemen who had stood up in Parliament in opposition to the laws which bore so heavily upon the Colonies; † and it was

* He was a Member of Parliament, and was making a tour through the country.

† On a motion made at the above meeting, it was unanimously voted that the Hon. James Otis, Esq., the Moderator, the Hon. Samuel Welles, Esq., the Hon. Harrison Gray, Esq., the Hon. Royall Tyler, Esq., Joshua Henshaw, Esq., John Rowe, Esq., and Mr. Samuel Adams, be a Committee to draw up and

transmit by the first opportunity, to the Rt. Hon. Gen. Conway, now one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, and to Col. Isaac Barré, a Member of Parliament, several Addresses, humbly expressing the sincere thanks of this Metropolis of His Majesty's ancient and loyal Province, for their noble, generous, and truly patriotic speeches, at the last session of Parliament, in favor of the

voted that letters of thanks should be transmitted to them, and that their portraits should be requested, and, when obtained, be hung up in Faneuil Hall. This was in due time accomplished, and the portraits of Gen. Conway* and Colonel Barré were afterwards placed there. But what became of them is not known, though they are supposed to have been destroyed or carried off when the British army had control of the town in 1775-6.

Mr. Otis probably drafted the letters sent to those gentlemen, but Colonel Barré did not receive that directed to him until the latter end of December following, owing to his absence from London. In a few days after its receipt, he replied to it, and in a style of surpassing felicity of expression, glowing with the best feelings of the human heart.† He commenced by observing that "it was with the highest sense of honor done him he acknowledged the receipt" of the letter, and the resolutions of the Town. He then referred to his services in, and acquaintance with, America, and then to the immediate cause of the notice taken of him by the Town of Boston, in these words: "My conduct in Parliament, so obligingly referred to, being the real sentiments of my heart, was the natural result of these considerations.‡ The terms in which they were delivered were such as the particular circumstances of time and place first suggested, and such as I cannot possibly, at this distance, charge my memory with. They were not premeditated, nor are they, perhaps, worthy to be remembered. I must, therefore, beg your mediation, Sir, with the respectable body whose pen you hold, to excuse my troubling them with an imperfect repetition of words, in themselves of little use in North America. But if there should be any call for the like exertion in Europe, I beg leave, through your means, to assure them that no consideration shall make me forget my duty, whenever an occasion presents itself, of promoting, to the utmost of my abilities, the united interests of Great Britain and her Colonies."

Colonel Barré then modestly refers to the request for his portrait, in this paragraph: "As long as the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay will continue to regard the motives of my conduct, and not the consequences, I do not despair of retaining, what I shall ever esteem among the greatest rewards, their approbation, of which I cannot have a more honorable or distinguishing mark than that contained in the last part

Colonies, their Rights and Privileges; and that correct copies of the same be desired, that they may be deposited among our most precious archives. Also voted, that those gentlemen's pictures, as soon as they can be obtained, be placed in Faneuil Hall, as a standing monument to all posterity of the virtue and justice of our benefactors, and a lasting proof of our gratitude. Attest,

"WILLIAM COOPER, *Town Clerk.*"

* The Hon. Henry Seymour Conway, Secre-

tary of State for the Northern Department, then the leader of the House of Commons, whom Junius, with no great justice, perhaps, characterized as "Caution without foresight." His career was a short one.

† It was dated January 11th, 1766. The date of Mr. Otis's was September the 20th, two days after the vote recorded in the text.

‡ Considerations respecting the interests of both countries, noticed in a previous paragraph of his letter.

of their resolution. A flattering request, which I shall comply with as soon as possible."*

Gen. Conway's letter, acknowledging the action of the Town, as also that of Colonel Barré, are entered upon the Records of the Town. The letter accompanying his portrait was not received until 1767.†

Boston, though it took the lead in opposition to the Stamp Act, was not the only place where a disposition was shown to set its provisions at defiance. Stamp Masters had been burnt in effigy in nearly all the Colonies, and those holding that office had been compelled to follow the example of Mr. Oliver, and resign. "Mobs became frequent in Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New York." The first of November was at hand. Then the Act was to take effect. All business requiring forms must be suspended or done illegally. To proceed as before, using instruments without Stamps, was hazardous in the extreme, inasmuch as it was by no means certain that the Act would not be enforced. This was the aspect of the political horizon in Boston in the autumn of 1765.

When the General Court met, in September, the Governor alluded to the disturbances in his speech; and, although he spoke sensibly in some parts of it, it is plain that he did not well understand his position, nor the people over whom he was placed. He had abundant proof that his authority was set at defiance; and for him to threaten them, under such circumstances, was calculated to call forth ridicule, and to lessen the little respect entertained for him. Even Mr. Hutchinson remarks of Governor Bernard's speech, that though "animated, the conclusion was faint."

The General Court were expected to take some action by which Stamps might be dispensed with. This was as well understood by the people as by the Court, especially the popular branch of it. Hence, when the subject came up, it was referred to a Committee of the two Houses.

Sept. 20. Meanwhile, the Stamps having arrived, and as there was no officer having a commission to receive them, the Governor caused them to be landed at the Castle, and there to be kept until the pleasure of his Majesty should be known.‡ Therefore the Report of the

* It is not a little source of mortification to the Writer, to be obliged to say, that the portraits of Col. Barré and Gen. Conway have never been replaced in Faneuil Hall. Could some of the City's expenditures be converted into them, it would lose none of its honor by the change.

† That letter was brief, and in these words: "London, March 16th, 1767. Sir, I am ashamed to have so long deferred sending my Picture, which the Assembly of Boston have done me the honor to request. But as this delay has been chiefly owing to the dilatoriness of the painter, who has been extremely

slow in finishing it, I hope it will not be imputed to any neglect on my part, or to any want of the just sense I ought ever to retain of the great distinction they were pleased to favor me with on that occasion." — *From the original in the possession of FRANCIS JACKSON, Esq., who kindly brought it to the notice of the Author.* It should be stated that the letter is not in the autograph of Secretary Conway, but is signed by him.

‡ Before taking the responsibility of concerning with the Stamps, Mr. Bernard desired the advice of the General Court in the matter; but the Court declined giving any.

Committee was in accordance with all the facts ; recommending that, as there was nobody to distribute the Stamps, and that no persons "would think it consistent with their reputation to become a Distributor," all business should proceed as before the passage of the Act, using papers without Stamps, and that this course should be legalized by the General Court, or become valid. The Governor, of course, was not expected to give his assent to such an Act, and it was committed in the House. In the mean time the Assembly was prorogued, but the opponents of the Stamp Act got all they expected, though Nov. 5. they had not got authority to do business without Stamps. It was therefore resolved by the business community to do all in their power to cause the Act to be repealed. They were much encouraged in this movement, for about the time the General Court was prorogued, several vessels arrived from England, bringing intelligence that a great part of the people of that country were against the Act.

The people had now pretty generally come to the conclusion that they would defeat the operation of the Stamp Act by refusing to make any use of stamped paper ; that a suspension of all business would necessarily follow, for a time, in which stamps were required, was also expected.

At the same time the merchants and traders in and near Boston formed an agreement to recall all unconditional English orders, except for sea-coal, and a few other bulky articles, and to order none, except upon the condition that the Stamp Act was repealed. All who did not come into this agreement were looked upon as enemies to the Country. In addition to this, all merchants, who were getting vessels ready for sea, took out their papers before the first of November, although they did not expect to use them for a month or more after that ; thereby avoiding stamped clearances. Hence five or six weeks passed without any business being done or required to be done at the Custom-house. It was the same in the Courts of Law. No wills were proved nor administrations granted ; no deeds nor bonds were executed, or any other business done, where stamped papers were required to make the transaction legal. This was indeed a great inconvenience, and to many a serious grievance.

While affairs were in this state, the Rulers must have seen that fearful troubles might well be expected, and at no very distant day ; but their hands were tied as well as those of the people ; and when a gentleman of the Liberty Party complained, to some of the officers of Government, that things were in such a condition, he was told that "he had raised the Devil, and now could not lay him." Such an answer may have discovered the feelings of the Official, but its effect naturally was to irritate the Liberty Men.

In the midst of the stirring scenes now opened, the Patriots lost one of their substantial supporters. This was Joseph Green, Esq., a mer-

chant, who has been before noticed in these pages. He died on the first day of July, in the sixty-second year of his age.*

CHAPTER LXX.

Anti-Stamp Demonstrations. — Grenville and Huske burnt in Effigy. — A Caricature. — Powder-plot Celebration. — Union of the North and South End Pageants. — Scriptural Account of the Stamp Act. — Vessels sail without Stamped Clearances. — Business at a Stand. — News from England favorable. — Mr. Oliver called upon to make a public Resignation. — Resigns at Liberty Tree. — The Town memorialize the General Court. — No Redress. — Hutchinson resigns Office of Judge of Probate. — Population of Town and Province. — Boston in Rebellion proclaimed in Parliament. — A Stamp described. — Liberty Tree pruned. — Grenville and Bute burnt in Effigy. — Case of Capt. Thacher. — Ceremony of Burning a Stamp. — Case of Capt. Kirkwood.



WARREN.†

Nov. 1. BUT the Liberty Party were determined to make a demonstration on the day on which the Stamp Act was to have taken effect; more, perhaps, to overawe the authorities, and cause them to abandon any hope they might have of an acquiescence or submission to that Act, than for any other purpose. Accordingly, that morning, it being Friday, was "ushered in by the tolling of bells, and the vessels in the harbor displayed their colors at half mast." The authorities feared there would be some outbreak, and had

* He was son of the Rev. Joseph Green, of Salem Village, and was born 12 Dec. 1703; m. Anna Pierce, of Portsmouth, N. H. His portrait, by Copley, is in possession of Dr. JOSHUA GREEN, of Groton, a descendant. Gov. Shirley commissioned him a Magistrate in 1755, and Gov. Bernard in 1761. A large estate in Hanover-street, on which now stands the American House, was purchased by him in 1734, of Gov. Belcher, for £3,000. He was of the well-known firm of Green & Walker of that day. Mr. Walker's name was Isaac. Their sons, Joseph Green and Edward Walker, also merchants and co-partners, kept, in 1761, "at the north corner of Queen-street, near the Town-house." Joseph Green, Esq., had many children, sons and daughters. All the sons died childless except Joshua, H. C. 1749. His eldest daughter, Anna, m. Joshua Winslow of Marshfield; another, Susanna, m. Francis Green, her cousin, son of Benj. Green, of Halifax; another, Elizabeth, m. Mr. Ebenezer Storer (H. C. 1747). See *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, vol. vi. 275. George, son of Joseph Green, Esq., m. Catherine Aspinwall, of Brookline. He was a merchant, and his shop was at the corner of Williams Court in 1770.

Some time after this he went to England, and died there.

† The Arms of Warren, here presented, are copied from the magnificent (privately printed) work entitled "Genealogy of Warren, with some Historical Sketches; by John C. Warren, M.D., Emeritus Professor of Harvard University," printed in Boston, in 1854. The immediate family of Gen. Joseph Warren is descended from Peter Warren, of Boston, who, March 8th, 1659, purchased land of Theodore Atkinson, "situated on the south side of Boston, next the water-side, opposite and against Dorchester Neck." South Boston was formerly Dorchester Neck. He died 1704. By his wife Sarah, daughter of Robert Tucker, of Dorchester, he had, besides other children, Joseph Warren, of Roxbury, who died in 1729. By his wife Deborah, daughter of Sam'l Williams, of Deerfield, Joseph of Roxbury had, beside others, Joseph, also of Roxbury, who died in October, 1775. This Joseph m. Mary, daughter of Samuel Stevens, of Roxbury, 29 May, 1740, and had JESSE, who fell at Bunker's Hill, and left issue Samuel, of Roxbury, who died unmarried; Ebenezer, of Foxborough, Mass., and John, of Salem and

taken precautionary measures to prevent the repetition of similar scenes to those of the fourteenth and twenty-sixth of August.* However, on the morning of the first of November, the Great Tree at Essex-street, now well known as Liberty Tree, was "adorned" with the effigies of George Grenville and John Huske; † the former had been a principal in bringing about the Stamp Act, and the latter had, it was said, been the first to advise it.

Those Images remained hanging upon the tree until about three o'clock in the afternoon, nobody presuming to interfere. Meanwhile, the avenues to the tree were crowded by several thousands of people, of all ranks and conditions, and in their presence the Figures were cut down and placed in a cart, with great solemnity, and amidst deafening acclamations of the surrounding multitude. As the cart moved from the tree down Newbury-street, the people followed it in perfect order and in regular ranks. The procession marched directly to the Court-house, where the Assembly or General Court was in session; thence to the North End; thence up Middle-street; thence back through the town to the gallows on the Neck. Here the Effigies were again suspended, and, after remaining a short time, were cut down, and treated with such indignities as were thought necessary to show the detestation in which the characters of those were held whom they represented. They were fiercely torn limb from limb, and the several parts tossed in the air.

When this was finished, three cheers were given, and the multitude were requested to go quietly to their homes; which every one did in a very orderly manner, and the following night was entirely free from noise, to the happy astonishment of many, who had shuddered under fearful apprehensions of a far different termination.

The above is the substance of the Massachusetts Gazette account ‡ of a memorable event in the history of Boston, which is thus closed: "The fears of many were great lest it should prove another 26th of

Boston, who died Apr. 4, 1815. The last-named gentleman was an eminent surgeon, a biography of whom is contained in Dr. Thacher's Medical Biography and several other works. He married (in 1777) Abigail, daughter of Gov. John Collins, of Newport, R. I. She died in 1832. These are the parents of the present Dr. JOHN COLLINS WARREN, of Boston, before named. — *Genealogy of Warren*, and *Loring's Hundred Orators*, p. 45.

* On the last day of October, "The Massachusetts Gazette Extraordinary" was issued. It contained an article with this heading:

Boston, November first, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-five.

O, fatal! FROM and AFTER!

'Jove fixed it certain, that whatever day
Makes man a slave, takes half his worth away!'
Pope's Homer.

The *Gazette* then goes on to give an account of the Effigies on Liberty Tree, as though the affair had then happened.

† In a speech, which Huske made not long after in the House of Commons, he referred to his being hung in effigy in Boston, and in a facetious and exulting manner called upon Mr. Grenville in these words: "So, my Lord, I perceive I have the honor to be hung in effigy alongside your Lordship in America." — See page 598 for some account of Mr. Huske, and p. 680.

‡ Published Nov. 7, which is marked No. 0. The *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston News-Letter* ended (under that title) October 31st, preceding. But it was resumed afterwards, namely, May 22d, 1766. In 1768 they were published separately, but in 1769 they were again published together on a whole sheet.

August; for the horrid violence of which night we hope the good order of this will in some measure atone, as it is a proof that such conduct was not agreeable to the sentiments of the Town, but was only the lawless ravages of some foreign villains, who took advantage of the overheated temper of a very few people of this place, and drew them in to commit such violence and disorders as they shuddered at with horror in their cooler hours."*

On the morning of the same day, November the first, Nathaniel Hurd, "near the Town-house," issued an extraordinary caricature, designed to increase the contempt in which the Stamp Act and its promoters were held.†

Nov. 5. The Tuesday following was the anniversary of the Powder Plot. "When the day arrived the morning was all quietness. About noon the Pageantry, representing the Pope, Devil, and several other Effigies, signifying Tyranny, Oppression, Slavery, etc., were brought on stages from the North, and South, and met in King-st., where the Union,‡ previously entered into by the leaders, was established in a very ceremonial manner, and, having given three huzzas, they interchanged ground; the South [men] marched to the North, and the North [men] to the South, parading through the streets until they again met near the Court-house. The whole then proceeded to the Tree of Liberty, under the shadow of which they refreshed themselves for a while, and then retreated to the northward, agreeably to their plan. They reached Copp's Hill before six o'clock, where they halted, and having enkindled a fire, the whole Pageantry was committed to the flames and consumed. This being finished, every person was requested to retire to their respective houses. And it must be noticed, to the honor of all those concerned in this business, that everything was conducted in a most regular manner, and such order observed as could hardly be expected among a concourse of several thousand people. All seemed to be joined agreeably to their principal motto, 'Lovely Unity.' The leaders, Mr. McIntosh,§ from the South, and

* "The Government party inferred that this was an evidence of an influence the mob was under, and that they might be let loose or kept up, just as their leaders thought fit."
—Hutchinson.

† I have never met with a copy of this caricature, and do not know that a copy exists. It is described at length in the Gazette of Nov. 7th. The description closes thus: "On the other side [on the other hand of the picture] is a Gallows with this inscription, 'Fit entertainment for St[an]p M[e]n.' A number of these gentlemen, with labels, expressing various sentiments on the occasion. At the bottom is a Coat of Arms proper for the Stamp Man."

‡ Deploring the bad effects of former celebrations of Pope Days, many of the better sort of inhabitants had, by their prudent intercession with the Chiefs or Leaders, brought

about a union, as mentioned in the text. Those Chiefs met on the day of the Stamp-Act demonstration, namely, Nov. 1st, "and conducted that affair in a very orderly manner. In the evening the Commander of the South entered into a treaty with the Commander of the North, and, after making several overtures, they reciprocally engaged in a union, the former distinctions to subside. At the same time the Chiefs with their assistants engaged, upon their honor, no mischiefs should arise by their means, and that they would prevent any disorders on the fifth."—*Mass. Gaz.* 7 Nov. 1765. Tudor, in his *Life of Otis* (whose date is followed *ante*, p. 663), is probably wrong as to the time when this pageant ceased, or the two parties united in one.

§ The same person mentioned before, probably.

Mr. Swift, from the North, appeared in military habits, with small canes resting on their left arms, having music in front and flank ; their assistants appeared also distinguished with small reeds. Then the respective corps followed ; among whom were a great number of persons in rank. These, with the spectators, filled the streets. Not a club was seen among the whole, nor was any Negro allowed to approach near the stages. After the conflagration the people retired, and the Town remained the whole night in better order than it had ever been on this occasion. Many gentlemen, seeing the affair so well conducted, contributed to make up a handsome purse to entertain those that carried it out."

"This union," the writer in the Gazette adds, "and one other more extensive,* may be looked upon as the (perhaps the only) happy effects arising from the Stamp Act."

About this time there was published in London, and not long after republished in Boston, an ingenious account of the proceedings which had grown out of the Stamp Act. It was in Scripture style, and consisted of ninety-one verses, and was divided into three chapters. The commencement of the second runs thus : "Now tidings came to the men of America that the decree had gone forth for them to pay the Stamp tribute. 2. And they were greatly amazed thereat, and they cried with a loud voice, saying, 3. Now is fulfilled that which was spoken of the Prophet ; America shall howl ; on all their heads shall be baldness, and every beard cut off. 4. In their streets they shall gird themselves with sackcloth ; on the tops of their houses, and in their streets, every one shall howl, weeping abundantly.

"5. And many of the men of America waxed exceeding wroth, and they took unto them garments and stuffed them with stuffing, yea, with filthy rags did they stuff them, and they fashioned them till they did represent men. 6. And they called them the representations of Stamp Masters, and they hung them upon trees and gallowses, and they were mocked by men until evening, when they were taken down and burned with fire. 7. And they burned also a Jack Boot, but what they meant by that is unknown at this day. 8. Yea, and they made likewise a stuffed figure with horns to represent Satan ; for they said, 'Go to, for surely Satan himself was the deviser of this tribute.' 9. And in like manner did they act all over the whole land." †

The whole was of this tenor, which showed that the Stamp Act found adversaries at home as well as elsewhere.

Nov. 8. On the eighth of November, Gov. Bernard prorogued the General Court to the fifteenth of January. This gave much dis-

* Whether the writer had reference to the unanimity of the Colonies in resisting the Stamp Act, or to the non-importation agreement entered into in Boston, is left to conjecture.

† I have seen but one copy of this curious

document, for the use of which I am indebted to my friend, JOHN W. PARKER, Esq., of Roxbury, whose collection of old papers, consisting of ballads, hand-bills, and newspapers, is probably superior to any private collection in this vicinity.

satisfaction to the inhabitants, who had been looking to that body for some relief from the distresses which surrounded them. But, as has been before detailed, the Assembly was prorogued while the Bill intended for their relief was in the hands of a Committee. Soon after this several vessels went to sea without stamped clearances; the Custom-house Officers giving the Masters certificates that no Stamps could be procured in their jurisdiction. The first ship to venture under such circumstances, was the Boston Packet, Capt. John Marshall,* owned and sent out by John Hancock, Esquire. She was bound for London, where she safely arrived, and passed the Custom-house without her certificate being questioned.†

But, in general, business was at a stand. A Town-meeting was called to see what could be done. It was appointed to take place on the eighteenth of December. In the mean time, new arrivals from England brought further advices of the opposition to the Stamp Act in that country. This gave the "Sons of Liberty"‡ new courage, and caused them to give the Government a further proof of their firmness in the cause they had espoused. They were determined to compel Mr. Oliver to make a new and public declaration that he would not act as Stamp Distributor under any circumstances. And it is surprising that a high-minded and honorable man, as Mr. Oliver certainly was, should ever have submitted to the gross indignity.§ However, he thought it best to yield to the demands of the people; considerably influenced, no doubt, by the news from England, that the Ministry had been turned out, chiefly because they had, by their imprudence, caused measures to be adopted which could not be carried out.

However, a few days before the Town-meeting just adverted to, a report was industriously circulated, that Mr. Oliver was using his endeavors to be reinstated in the office of Stamp Master. This report, though under the circumstances it was very unlikely to be true, yet was the ground of the present demand upon him. He, therefore, published in the newspapers an unequivocal denial of any intention to obtain or to act in the office of Distributor of Stamps. This, for reasons not mentioned, was deemed unsatisfactory by the Sons of Liberty, and another letter was sent to him, which was left at his house "just as he was going to bed," requiring his appearance the next day, at twelve o'clock, under Liberty Tree, there to make a public resignation. The letter acquainted him, also, that a non-appearance would bring upon him the displeasure of the "True-born Sons of Liberty." With which request, also, Mr. Oliver thought it best to comply; nor did he consult his

* The same, probably, who died of a surfeit, and was buried on the 13th of May, 1768, aged but 32. His death was much lamented. The vessels in the harbor displayed their colors at half-mast. I shall again have occasion to mention Capt. Marshall.

† *Massachusetts Gazette*, 25 April, 1766.

‡ Col. Barré is said to be the first who thus denominated the Liberty Men of Boston. He made use of the *title* in one of his early speeches in Parliament in favor of America.

§ He was the third officer in the Colonial Government, in respect to the dignity of office.

friends as to the propriety of such compliance. The consequence was the disapprobation of some of them. But that gentleman well knew the inability of the Government to protect him, and that his immediate friends were far less able to do so than the Government. He, therefore, took the only course he could take, and made his appearance at Liberty Tree. But, before he went, he got a friend, an influential "tradesman," to intercede with the Sons of Liberty that he might be allowed to make the required public Declaration at the Town-house ; but the tradesman soon returned with the unwelcome intelligence that his request could not be granted ; but it was promised that, if he readily complied, he should be treated handsomely ; and that promise was scrupulously kept.

Affairs being thus arranged, early on the morning of the seventeenth, advertisements were found posted up about the Town, inviting the Sons of Liberty to assemble at the Tree at twelve o'clock, "to hear the resignation of Andrew Oliver, Esq., Distributor of Stamps." It happened to be a rainy and tempestuous day, and Mr. Oliver was obliged to march through the streets exposed to the weather. But what added, probably, not a little to his mortification, Mr. Mackintosh, a chief leader among the Liberty Party, attended him at his right hand to the Tree, at the head of an immense multitude. Opposite Liberty Tree was the house of Richard Dana, Esq. In that house were assembled the Selectmen* of the town, "and many other persons of condition." Thus, in the presence of above two thousand persons, Mr. Dana administered an oath to Secretary Oliver, to the purport that "he had never taken any measures to act in the office, and that he never would do so, directly nor indirectly." Three cheers were then given, after which Mr. Oliver made a brief speech, in which he said "he had an utter detestation of the Stamp Act, and would do all that lay in his power to serve this Town or Province, and desired that he might no longer be considered an enemy, but as another man."† Three cheers were again given, and here the affair ended, and the throng soon after quietly dispersed.‡

Dec. 18. The next day was the Town-meeting, according to appointment, in which an unanimous vote was passed appointing a Committee to sign and present a Memorial, which was adopted, to His Ex-

* They were Joshua Henshaw, Joseph Jackson, Benj. Austin, Samuel Sewall, Nathaniel Thwing, John Ruddock, and John Hancock. The Assessors were Wm. Fairfield, John Keeland, Benj. Church, Belcher Noyes, Sam'l. Downe, Wm. Torrey, and John Greenough. Mr. Thwing resigned his place of Selectman, and, on the 14th of May, the Hon. Thomas Flucker was chosen in his stead.

† Comparing this compulsory conduct of Secretary Oliver with his course afterwards, our writers have unsparingly branded him as a malignant Traitor to his Country ; and cite the famous "Hutchinson and Oliver

Letters," intercepted by Franklin in 1773, in proof of the charge. But I must own, that, under the circumstances, I cannot see anything very terrible in those letters. They explain the state of the opposition to Government, in tolerably plain language, in the *political* style of those days. A serious game was commenced, which in time became a desperate one ; life and death were the stakes, and many found themselves compelled to do what they gladly would have avoided.

‡ The Gazette account says Hanover Square was cleared in ten minutes after the last cheers.

cellency the Governor in Council.* The Memorial set forth that the Courts of Law had been shut up, for which "no just and legal reason could be assigned." For this and other causes the Memorialists "humbly" requested, "that His Excellency, in Council, with whom the executive power was constitutionally lodged, would give directions to the several Courts and their Officers, so that under no pretence whatever they might any longer be deprived of that invaluable blessing." They also requested to be heard "by their Counsel, learned in the Law."

In reply to the Memorialists, it was said that the people of the Town had brought the state of things, of which they complained, upon themselves. The Courts could not proceed without the lawfully stamped papers, and those papers were not to be had, because the Officers appointed to distribute them had been terrified into a resignation, and no other persons dared to take the office. It was, therefore, determined by the Governor, in Council, that, as it was a doubt whether the proceedings of Courts without Stamps could be justified, inasmuch as the violence of the people had been the cause complained of, that, therefore, the matter rested upon a point of law. However, they proposed to refer the subject to the Judges of the Courts.

The Town-meeting was adjourned for two days, to await the action of the Governor and Council. At the reassembling, and the result being known, it was voted that it was "unsatisfactory."

Such votes became common in the Town-meetings, "and had greater effect than can well be imagined."† So that the final result was, that the Courts did proceed without Stamps, excepting the Probate Court of Boston, of which Lieut. Gov. Hutchinson was Judge, and ships went to sea as usual.‡ But it was soon made apparent to Mr. Hutchinson, that he run quite a serious risk, if he much longer refused to suffer his Court to go on. He therefore saw but one way to extricate himself, and that was to resign, and he resigned accordingly. Governor Bernard did not think it prudent to fill the office with any other but a person who would comply with the requirements of the Town, and agreeably to that suggestion, Foster Hutchinson, Esq., was appointed.§

* The committee consisted of Samuel Adams, John Rowe, Thomas Cushing, John Radlock, Samuel Sewall, John Hancock, Joshua Manshaw, Benjamin Kent, and Arnold Welles; and they were authorized to employ, as Counsel, Jeremy Gridley, James Otis, and John Adams, to appear in support of the memorial.

† Hutchinson.

‡ In the Mass. Gazette of Dec. 19th, is this notice: — "The Custom-house in this Town is now open for the clearing out of vessels, a certificate being given that Stamp Papers are not to be had."

§ The same, I suppose, H. C. 1721, brother of the Lieut. Governor. — See p. 227. The last time the Lieut. Governor officiated as Judge of Probate was on Oct. 25th, 1765; and the first time his successor acted in that capacity was on the 6th of Jan. following. Hence the interval or interruption from want of Stamps is seen. The last instrument proved before the Lt. Governor, was the Inventory of the Estate of the Hon. Benjamin Prat, of New York, exhibited by his widow, Isabella, taken by Samuel Switt, Samuel Quincy, and William Spurr. Oxenbridge Thacher was one of Mr. Prat's executors. His Inventory of Estate,

At the pass to which things had now arrived, it is not strange, as Governor Hutchinson says, that timidity pervaded both legislative and that executive powers; every measure which forwarded the determined design of compelling, at all events, all Officers within the Province to pay no regard to the Stamp Act, succeeded.

When the ability of the Country to carry out its determination to nullify the laws of England is considered, that determination is truly a matter of surprise. Boston then had but about 15,000 inhabitants. These were contained in 2,000 families, and the number of houses was but 1,676. The whole colony did not contain much, if any, above 240,000 souls. Boston did not contain so many inhabitants this year as it did in 1752, — thirteen years before; there were then, — 1752, — 15,731, of which 1,541 were Negroes, or persons of color; and ten years earlier the population was still greater, — 16,582.

On Wednesday, the twenty-seventh of November, Colonel Francis Brinley died at Roxbury, at the age of seventy-five years; a gentleman distinguished for his manly virtues and acknowledged moral worth. On the following Saturday his remains were deposited in the family tomb in the King's Chapel burying-ground.

The conduct of the Bostonians was the cause of the opposition to the Stamp Act in the other Colonies; accounts of which had for some time crowded the London papers. The current of public opinion was too strong for the British Ministry, and nothing could be done to allay the excitement, now reacting upon the people of England, but the establishment of a Ministry that were with the people, and would repeal that Act. These consequences made the Prime Minister furious; and in his last struggles he declared the people of Boston Rebels, and recommended the sending over at once an army to bring them to obedience.* The King, in a late speech to Parliament, in referring to the disturbances, gave them the mild appellation of "late occurrences;" consequently Mr. Grenville's epithets caused quite a sensation, and several members cried out, "To the Tower! To the Tower!" These proceedings were about the middle of December last. An eminent merchant of New York, then in London, wrote home: "Our friends seem apprehensive that George Grenville, the proposer of the Act, who is determined to support it with all his

amounted to £2785, 14s. 6d. His autograph,

Benja. Pret

here introduced, shows that he spelt his name with but one *t*, while others often wrote it with two. The date of Inventory is July 8th, 1769. He had a mansion and farm in Milton.

* See ante, page 669.

* This was uttered by Earl Bate, probably under the smart he may have felt from that answer of Dr. Franklin to a question before the House of Commons, as to whether he did not think the Stamp Act could be enforced by an army. "Never," was his reply; and to the question, "Why not?" he said, "An armed force would not find a rebellion, but they might make one." — Franklin's *Miscellanies*, London, 1779, p. 276.

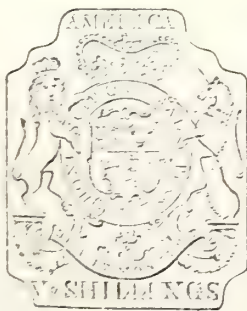
power, would have a party in the House strong enough for that purpose, and Lord [George] Townsend was reckoned one of his supporters." However, a postscript to the same letter put a different face on the affair:—"Nine at night. This moment returned from the House of Commons, where I had the pleasure to see Mr. Grenville sink under, and withdraw the motion he made, of inserting in the Address of the King, that the disturbances in America were open Rebellion, owing to the opposition and powerful eloquence of Mr. Charles Townsend, Mr. Cook, Lord George Sackville, and others."

Feb. 6. On the sixth of February was taken up, in the General Court, the subject of the conduct of the Delegates to the late Congress in New York. A debate ensued; after which it was voted, that the conduct of Brigadier Ruggles, "in not signing the petitions by said Congress, and for leaving the Congress before they had completed their business," was not satisfactory to the House. But it was resolved unanimously, "that the account given by James Otis, and Oliver Partridge, Esquires," was satisfactory.

Mar. 17. Writers in the public papers became emboldened, and expressed their sentiments in strong language. They denounced the Stamp Act as unconstitutional. "Shall we not, then," wrote one in the Massachusetts Gazette, "all as one man join in opposing it, and spill the last drop of our blood, if necessary, rather than live to see it take place in America?" Another said: "Any one, after a thorough search and consideration, would, rather than lose his liberty, be bored through the centre of life with the fatal lead." A little later, the Editor of the Gazette thus speaks of stamped newspapers, on receiving some from Halifax on the twenty-sixth of February: "The Publishers having, for the first time since November commenced, received several Halifax papers, with bloody-red Stamp on each, as terrible as death to Printers; being two daggers through a crown or under it, and the points toward the word America on the top, thought not proper to harbor such unwelcome guests; therefore immediately despatched them to the Committee of the True-born Sons of Liberty, to do with them as they may judge meet."*

Agreeably to previous arrangements, Liberty Tree was pruned by several carpenters, under the direction of a

Feb. 14. gentleman well skilled in that branch of horticulture. This was in pursuance of a vote of the Sons of Liberty, who likewise ordered a plate bearing a suitable inscription to be placed conspicuously upon the Tree.



* For the copy of a Stamp here given I am indebted to my distinguished antiqua-

rian friend, the Rev. JOSEPH B. FELT. There were different stamps for the different amounts from a half-pence to £6. I have seen none exactly corresponding to that described in the above extract.

Feb. 20. The plate being ready on the twentieth of the same month, was with ceremony fixed in the place designed for it. The inscription was as follows: "This Tree was planted in the year 1646, and pruned by order of the SONS OF LIBERTY, February 14th, 1766."

The same day had been fixed upon for burning one of the stamped papers in each of the principal towns in the several Colonies. Here the affair was made great account of. The pitiful Stamp was not thought sufficient to give importance to the Day, so fine Effigies of Grenville and Bute, in full court dresses, were prepared for the sacrifice.

The ceremony commenced "with great decency and good order. After parading the principal streets to the north part of the town, with the Pageantry in a cart, they returned to Liberty Tree; there giving three cheers, proceeded to the usual place of execution on Boston Neck, and at about one o'clock committed the Effigies, Stamp paper, &c., to flames under the gallows, amidst the loud acclamations of a great number of spectators, who immediately after dispersed." It is added: "The Sons of Liberty retired to their apartment in Hanover Square, where his Majesty's health was drank, and many other loyal toasts." This, indeed, was loyalty with a vengeance! Trampling the King's laws under foot, and burning his Prime Ministers in effigy!

Before proceeding to further and subsequent details, it will be well to pause, and to contrast in the mind the park of old elms in Hanover Square with the present appearance of the same corner where they stood. The name of Hanover Square was long ago discontinued for that locality, and about the same time it became covered with buildings. Those buildings had grown old in the days of the last generation, and their site became the property of a benevolent and public-spirited gentleman, who, in 1849, erected thereon a most substantial, as well as ornamental, block of stores. In speaking of that undertaking, that gentleman himself says, "I have caused to be sculptured, in bas-relief, a representation of this celebrated tree, with appropriate inscriptions, and have inserted it on that part of the building which fronts on Washington-street, and directly over the spot where the tree itself formerly stood."*

* Communication of the Hon. David Sears to the City Government, dated 29 September, 1849; which communication he thus commences: "I have the honor to inform you that the old buildings at the corner of Essex and Washington streets have been removed, and that an extensive block of warehouses is being erected in their places, to cover the whole front of my estate on those two streets. As this site is somewhat remarkable in the history of Boston, — it having sustained, and for more than a century nourished, a splendid American Elm, known and venerated as *Liberty Tree*, — the present seems a fit occasion to bring it to your notice."

Mr. Sears supposes Liberty Tree to have been

planted in 1646, but, as will have been seen from the inscription copied in the text, the Sons of Liberty assure us it was planted in that year. They probably took pains to satisfy themselves with regard to the real date. The whole of Mr. Sears' communication is of great interest, and may be seen in Mr. Robert Sears' *Pictorial Illustrations of the United States*. It was also printed as a *City Document*.

One of the flags with which Liberty Tree used to be decorated, has been preserved, and was in possession of an aged citizen at the time of his death, which happened recently, at the age of 96; a namesake, though not a relative of the Patriot, SAMUEL ADAMS. — See *Hist. and Gen. Reg.* ix. 293.

Feb. 22. On the twenty-second, Capt. Elisha Thacher arrived from Jamaica. It was immediately circulated that he had on board Stamped Clearances. Accordingly, the Sons of Liberty issued a warrant to some of their fraternity to go and demand the same, and, when obtained, to bring them into King-street, and, at one o'clock, to burn them there.* It does not appear that Captain Thacher had any others of the Stamped Clearances except that which he used.

The person to whom the Warrant was directed, with such others as were deemed necessary, repaired with it to the designated vessel. On coming to it, the "officer" was told that Capt. Thacher had gone to the Custom-house, to which also proceeded the Pursuivants. Here they found the Captain, and demanded his Clearance; for which demand the above-named undoubted Warrant was produced. To this incontestable authority submission was at once granted, and the Stamped Clearance was delivered up. It was then fixed upon a pole, and solemnly taken into King-street. Here, at the lower end of the Court-house (formerly called the Town-house), were the Town Stocks. Into this engine of *justice* was put, not the *wicked* Stamped Clearance, but the pole to which it was fastened; and thus exposed the paper to public view until the time appointed for its execution. At one o'clock the Executioner read the warrant with an audible voice, and then took his *culprit* into the centre of the street. Then and there with a lighted match he set fire to one of the Stamp Acts, and with the flames issuing from it, burnt the "offspring of that hydra-headed monster," the Stamped Clearance; and, as the smoke from it was ascending, the Executioner pronounced the following memorable words: "Behold! the smoke ascends to heaven, to witness between the Isle of Britain and an injured people!" After which three cheers were given, and the multitude very quietly dispersed.

On the same day that Captain Thacher arrived, Captain James Kirkwood came in, in the ship Endeavor, from London. It was reported that he had Stamps on board. Therefore the proper Officers visited him to ascertain the foundation of the report. The Captain frankly declared he had no such article on board; and that, though that kind of freight had been offered him in London, he absolutely refused to take it. This the vigilant Officers did not think quite satisfactory; and the Captain, having offered to make oath to the truth of his assertion, was waited upon to the Court-house. There Mr. Justice Dana, who had officiated at Liberty Tree, administered the oath to Captain Kirkwood, in the presence of a great number of witnesses. The *solemnity* being finished, three cheers were given, and then the people went about their occasions.

* The Warrant is here given as a curiosity: "Boston, 24 Feb., 1766. To * * * * *. Monday, 1X o'clock. — The Sons of Liberty being informed that a vessel has arrived here with Stamped Clearances, from Jamaica, desire that you would go and demand in their names

those Marks of Creole Slavery; and when you have obtained them, commit [them] to the flames in King-street, this day at One o'clock; and for so doing this shall be your Warrant. Signed by order of the True-born SONS OF LIBERTY. M. Y., Sec."

CHAPTER LXXI.

Stamp Act repealed. — Reception of the News. — Business revives. — Election. — Liberty Party Triumphant. — Case of Samuel Adams. — Celebration of the Repeal. — Obelisk on the Common. — Illuminations. — Celebrations in other Places. — Thanksgiving at the West Church. — General Thanksgiving. — Death of Dr. Mayhew — Of Zabadiel Boylston. — New Troubles in the General Court. — Its Debates opened to the Public. — Case of Mr. Hutchinson. — Fire at Mill Creek. — Anti-Slavery Movement. — Burr's Picture. — Gun House. — Neck Improvement. — Instructions to the Representatives. — Manufactures. — Brigadier Ruggles. — A Farmer's Letters. — Duck Manufacture encouraged. — Further Account of the Stamp Act Repeal Celebration. — Commissioners of Customs. — Opposition to the Revenue Laws.



Mar. 18. ON the eighteenth of March, by the consent of the King, the Stamp Act was repealed,[†] and on the sixteenth of May[‡] following, a copy of the Act of Repeal was received in Boston. Never before, or perhaps since, was any news received in the town which caused such enthusiastic joy among all classes. Indeed, the joy was universal throughout the British dominions; and was felt in greater sincerity and gladness than perhaps on any other occasion that can be remembered.§ This is easy to be believed, when it is considered that ships lay rotting at the wharves, and thousands of industrious people had been driven into idleness. From such a state to life and activity in a moment, as it were, was indeed ample cause for the ebullitions of joy which ensued. The newspapers were filled with

* *Arms* — Per chev. or and sa. Three eschallop shells counterchanged. *Crest* — A lion's head az., crowned, or. The note on page 626, *note*, should conform in its facts to this which follows. Col. Francis Brinley was born in London, 1690, and educated at Eton. He was the only son of Thomas, the only surviving child of Francis, of Newport, R. I., who was son of Thomas, Auditor General to Charles First and Second. Francis Brinley, of Newport, went to that town in 1652, about 14 years after its settlement, and held various offices; among them that of Judge. He died in 1719-20, aged 87, and was buried in the

England in 1684, and married Catharine, dau. of John Page, of London. He died in that city in 1693, leaving a widow and two children, Elizabeth and Francis. These three, on invitation of Francis Brinley, of Newport, came to this country. Elizabeth married William Hutchinson, Esq., a grad. H. C. 1702. Francis was the Col. Brinley who died in 1765, first named above. His residence was in Roxbury, as mentioned on page 626, but there Datchet was misprinted *Dutchet*. His mansion was named Datchet from the house at that place in England.

† *Mass. Gazette and News-Letter*, 22 May, 1766.

‡ Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, iii., p. 147.

§ *Annual Register* for 1766, p. 46. "When the King went to the House of Peers to give the Royal assent, there was such a vast concourse of people huzzating, clapping of hands, &c., that it was several hours before his Majesty could reach the House." — *Letter from London*. "In the evening a number of houses in London were illuminated, one in particular had 108 candles; that being the number of

Francis Brinley

King's Chapel burial-ground in Boston. His son Thomas resided in Boston, and was one of the founders of King's Chapel. He went to

advertisements of valuable wares, while notices of bankruptcies nearly ceased. Ships were promptly freighted, every one found advantageous employment, and the consequence was contentment and prosperity. The General Court was forward to show its confidence in the permanence of the state of things now commencing; as a proof of which the Manufactory House was ordered to be sold. It was described as "that large and beautiful building, with the land thereunto belonging, situate in Boston, opposite the public Granary, which, for several years past, has been improved in carrying on the Linen and Stocking business, and may with little expense be converted to some other public use; but as the Stamp Act is repealed, there will not be that occasion for it." But this was rather premature, as will hereafter be seen. The building was not sold, probably for want of a purchaser.

On the sixth of May was the annual election of Representatives; which resulted to the entire satisfaction of the "Sons of Liberty," who had now got everything their own way. The gentlemen chosen were James Otis, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Hancock, and John Rowe. Samuel Adams had the greatest number of votes. Out of 746, the whole number cast, he had all but 55. Mr. Cushing had the next highest, Mr. Otis next, and Mr. Hancock next. And here it will be proper to remark respecting an imputation upon Samuel Adams made by Governor Hutchinson, namely, that Mr. Adams' conduct had not hitherto been honorable towards the Town in the office of Collector of Taxes. Whether the Historian made that insinuation out of malice, or upon some slight ground,* is safely left for the judgment of the reader; while he may consider that no charge of dishonesty was ever brought against Mr. Adams by the Town, but on the contrary he was continually advanced in office, until he was elevated to the highest station in the Commonwealth; and that at the very time he is said to be a defaulter, he was the most popular man in the Town, as by its voters has been shown.† The Land Bank affair had soured Mr. Hutchinson seriously with the father of Mr. Adams, and, on the death of the father, the son, in the course of his duties as his executor, fell under the same displeasure. Add to this that Mr. Adams was a leader in the political party opposed to the Government, of which Mr. Hutchinson was an important member.

Mr. Adams was one of the Collectors of Taxes in 1763 and 1764. In

the first majority in the House of Commons for the Repeal." — *Ibid.*

* There appears frequently upon the Town Records notice to the effect that the amounts given out for collecting to the officers performing the duty of Collectors, were not paid into the Treasury; and almost uniformly the reasons for such deficit were the inability of the Collectors to collect the dues assessed upon certain individuals. The same occurs at this day. Consequently the Collectors of that day fre-

quently asked for more time to enable them to show lenity to poor tax-payers. This was Mr. Adams' case, and the amount of his *offence*.

† Mr. Hutchinson may have taken his hint of a slur on Mr. Adams' reputation from some remarks contained in a series of grossly libellous letters written anonymously in Boston in 1774, in which every patriot opposed to the arbitrary government then exercised over the Colonies is slandered in the hottest fire of malignity. See pp. 9, 112—20, and elsewhere.

1765, a Committee reported respecting the state of the outstanding taxes; from which report it appeared that none of the five Collectors had settled up with the Treasurer. It was known that Mr. Adams was embarrassed in his affairs, and yet the Town chose him again this year (1765) a Collector, but he prudently declined the office. This was on the 27th of May. On the eighth of July Mr. Oxenbridge Thacher died, and a Representative was to be chosen in his place. A Town-meeting was called for the purpose on the 27th of September. There were four candidates, gentlemen of acknowledged worth and influence; Mr. Adams was elected. Then, at the annual election of Representatives on the sixth of the following May, he was rechosen, having a greater number of votes than either of the others, — even larger than Mr. Cushing, then considered the most popular man in Town.

At the Town-meeting in March, 1767, a vote was obtained to commence a suit against three of the Collectors, among whom was Mr. Adams; but at a subsequent meeting another vote was passed staying proceedings against him. And when an attempt was made to reconsider that vote, so well were the people satisfied that Mr. Adams' inability to meet his engagements arose from no dishonorable intention, that motion to reconsider was voted down by "a very great majority." Such were the grounds upon which Mr. Hutchinson made the injurious insinuation against a man he could in no other way injure. This kind of retaliation has been resorted to at all times, but it is a mode of warfare in which the party who employs it is, in the end, the sufferer. He who takes advantage of such misfortunes in his fellow-man is to be pitied for the malignity of his disposition.*

It is very true that Mr. Adams' concern was so great in public affairs, and so many duties of a public nature were imposed upon him, that he

* The scurrilous letters before referred to seem not to have been known to writers of later times; or, if known, they have been totally neglected by everybody except Mr. Hutchinson, and he did not venture to cite them as authority; being well aware that such authority would destroy his own. A few extracts from these letters may amuse the reader. Their extravagance defeats any harm which their writer might have intended, and renders them unworthy even of indignation. "A person who enlists with the Faction, though formerly a Tory, a Knave, or Atheist, instantly becomes a Whig, an honest man, and a Saint."—P. 9. "The merchants, not only of London, but over all the British dominions, strenuously exerted all their interest to obtain a repeal of the Stamp Act. To this they were principally excited by the piteous complaints of the Bostonians, who held forth to them fallacious views of emolument. Unhappily, their exertions were successful."—P. 37. "The Saints professing loyalty and godliness at Boston, send us, by every vessel from their port, accumulated proofs of their treasons and rebellious. That mighty wise patriot, Mr. John

Hancock, from the Old South meeting-house, has lately repeated a hash of abusive treasonable stuff, composed for him by the joint efforts of the Rev. Divine Samuel Cooper, that Rose of Sharon, and by the very honest Samuel Adams, Clerk, Psalm-singer, purloiner, and curer of bacon. This great and honorable master Hancock is very well known in London to many; indeed, unfortunately for them, too well known. When he was in London about twelve years ago, he was the laughing-stock and the contempt of all his acquaintances."—"He kept sneaking about the Kitchen of his uncle's correspondent; drank tea every day with the housemaid, and on Sundays escorted her to White Conduit House," &c.—"The temper and abilities of the rebellious Saints in Boston are easily discoverable in Hancock's Oration, who, at his delivery of it, was attended by most of His Majesty's Council, the majority of the House of Representatives, the Selectmen, Justices of the Peace, and the rest of the rebellious herd of Calves, Asses, Knaves and Fools, which compose the Faction."—Pp. 103, 109. Other extracts may be given in the Appendix.

was obliged to neglect his own, or, what he considered of much greater moment, the business of the country. There was scarcely an important Committee of the Town or General Court upon which he was not appointed; and he was not one to avoid the laboring oar, in whatever company he chanced to be. If an important letter was to be drafted, to be sent to officers or gentlemen in England, Mr. Adams was put upon the Committee who had the matter in charge. If a letter was to be written to a neighboring town, he was upon the Committee to do it, and of such there were not a few. Besides, the laborious Reports of the Committees are replete with the touches of his master hand.

At the same Town-meeting * (May sixth), Mr. Otis, the Moderator, communicated a very polite letter from the Right Hon. Gen. Conway, in which that gentleman signified his kind acceptance of the Address of Thanks from this Metropolis. He also intimated his intention of favoring the Town with his portrait. Of this mention has been made. The Hon. William Pitt was mentioned in connection with Barré and Conway as the "immortal Pitt," who, before his late secession from the ranks of the old Ministry, was denounced by the Sons of Liberty in no measured terms.† But he was now with them, so far as the Stamp Act was concerned, and as to his contradictory assertion, that "Parliament had the right to bind them in all cases whatsoever," that was left entirely out of the account, as not important to be considered under present circumstances.

The greatest anxiety had prevailed in the Town, and the master of every ship from a foreign port was eagerly inquired of before he could bring his vessel to the wharf, as to the fate of the Stamp Act. At length a brigantine hove to in the inner harbor. It was soon ascertained to be the Harrison, Capt. Shubael Coffin, about six weeks from London, whose good fortune it was to be the bearer of the "important account of the Repeal of the American Stamp Act." The enthusiastic joy with which the news was received has already been mentioned. It remains now only to be narrated what was done by the people of Boston to express their joy upon this great occasion.

As soon as the news was spread, the bells in the different churches were set a ringing, "the ships in the harbor displayed their colors, guns were discharged in different parts of the Town, and in the evening several bonfires were kindled, and the night passed off with nothing

* Gordon gives the following humorous account of the way in which Mr. Hancock came first to be elected to the House of Representatives: "When the choice of members for Boston, to represent the Town in the next General Court, was approaching, Mr. John Rowe, a merchant, who had been active on the side of Liberty in matters of trade, was thought of by some influential persons. Mr. Samuel Adams artfully nominated a different one, by asking, with his eyes looking to Mr. Hancock's House, 'Is there not another John that may do better?' The hint took. Mr. John Hancock's uncle was dead, and had left him a

very considerable fortune. Mr. Adams judged that the fortune would give credit and support to the cause of Liberty; the popularity would please the possessor; and that he might be easily secured by prudent management, and might make a conspicuous figure in the band of Patriots."

† In his own country, the great Statesman received the name of Mr. "Turnover" Pitt. At least, so Thomas Hollis styles him in a letter to the Rev. Andrew Elliot. — *Copies of MS. letters kindly loaned me by Mr. JOHN F. ELIOT, of Boston, who possesses the originals, with other ante Revolutionary relics.*



to mar the pleasures of the day. On the same day, in the afternoon, the Selectmen met in Faneuil Hall, and appointed Monday the 19th following for a day of general rejoicing. And in the mean while there were busy hands employed to produce a spectacle in a conspicuous place worthy of the event, and equally busy heads were at work to prepare devices suited to the handiwork.

May 19. The booming of cannon and ringing of bells broke the early stillness of the morning, and many of the houses in the Town, as well as the ships in the harbor, were set out with colors. The dawn of day was too tardy on this occasion, and the sound of the one o'clock bell had scarcely died on the air, when the bell of the Rev. Doctor Byles' Church, that being the nearest to Liberty Tree, began to ring. This was soon answered by the bells of Christ Church at the North End, and in a few minutes all the other bells in the Town were in motion. As soon as it was light enough to see, Hollis-street steeple was hung with banners, and Liberty Tree was decorated with flags and streamers, and the very tops of houses exhibited the same kind of plumage. Before two in the morning, music was played in the streets, drums were beat and guns fired. There were, at this time, many persons confined in jail for debt. The liberal-spirited Sons of Liberty were determined that they should share in the general joy; they therefore paid the debts of the poor prisoners, and they were all set at liberty.* At one o'clock the guns of Castle William were fired, and that salute was immediately answered by the North and South batteries of the Town and also by those in Charlestown, the train of Artillery in Boston, and the ships in the Harbor.



As the evening closed in, the Town presented a most beautiful appearance, by a universal illumination of the houses. Fireworks of various kinds were played off in all directions. On the Common they were exhibited beyond anything of the kind hitherto known in New England. Here had been erected an Obelisk or Pyramid, four stories in height,† which was illuminated with two hundred and eighty lamps. On its top was "fixed a round box of fireworks horizontally." About one hundred yards from the Pyramid the Sons of Liberty erected a stage for the exhibition of their fireworks, which was near the Workhouse. In the Workhouse they entertained "the gentlemen of the Town." The elegant mansion-house of John Hancock, Esq., was brilliantly illuminated; in front of which its liberal owner had a stage erected, from which fireworks were exhibited at his own expense, and which answered those of the

* This was done by a subscription commenced in the morning, said to have been set on foot by "a fair Boston Nymph." I should be very glad to know her name.

† So it appears in a print then published, but its dimensions in "long measure" I have

not found stated. The only copy of the print ever heard of by the writer, belongs to his friend, Mr. JOHN F. ELIOT, which, with other curious matters relating to this period, he has kindly put into his hands. The small engraving above shows the Pyramid reduced.



Sons of Liberty on the Common, in front of the Workhouse. At the same time Mr. Hancock entertained in his house "the genteel part of the Town." He also treated the populace with a pipe of Madeira wine; and Mr. Otis, and some other gentlemen, who lived near the Common, kept open houses throughout the exhibition.

When the dusk of the evening began to be perceptible, the night's entertainment commenced with the projection of eleven rockets from each stage. The fireworks, thus begun, were kept up till eleven o'clock, and consisted of an extensive variety. The air was filled with rockets; the ground was covered with beehives and serpents, and the two stages with fire-wheels of various kinds. Precisely at eleven a signal was given to set in motion the crowning pyrotechny of the evening, which was the firing of the horizontal wheel upon the top of the Pyramid. The signal was a grand discharge of twenty-one rockets. When the brilliant wheel had nearly spent itself, it suddenly disappeared, taking the form of "sixteen dozen fiery serpents," which flew into the air in every direction.

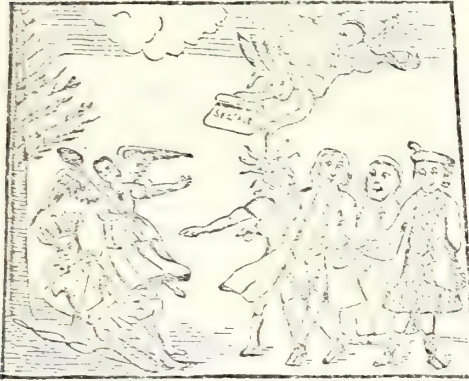
How Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. Oliver, and their immediate friends enjoyed this celebration, does not appear; but Governor Bernard invited his Council to meet him at the Province House on the afternoon of that day, and there they drank His Majesty's health, and "many other loyal toasts;" after which they walked on the Common with the people, and expressed themselves highly gratified with the exhibition.* About midnight there was a signal given on the Common, and the beating of a drum was heard; whereupon the people at once retired to their own dwellings, the lights were extinguished, and the Town immediately became hushed "in an unusual silence."

It should be particularly stated that Liberty Tree did not bear its flags and streamers that night in the dark; and that, though the Pyramid on the Common was the great point of attraction, the Tree was not forgotten; but why it was particularly assigned to Mr. John Wilkes, is to be explained only by inference. However, lanterns to the memorable number FORTY-FIVE illuminated it for that time. Yet the next day the matter was reconsidered; it being thought, probably, that that glorious Tree had been treated unjustly; therefore it was determined to make it amends on the following night. Accordingly there were suspended throughout its wide-spread branches at evening one hundred and eight lamps; after the example, probably, of the house in London, before noticed. It is said that all the gentlemen in the Town contrib-

* To the credit of Mr. Bernard, it should be remembered, that he was always opposed to the Stamp Act, and strongly urged its repeal; and he was probably the only one among the Colonial Governors who did not advocate its enforcement. In a discussion with Lord Mansfield, Lord Camden made the following remarks respecting the Governor:—"That this great, good, and sensible man, of all the Gov-

ernors on the Continent, had pointed out the inconvenience of the Stamp Act; that he had done his duty like a friend to his Country, and he should ever respect him." But a King's Governor in America was henceforth doomed to be an uncomfortable man; because there was a fixed determination to be dissatisfied with him, which had taken too deep root ever to be eradicated.

uted lanterns on this occasion,* and that the Tree was so full that it could hold no more. In some of the windows in the houses in that vicinity were suspended elegant transparencies, representing the King, "the immortal Pitt," Camden, Barré, and others.†



The Pyramid or Obelisk erected on the Common was only temporarily to remain there; and after the exhibition was over, it was to be removed and set up under Liberty Tree, "as a standing Monument of this glorious era;"

but by some accident it took fire about one o'clock on the night of the celebration, and was consumed.‡ The four stories, or compartments, exhibited each four sides. The lower story or base was without ornaments, and is only described as "of the Doric order." The next was covered with what was then called hieroglyphics; § the next with ten verses each, and the last with four portraits each.|| It is necessary to represent only the "hieroglyphics" by engravings, which the artist has done with great exactness, and of the same size as the original plate. The small pyramid shows the form of the whole structure, which, compared with the hieroglyphic cuts, an idea of the whole is had.



* If that report is strictly true, there were but 108 gentlemen in Boston at that time. Perhaps all the gentlemen who had lanterns would be nearer the truth; or perhaps, rather, the Gazette statement should be taken with allowance, for partaking a little of that extravagance for which the celebration was quite remarkable, and for which all parties are excusable.

† In the front windows of Capt. Dawes' and Mr. Thomas Symmes' house, appeared the portrait of Mr. Pitt, "as large as life," with this inscription:

"Hail, Pitt! Hail, patrons! pride of George's days!
How round the globe expand your patriot rays!
And the New World is brightened with the blaze."

‡ From the print representing the structure before mentioned, no one would suppose it to have been erected on the Common; for it is entitled, "A View of the Obelisk erected under Liberty Tree in Boston on the Rejoicings for the Repeal of the Stamp Act 1766."

This shows that the original intention of the Sons was to set it under Liberty Tree for a perpetual Memorial. It shows also that the print was finished and circulated before the day of celebration. At the foot of the plate is this dedication:—"To every lover of LIBERTY, this plate is humbly dedicated by her true-born SONS, in BOSTON New England." It was from a copper plate, in a corner of which is "Paul Revere Sculp." Where I have omitted punctuation in this description, it is to show that it was disregarded by the engraver.

§ These are thus described on the print:—"1st, America in distress, apprehending the total loss of LIBERTY. 2d, She implores the aid of her PATRONS. 3d, She endures the conflict for a short season. 4th, And has her LIBERTY restored by the Royal hand of George the Third."

|| The poetry may be read in the *Massachusetts Gazette Extraordinary*, of 22 May, 1766.



The repeal of the Stamp Act was celebrated with great spirit in Charlestown, Cambridge, and all this vicinity ; and, indeed, throughout the whole Country, and but few accidents are found recorded, and all those at a distance from Boston.



At the request of the Representatives and Counsellors, Governor Bernard appointed the twenty-fourth of July to be kept as a Thanksgiving ; but the Society of the West Church could not wait for so remote a day, and they unanimously

agreed to have their Thanksgiving on the twenty-third of May, and requested Doctor Mayhew, their pastor, to deliver a Sermon upon the occasion, which he accordingly did.* But the beloved pastor enjoyed the blessings of the repeal but a very brief period ; for he died on the ninth of July following, sincerely mourned by innumerable friends in every walk of life.†

July 24. The Thanksgiving appointed by the Governor was duly observed. Among the Discourses on that day, one by Doctor Chauncey, of the First Church, was published, under a well-chosen title.‡ Doctor Stillman also published a discourse on the



or more conveniently, probably, in *Dealings with the Dead*. The portraits are generally tolerably good, judging by those we see in our days of the same characters. Above the head of each are the initials of the names of the persons intended to be represented, as follows : " D Y-k. M-q-s R-m. Q C, K G ind, G-l C-y, L-d T-n. C-l B-e, W-m P-t, L-d D-h, A-n B-r[d ?], C-s T-d, L-d G-e S-k-e, Mr. DeB-t, J-n W-s, L-d C-n." As the import of these initials may not readily be made out by every reader, they here follow : Duke of York, Marquis of Rockingham, Queen Charlotte, King George III., General Conway, Lord Townshend, Colonel Barré, William Pitt, Lord Dartmouth, Alderman Beckford, Charles Townshend, Lord George Sackville, Mr. Dennis De Bardt, John Wilkes, Lord Camden.

* The discourse which he then delivered was printed, and is held in high estimation even at this day. It was dedicated "To the Right Honorable William Pitt, Esq.," "an illustrious Patron of America." It is entitled, — "The Snare Broken. A Thanksgiving Discourse," "occasioned by the Repeal of the

Stamp Act." In it he happily described the condition the people were in before the repeal, and vividly contrasted it with that now entered upon. "It has at once," he said, "in a good measure restored things to order, and composed our minds ; commerce lifts up her head, adorned with golden tresses, pearls and precious stones ; almost every person you meet wears the smile of contentment and joy ; and even our slaves rejoice, as though they had received their manumission." P. 23.

† See pages 602, 666, where are some notices of Dr. Mayhew. His death is thus announced in the Mass. Gazt. of July 10th : "Yesterday morning died, in the 46th year of his age, the REV. JONATHAN MAYHEW, D. D., Pastor of the West Church in this Town. His funeral is to be attended to-morrow afternoon, precisely at 5 o'clock. It is requested the attendance be seasonable, that the procession may begin at the above hour." In the same paper of the following week there is a very full account of that estimable man.

‡ A Discourse on "the Good News from a far Country."

repeal, but not on a Thanksgiving day, though it was earlier than either of the other two.

Although not in the order of time, it is not out of place to record the death of Dr. Zabdiel Boylston here. He was long a resident of Boston, but died in Brookline on the first day of March, at the advanced age of "near" eighty-seven years. His efforts and perseverance in the introduction of Inoculation, were only equalled by the success which attended them, and his name may, and doubtless will be, handed down to the remotest generations, as one of the greatest benefactors of the human race. A Street and a Market perpetuate his memory in the city; those monuments, however, from a knowledge of former proceedings of some in authority, may ere long be known only from the records of the past. Doctor Boylston, as was usual in his time, kept a medicine shop, was a large owner of real estate in the neighborhood of the street bearing his name. In 1724 he described it as a good and convenient garden, containing about twenty-seven acres, known by the name of Cole's Garden. The grandfather of Dr. Boylston came to New England in the year 1635, and settled in Watertown. His name was Thomas, who was son of Thomas Boylston, cloth-worker of London, who died about 1648, who had sons, John, a Doctor of Divinity, of Market Bosworth, the father of nineteen children; Thomas, who came to New England; Edward, who died unmarried, and Richard, who followed the occupation of his father.*

* Thomas Boylston, the cloth-worker of London, according to the researches of Dr. Henry Bond (in *Watertown Genealogies*), was son of Henry, of Litchfield, England, who had an estate at Weston in Staffordshire, and was brother of Boylston of Derbyshire. From the investigations of Mr. T. B. Wyman, Jr. (in *Hist. and Gen. Reg., Watertown Genealogies*), and other sources, that Thomas Boylston, the emigrant, was of Fenchurch-st., London, died at Watertown about 1653, aged about 38. He had children, Elizabeth, m. to John Fisher, who had sons Joshua and Daniel; Sarah, m. Thos. Smith, butcher of Charlestown; Thomas, chirurgion of Muddy river, m. Mary, dau. of Thomas Gardner, and had, among others, ZABDIEL, the great physician, the subject of this note. Thomas, the father, died before 16 Dec. 1686 (probate), aged about 51. Dr. Zabdiel was the 7th of 12 children. Peter, the 4th, m. Anne White; their dau. Susannah m. Deac. John Adams, father of PRESIDENT JOHN ADAMS; another, Anne, m. Ebenezer Adams, brother of Deac. John, and was the ancestor of the late Dr. Zabdiel B. Adams, of Boston; Thomas, the 12th, and youngest brother of Dr. ZABDIEL, merchant of Boston, m. Sarah Morecock, and had Thomas, also merchant of Boston, who died in London 30 Dec. 1798, whose sister Mary m. Benjamin Hallowell, and had 14 children, one of whom, Ward Nicholas, took the name of Boylston; another sister (dau. of Thomas and Sarah), Rebecca, m. Lieut. Gov. Moses Gill.

DR. ZABDIEL BOYLSTON married, 18 Jan. 1706, Jerusha, dau. of John and Elizabeth (Breck) Minot, of Dorchester. She died at Brookline, of a cancer in her face, 15 April, 1764, in her 85th year. They had eight children; Zabdiel, H. C., 1724, died in England, unmarried; John, of Bath, England, d. there 1795, unmarried; Jerusha, m. Benj. Fitch; Thomas, physician, of Boston, m. Mary Coates; no children; Elizabeth, m. Gillum Taylor, of Boston. For a copy of the autograph of Dr. Boylston, I am indebted to

Z. Boylston

E. W. LEFFINGWELL, Esq., of New Haven, whose collection of autographs has probably few equals in the country.

The late Rev. Daniel Barber, a native of Simsbury, in Connecticut, made one of the besieging army before Boston in 1775. On attending the funeral of Adjutant Phineas Lyman Tracy (killed by a cannon-shot), who was buried in the Brookline burial-ground, he took notice of a grave with an ancient marble monument, from which he copied the following inscription:—

"Sacred to the memory of Dr. Zabdiel Boylston, Esq., physician and F. R. S., who first introduced the practice of Inoculation in America. Through a life of extensive benevolence, he was always faithful to his word, just in his dealings, affable in his manners; and after a long sickness, in which he was ex-

Notwithstanding the great joy which the repeal of the Stamp Act occasioned, there was scarcely any cessation of a kind of warfare between the heads of the two parties. And although it was well known that both Governor Bernard and Lieut. Governor Hutchinson had endeavored to bring about the Repeal; that it had been acknowledged in the highest places in England as it respected the former; and that the latter had drafted the Petition from the Council and House, in 1764, which essentially forwarded the desired measure; yet the Liberty Men would not allow that those efforts were meritorious, inasmuch as they solicited the object as a matter of favor, and not of right. In short, the whole is explained in a few words. The people said by their acts at least, "We will not have a King to rule over us." With this feeling, — and it was become almost universal, — the best Governors and Counsellors in the world, if placed in power by the King, could not have pleased them. Hence, every General Court, from this time until the King's power was finally annulled by the sword, was almost one continued scene of strife and contention.

May 28. The war in the General Court was commenced in the outset of the May session, apparently by the Governor himself; Mr. Otis, having been chosen Speaker, was negatived by him. In this he gained nothing, but lost much; for he was obliged to take one of the same party for the office, and that party retaliated by keeping Lieut. Governor Hutchinson and Secretary Oliver out of the Council. Thus the campaign was opened, but the details cannot be here entered into.

Before this session of the General Court, the debates and proceedings had not been open to the public. As great interest was felt by the people in those proceedings, the Patriot party, taking advantage of their June 12. strength, ordered, "That the debates of this House be open, and that a gallery be erected for the accommodation of such as shall be inclined to attend them." Agreeably to this order the work was immediately commenced, and in a few days finished. This added popularity to an already popular party, and had the effect that was intended, namely, to forward the common cause of opposition to Government.

1767. Mr. Hutchinson by virtue of his office of Lieut. Governor took his seat at the Council Board, but the House were determined to Jan. 21. expel him; and by a Resolve did expel him. The Resolve expressed, "That he, not being elected a Counsellor, had no right by the Charter to a seat" there, "with or without a voice, while the Commander-in-Chief is in the Province." Five days after, March 5. the Council endorsed the proceedings of the House, and the Lieut. Governor submitted to the decision. This was not so much on account of ill-will to Mr. Hutchinson, though there was no lack of that,

emphary for his patience and resignation to his Maker, he quitted this mortal life, in a just expectation of a happy immortality, on the first day of March, A. D. 1766, aged eighty-seven years."

Mr. Barber made the above copy just fifty years after the death of Adj. Tracy, and published "The History of My own Times," Washington, D. C., 1827, 8vo. See Phelps' *Hist. Simsbury* for some account of the Barber family.

as it was to punish Governor Bernard for his repeated reprimands of all those who opposed his measures.

These decisions of the House and Council, however, were not submitted to by Mr. Bernard as they should have been, had he been disposed to show a magnanimity which common sense would certainly have dictated. But, instead of passing over and submitting quietly to what he knew he could not help or avoid, he directed Mr. Secretary Oliver to search the past records of the Government, to see if precedents could not be found whereby Mr. Hutchinson could be reinstated.* This had no other effect but to keep alive animosities and strengthen opposition to his own measures.

Feb. 10. About ten o'clock in the evening of February third, a fire broke out in Mr. Bray's bakehouse, adjoining Mill Creek, by which were consumed upwards of twenty houses. It passed over the Creek, taking the houses in Perraway's or Ball's alley, now Centre-street, and about seventeen of the houses burned were on the north side of the Creek.

March 16. The Representatives of the Town in the General Court had been instructed in May last to advocate the total abolition of

* As the Report made by Mr. Oliver is a document of considerable historical value, the substance of it is here given : — " I have examined the Records from the year 1692 until this time, and cannot find that more than six gentlemen have been commissioned by the Crown since the present Charter, viz., William Stoughton, Esq., Thomas Povey, Esq., William Tailer, Esq., William Dummer, Esq., Spencer Phipps, Esq., and Thomas Hutchinson, Esq. When Sir Wm. Phipps arrived with the Charter, in May, 1692, in that Charter 28 persons were appointed Counsellors or Assistants. Mr. Stoughton was not one of them. Counsellors to take the oath before the Governor, or Lieutenant or Dep. Governor, or any two of the Council authorized by the Governor. At the first Assembly, on the 8th of June, 1692, Lieut. Governor Stoughton was present in Council. The Governor appointed the Lieut. Governor, attended by the Secretary, to administer the oaths to the Representatives. Mr. Stoughton generally sat in Council that year. He was continued one of the 28 Counsellors or Assistants, by election, till his death in 1701, although Commander-in-Chief, also, the greater part of the time. In 1702 Thomas Povey succeeded Mr. Stoughton as Lieut. Governor. Mr. Povey never was elected a Counsellor. He came over with Gov. Dudley, and returned to England in 1705. He was always present in Council during his stay. In June, 1711, the Hon. Francis Nicholson, Esq., was present in Council; his name being entered next to Gov. Dudley for five successive days. There is no mention of a Lieut. Governor being in the Province after Mr. Povey left it, till 17 Oct., 1711, when

William Tailer, Esq. appears as Lieut. Governor. The next day he was present in Council, without the Governor; but he was not of the Council in 1711. The next year he was chosen a Counsellor, and continued to be till 1716, when Mr. Dummer was commissioned Lieut. Governor. Nov. 7, 1716, Gov. Shute opened his Commission, and Mr. Dummer was present in Council, and generally throughout the year, though not a member. In 1717, 18, 19, and 20, Mr. Dummer was elected into the Council. In 1721 and 22, though not elected, he frequently sat in Council. Mr. Shute left in Dec., 1722, and Mr. Dummer succeeded as Commander-in-Chief, and so continued till July, 1728, when Mr. Burnet came. Mr. Dummer sat in Council but a few days after Gov. Burnet's arrival. On 30 June, 1730, Col. Tailer opened the Session of the Gen. Court. In Aug. Gov. Belcher arrived, after which Mr. Tailer sat in Council a few days only, and died in the latter end of 1731, or beginning of 1732. He was succeeded by Spencer Phipps, Esq., as Lieut. Governor. Mr. Phipps died in April, 1757, and was succeeded by Mr. Hutchinson the same year, in which he has ever since continued, and was then of the Council, and has ever since been annually elected. It was mentioned that Gov. Belcher denied the right of a Lieut. Governor to sit in Council, and that he excluded Col. Tailer and Col. Phipps from the Board. Concerning which I am informed by Mr. Boardman, son-in-law to Mr. Phipps, that they both complained of it as a grievance; and that Mr. Phipps in particular would never afterwards make his appearance on any public occasion, as he could not do it in character." *Dated 6 Feb., 1767.*



Slavery in the Province. At the Town-meeting on the sixteenth of March, the question came up, as to whether the Town would adhere to that part of its Instructions, and it passed in the affirmative.*

At the same meeting, a vote passed to illuminate Faneuil Hall on the eighteenth of March, in commemoration of the repeal of the Stamp Act, which the Selectmen were requested to see carried into effect, and also "to make provision for drinking the King's health."

May 8. At the May meeting of the Town, a letter was ordered to be written to Colonel Barré, informing him that his Picture had been received and placed in Faneuil Hall. Town-meetings of this period were called at nine o'clock in the morning, and the people were duly notified that "the Poll for the choice of Representatives would be closed at twelve o'clock, and a strict scrutiny would be made as to the qualification of voters." And, on the notifications was printed, "A person entitled to vote must have a freehold of forty shillings per annum, or other estate worth forty pounds sterling." Notifications were posted six days before the day of meeting.

July 13. The Gun-House on the Common was ordered to be repaired, and enlarged if necessary, "for the reception of the Artillery lately given by the Province for the use of the Boston regiment."

Sept. 10. On the tenth of September died Jeremy Gridley, Esq., the Attorney General of the Province, a preëminent lawyer. He has been mentioned before as the Editor of the Rehearsal, the instructor of James Otis in his legal studies, and as Grand Master in the Society of Free Masons. Major General Richard Gridley, distinguished at Louisbourg, was his brother. He was Colonel of the first regiment of Boston, at the time of his death, and his age was about sixty-three.

Oct. 9. Mr. Edward Payne, Benjamin Kent, Esq., Thomas Dowse, Esq., Melatiah Bourne, Esq., Jonathan Williams, Esq., Mr. John Boylston, and Col. John Hill, were a Committee "to take measures to make the entrance into the Town near the Fortifications more respectable."

Dec. 22. At the adjourned Town-meeting on the twenty-second of December, Instructions to the Representatives were reported and adopted. From these Instructions it appears that the restraint which the people had voluntarily imposed upon themselves, of abstaining from superfluities, had been entirely thrown off on the repeal of the Stamp Act. "It is with concern," say the Instructions, "we are obliged to say, that under all this difficulty our private debts to the British merchants have been increasing; and our importations, even of superfluities, as well as other articles, have been so much beyond the

* The Bostonians are thus reproached in the anonymous letters before cited:—"What! cries our good people here, 'Negro slaves in Boston! It cannot be.' It is nevertheless true. For though the Bostonians have grounded their rebellion on the 'immutable laws of nature,' yet, notwithstanding their resolves about

freedom in their Town-meetings, they actually have in town 2000 Negro slaves." Page 38—9. That writer's extravagance, in stating the number of slaves in Boston in 1774, shows him to have written with but a shadow of a regard to truth. He may be right as to the move for the abolition of slavery.

bounds of prudence, that our utmost efforts, it is to be feared, will not save us from impending ruin. At the same time our trade, by which alone we are enabled to balance our accounts with Great Britain, is almost every branch of it burthened with duties and restrictions, whereby it is rendered unprofitable to us, and is, indeed, in danger of being totally obstructed and ruined. In such a deplorable situation, we warmly recommend to you, gentlemen, to exert yourselves in promoting every prudent measure which may be proposed to put a stop to that profusion of luxury, so threatening to the Country; to encourage a spirit of industry and frugality among the people, and to establish manufactures in the Province." The Instructions also urged upon the attention of the Representatives the necessity of restraining the excessive use and consumption of spirituous liquors among the people; "as destructive to the morals as well as the health and substance of the people." They further say, "As we have nothing more at heart than to maintain a lasting and perpetual friendship and union with the people of Great Britain, who are our fellow-subjects, we rely upon it, that you will at all times readily join in any measures tending to cultivate and establish it; using your best endeavors to circumvent and frustrate the designs of those who would create jealousies and foment divisions between us." They were enjoined also to inspect the Acts of Parliament, to see if any such were passed binding on the Colonies, that timely measures might be adopted to remedy any inconvenience arising therefrom, "as we are not, and cannot be, represented in the Parliament which passeth such laws."

The establishment of manufactures came up in due course in the General Court, and Brig. Timothy Ruggles, of Hardwick, was the only member who voted against such establishment.* The Boston delegation were particularly sensitive with regard to the course of Mr Ruggles, who handed in his reasons for his vote in writing; and, when the question was put for entering those reasons on the Journal, it passed in the negative. The linen manufactory, which had been discontinued in the Town, was again attempted to be established.

A series of twelve interesting and able letters appeared in the various newspapers of the day, signed "A Farmer." At the Town-meeting on the fourteenth of March, the subject of those letters was taken up. It was voted "that the thanks of the Town be given to the ingenious Author of those letters, published in Philadelphia and in this place; wherein the rights of the American subjects are clearly stated and fully vindicated; and Dr. Benjamin Church, John Hancock, Esq., Mr. Samuel Adams, Dr. Joseph Warren, and John Rowe, Esq., were appointed a Committee to prepare and publish

* This gentleman made himself unnecessarily obnoxious to the Liberty party. Afterwards, when the subject of sending Representatives to Parliament was debated in the General Court, while Mr. Otis was urging the inseparability of representation and taxation,

Mr. Ruggles interrupted him by the sneering remark, that when Representatives were to be sent, he wished to have the privilege of recommending a merchant who would carry them to England for half what they would sell for when they got there.



a letter of thanks accordingly." It does not appear from the records, that the name of the Author of the since celebrated letters was at that time known. It proved to be John Dickinson, Esq., of Delaware, who was the Samuel Adams of the Middle States.

At the same Town-meeting, the subject of manufactures was brought forward, and a large Committee* appointed to procure subscriptions for the encouragement of the manufacturing of Duck, lately established in the Town by John Barret, Esq. Mr. Gawen Browne was encouraged to exhibit at this meeting "the frame and principal movements of a new and curious Town-clock," which he had manufactured.†

The Selectmen chosen were Joseph Jackson, Samuel Sewall, John Ruddock, John Hancock, William Phillips, Timothy Newell, and John Rowe. Sewall, Phillips, and Newell, resigned after having entered upon their duties, and Joshua Henshaw, Samuel Pemberton, and Henderson Inches, were elected in their stead.

On the eighteenth of the same month the repeal of the Stamp Act was celebrated "by a large company, who met at the British Coffee-house, and Col. Ingersoll's in King-street." In the evening a great body of people assembled, and attempted to kindle a bonfire, but were prevailed upon by some influential gentlemen to desist, and they desisted accordingly. In the morning of the same day there were found suspended on Liberty Tree two Images; one represented a certain Commissioner, and the other, one of the Inspectors. These were taken down without opposition; being done by two or three gentlemen, well-known friends of Liberty.‡

The progress of the schemes, which finally resulted in the Acts of Parliament for raising a revenue in the Colonies by imposts; the gradual and artful plans for rendering the Governments in them entirely independent of the people; the Act creating a Board of Commissioners to carry into effect the new revenue laws; and the Act for quartering troops among the people, for the evident purpose of overawing them into a submission to these arbitrary and iniquitous measures; all impor-

* The Committee consisted of Ebenezer Storer, Benj. Austin, Wm. Whitwell, Thos. Daws, Joseph Waide, Moses Gill, Saml. Austin, Wm. Greenleaf, Wm. Gray, Saml. Partridge, Nathl. Barbour, and John Ballard. At the meeting on the 11th of May, the Committee reported that they had not met with the encouragement anticipated; had got but £150 subscribed, which was only one half of what was required. They were requested to renew their efforts, and to report at a future time.

† Mr. Browne was an inhabitant of the Town. It is said, in a description of his Clock, that "the two great wheels took near 90 lb. weight of cast brass. It was calculated for 8 days, to show the hours and minutes; to have three great dials, and a mechanic lever to pre-

serve the motion during the winding-up. The pendulum wheel and plates to perform the dead beat." Its "mathematical pendulum" was so contrived that it could be "altered the 3500th part of an inch, while the clock is going."

‡ The Governor had heard that an Effigy demonstration was in preparation. "On the very day before," he says, "I spoke with the most knowing men I could procure, who were very positive no Effigies would be hung up, and yet late that evening I had certain advice that Effigies were prepared, but it was too late to do anything. Early the next morning the Sheriff came to me to inform me that Effigies of Mr. Paxton and Mr. Williams were hanging upon Liberty Tree." — Bernard's *Letter to Shelburne*, 19 Mar., 1768.

tant affairs for understanding the true character of the American Revolution, which was the immediate consequence of them, are the concerns of the general history of the Colonies, and cannot be fully considered, even in the most important section of them.

But as the Board of Commissioners here necessarily referred to had its head-quarters in Boston, and as the acts of those composing that Board led to serious difficulties in the Town shortly after, the following details cannot be dispensed with in this place.

Mr. Charles Paxton had left for England, for the express purpose, no doubt, of causing the commission to be located in Boston, and for being himself placed in it. He succeeded in his design.* The Board consisted of Charles Paxton, Henry Hulton, William Burch, John Temple,† and John Robinson, Esquires. The two last named were already in this country, and the other three arrived in the beginning of November, 1767. These appointments were made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a situation given him on his pledging himself to raise a revenue in America. But he did not live to see the mischief his undertaking brought upon the two countries, for he died on the fourth of September, 1767, at the early age of forty-two.

The sure effect of enforcing the new revenue laws was to revive smuggling in one quarter, and in another the non-importation system.

Oct. 28. The latter was immediately entered upon; first in a private club of gentlemen in the Town, and not long after in open Town-meeting. Thus measures were agreed upon, by which industry, economy, and manufactures, should be promoted. Committees and subscription papers were set on foot to carry out these objects.‡ At first they did not meet with the success anticipated. Many were inclined to submit to the new order of things, rather than to incur the dangers which they imagined awaited such an opposition. The repetition of the scenes of the Stamp-Act tragedies were certainly to be avoided. Besides, Mr. Otis was against the measure; and Nov. 20. in a Town-meeting in November, 1767, spoke pointedly against it; for at that time Boston stood almost alone. However, when about two months after, it was found that Connecticut and New York

* "Mr. Paxton, thought to be the most plausible and insinuating of mankind, though not the most sincere, had free access to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Charles Townshend. It is said that he whined, cried, professed, swore, and made his will in favor of that great man; and then urged the necessity of an 'American Board of Commissioners,' and his having a seat at it." — Gordon.

† Mr. Temple, by his temperate and careful conduct, escaped the troubles which fell upon his companions in office. He was Surveyor General before made a Commissioner, and it was well known that he did not approve of a Board of that kind, but was contented with his former office.

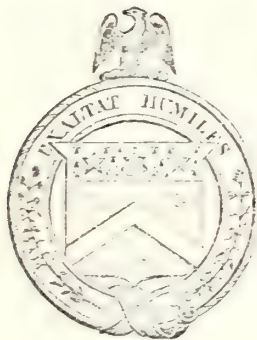
‡ The gentlemen appointed to obtain sub-

scriptions were John Rowe, Wm. Greenleaf, Melatiah Bourne, Samuel Austin, Edward Payne, Edmund Quincy, third, John Ruddock, Jonathan Williams, Joshua Henshaw, Henderson Inches, Solomon Davis, Joshua Winslow, and Thomas Cushing. By the terms of subscription, the subscribers were to encourage the use and consumption of all articles manufactured in any of the British American Colonies, and more especially in this Province, and after the 31st of Dec. next, not to purchase certain specified articles imported from abroad; also to adhere strictly to the late regulations respecting funerals. Copies of these terms were sent to every town in the Province, and to the principal towns in the other Provinces.

had come out in favor, and that Newport and Providence were with them, the Bostonians renewed their efforts to organize the non-importation system. They were much encouraged by letters from merchants in Philadelphia. It was said in that city, "If America is saved from its impending danger, New England will be its acknowledged guardian."

CHAPTER LXXII.

The Boston Chronicle. — Eminent Strangers. — The King's Birthday celebrated. — Frigate. — Impressment Case. — Wine Seizure. — Capt. Marshall. — Capt. Malcom. — Officers of the Customs mobbed. — Flight of Commissioners. — Town-meeting. — James Otis. — Committee wait on the Governor. — Military Forces expected. — Position of Governors and Governed. — Resistance of the People feared. — Rescinding Troubles. — Lady Frankland. — The King's Governor a Soldier of Fortune. — Troops ordered. — Convention of Towns. — A Tar-Barrel. — Inhabitants advised to arm. — Arrival of Troops.



SEARS.*

FOR above ten years there had not been any new newspaper started in Boston. There were regularly issued during that period four weekly papers, namely, the News-Letter, the Evening Post, the Gazette, and the Advertiser or Post-boy. On the 21st of December, 1767, John Mein, a bookseller, and John Fleeming, a printer, commenced the publication of a fifth paper, which they called the Boston Chronicle. It was a model paper, as to size,† being in quarto, though printed on a whole sheet demi. The publishers continued it in this form for one year,

* The immediate ancestry of the Searses in New England were of Colechester in Essex, Old England. Richard, son of John Bourchier Sears, of Colechester, arrived in Plymouth, N. E., May 8th, 1630. He married Dorothy Thacher, and was seated at Yarmouth, of which he was some time a Representative in the Old Colony Legislature; dying in 1676, leaving three sons. Knyvet, the oldest, made two voyages to England to recover his paternal estates, but, dying there in 1686, those estates were not only lost to his family, but the evidences of their right to them also. He died at the residence of his relative, Catherine Knyvet, daughter of Sir John Knyvet, who afterwards married Lord Berners. Knyvet Sears left by wife Elizabeth (Dimoke) sons Daniel and Richard. The former, born 1682, settled at Chatham, and had by wife Sarah (Hawes), Daniel, Richard and David. The two last

were slain in the battle of Culloden; the former (Daniel), born 1712, inherited the estates of his father, and by his wife, Fear (Freeman), had sons Richard, David and Daniel. David, the second son, settled in Boston, became an opulent merchant of the highest respectability; married, in 1786, Anna, dau. of John Winthrop, Esq., and had one son, the present Hon. DAVID SEARS, whose liberal benefactions on various occasions would be an enviable memorial to any citizen of a Metropolis renowned for generous sons. The mansion of Mr. Sears, fronting the northerly side of the Common, built upon land once owned by John Singleton Copley, is one of great beauty, displaying a taste for permanence and comfort, rather than for show and ornament, and of which there is a good engraving.

† It is to be lamented that the taste of this age for large newspapers is so entirely destruc-



and then issued it in a crown folio size, and published it twice a week, which was the first semi-weekly paper in New England. It was a valuable and impartial paper for the first year, but the next year it lost its popularity by taking up the cause of the Mother Country, and was suspended on the 25th of June, 1770.

May 20. On the twentieth of May, came in the ship *London Packet*, Capt. Robert Calef, from London, with whom came passengers, Commodore Joshua Loring,* and the Rev. Samson Occum, a Mohegan Indian. Mr. Occum had been about two years in England, collecting money for the benefit of Moore's Indian Charity School, at Lebanon, in Connecticut, now under the charge of the Rev. Eleazer Wheelock. He is said to have been the first Indian preacher in Europe.†

May 26. At the meeting of the General Court the Hon. Thomas Cushing was elected Speaker, and Samuel Adams, Esq., Clerk. The Governor negatived six of the Councillors, among whom are the historical names of James Otis, John Hancock and Artemas Ward.‡

June 4. The fourth of June being the King's thirty-first birthday, it was celebrated with much spirit. At sunrise the flags were displayed at Castle William, and each of the Town Batteries, and at twelve o'clock the guns of those forts were discharged, and also those of the frigate *Romney*, then in the harbor. The Governor's troop of guards under Col. Phipps, the regiment of the Town, under Col. Jackson, with the train of Artillery, under Capt. Paddock, all mustered in King-street, where the troop and regiment fired three rounds, and the artillery responded with their "new pieces." §

One irritating circumstance after another transpired, and at brief

tive of their preservation. Instead of increasing their number of pages, nearly all publishers have the propensity to increase the size of their sheets: under the erroneous notion, probably, that their importance or circulation depends upon an immense broadside display. The consequence is, such papers stand hardly any chance of being preserved; and, if preserved, they are so unwieldy, they cannot be consulted except at extreme inconvenience. Almost every important paper of this day is printed upon an overgrown sheet, and hence scarcely any of them will reach another age; while the little papers, before the Revolution, will remain as sparkling pages of the history of the world. The *New York Tribune*, and a few others, are tolerable exceptions to the unwieldy, un preservable papers of our age. Some of these will be preserved, and cordially greeted in other days, while the more pretending sheets will sink into oblivion from their own weight, and be known only by name.

* A son of the Commodore, Joshua Loring, Jr., Esq., was here the next year, having been appointed "permanent High Sheriff of Massachusetts." He married a Miss Lloyd, 19 Oct., 1769. The wedding was at Col. Hatch's, in

Dorchester. Sir John Wentworth Loring, b. 13 Oct., 1775, was his son. Another son, Henry Lloyd, died Archdeacon of Calcutta, in 1832.

† The author of the scurrilous letters before cited has a good deal to say about Mr. Occum and his mission; also about those who accompanied him: "The money-collecting expedition of the Rev. triumvirate, the two white parsons and the black one, sooty Mr. Occum. The latter was fitted out by that wise head of the faction, Mr. Hancock, who also complimented him with the use of the cabin of one his vessels bound to England." — Page 102.

‡ Another, Mr. Jerathmeel Bowers, of Swansea, for whom the author of the anonymous letters seems to have had a particular hatred. — See pages 112-13.

§ These "new pieces" were, I presume, the three-pounders, brought from London in the brigantine *Abigail*, Capt. James Harding Stevens, who arrived with them about the 1st of February. They were of brass, and had been cast for the Town, from two old cannon sent over by the General Court for that purpose. Upon them were engraved the arms of the Province.

intervals. The frigate Romney, of fifty guns, Capt. John Corner, lately arrived from Halifax, was the station-ship, at this time, which lay moored in the harbor.* Some men had been pressed from several vessels into the ship's service, by his orders, on his passage from Halifax. However, when visited by a deputation of gentlemen,† he was found so conciliatory and agreeable, that the affair passed off much more quietly than was anticipated. But the class of people from among whom the impressments were made were much incensed, and the merchants believed the Romney had been sent for by the Commissioners to compel them to submit to the revenue laws.

June 10. Soon after, a sloop belonging to John Hancock, Esq., bearing the unfortunate name of "The Liberty," arrived loaded with wine from Madeira. As she was lying at Hancock's wharf, on Friday, the tenth of June, the Tidewater, Thomas Kirk, went on board, and was followed by Capt. John Marshall, — who commanded Mr. Hancock's ship, the London Packet, — with five or six others. These persons confined Kirk below, and kept him some three hours; and in the mean while the wine was taken out, and no entry made of it at the Custom-house or Naval Office. The next morning, the master, Mr. Nathaniel Barnard, entered, it is said, four or five pipes of wine, and made oath that that was all he brought into port. It was therefore resolved to seize the sloop upon a charge of false entry. Accordingly, Mr. Joseph Harrison, the Collector, and Benjamin Hallowell, the Comptroller, repaired to Hancock's wharf. It was now between six and seven o'clock in the evening, and Mr. Harrison objected to making the seizure, as it was so late in the day; probably fearing some disturbance, as laboring people were just relieved from their daily employments, and had begun to be numerous in the streets.‡ However, the seizure was made, and Mr. Harrison proposed to let the sloop lie at the wharf for the night, supposing she might do so without interference, "the broad arrow" being upon her. But Mr. Hallowell, judging from his former experience that the affair might not pass without trouble, decided that it was best to move the sloop under the guns of the Romney. Signals were therefore made for the frigate's boats to come to the place. A considerable number

* When a former Commander left this station, about the 1st of Dec., 1766, the Town appointed a Committee to wait upon him with expressions of gratitude for his kindness in the discharge of his duties. The Committee was composed of Samuel Adams, John Rowe, and John Hancock. The following preamble preceded a vote of thanks: "Whereas John Lewis Gideon, Esq., Commander of His Majesty's ship Jamaica, has, upon all occasions during his station here, for about three years past, discovered a readiness to do everything in his power for promoting the interests of the Province and Town in particular, and by his behavior and good services has given great satisfaction to the Town." Therefore voted, etc.

† Royal Tyler, Esq., one of the Council, was of the Committee; they made their report to the Town on the 16th of June. Capt. Corner gave his word that no one should be pressed belonging to, or who were married in, this Province; nor any employed in the trade along shore or neighboring Colonies.

‡ Hutchinson says that the wine taken from the vessel was carted through the streets in the night; and, though it was notorious to a great part of the Town, no officer of the Customs thought fit to attempt a seizure; nor is it probable he could have succeeded, if he had attempted it, as it was guarded by 30 or 40 stout fellows armed with bludgeons. There are some discrepancies in the accounts.

of people had by this time been attracted to the wharf, and some one among them cried out that there was no occasion for the vessel's removal, that she would be safe where she was, that no officer had any right to remove her. But the Romney's boats arrived, cut the sloop's moorings, and carried her off, though at much peril and with no little difficulty.

The gathering upon the wharf was now increased to a Mob ; many of whom, not understanding what was done, supposed there had been another impressment affair, and hence were furious ; swore vengeance and destruction to the oppressors, as nearly all connected with the Government were called. Ill-temper and a spirit of revenge once engendered are easily transferred from an imaginary object to a real one. Hence, when it became known that a vessel of a popular citizen had been seized by order of the new Commissioners, the fury of the Mob was as great as it was under the supposition before mentioned. In this state of exasperation they fell upon the officers, several of whom barely escaped with life. Among the numerous missiles thrown at Mr. Harrison was a brick or stone, which struck him on the breast ; from the effects of which he was confined to his bed. His son, Mr. Richard Acklom Harrison,* was thrown down, dragged by the hair of his head, and otherwise barbarously treated. Mr. Hallowell and Mr. Irving,† Inspectors, did not fare much better. The former was confined to his house from the wounds and bruises he received ; and the latter, besides having his sword broken, was beaten with clubs and sticks and considerably wounded. The Mob next proceeded to the house of Mr. John Williams, the Inspector General, broke his windows, and also those of the house of the Comptroller, Mr. Hallowell. They then took the Collector's boat, and dragged it to the Common, and there burnt every fragment of it.‡ This was the end of Friday night's proceedings ; and, as Saturday and Sunday evenings were sacred, things remained quiet during those evenings.

In the mean time the community were surprised on hearing of the death of Capt. Marshall, the popular master of the London Packet, who died the same night of the riot at Hancock's wharf, and it is said his death was caused by the over-exertions which he made in removing the wine from the sloop Liberty.

The most conspicuous man on the part of the Mob was Captain Daniel Malcom, a trader in Fleet-street, who, it is said, was deeply interested in the wines attempted to be smuggled. The Revenue officers knew him well, and owed him no good-will for very good

* He was not one of the officers of the Revenue, but was accompanying his father in his official duties.

† His name is about as often found spelled *Irving* as *Irvine*. Governor Bernard has it both ways in his letters. He was not concerned in the seizure of the sloop.

‡ This was a pleasure-boat of Mr. Harrison, "built by himself in a particular and elegant manner." The boat-burners "got some rum, and attempted to get more ; if they had procured it in quantity God knows where this fury would have ended !" — *Letter of Gov. Bernard.*



reasons; for some eighteen months before they undertook to search his premises for contraband goods, but were obliged to retreat before deadly weapons, without effecting their object; and, from his manner and that of those about him, the Officers did not think it safe or prudent to attempt again to renew the search. On the occasion of the seizure of the Liberty, he headed the party of men who exerted themselves to prevent her removal to the Romney.* This affair was said by the principal gentlemen of the Town to have been greatly misrepresented by the Governor, who took measures to procure *ex parte* depositions relative to it. The deponents mentioned were Stephen Greenleaf, the Sheriff of the County, William Sheaff, Deputy Collector of the Customs, and Benjamin Hallowell, Comptroller. These depositions, it was believed, were taken for the express purpose of being sent to the Ministry. Therefore a Town-meeting was called to take the matter into consideration. The Town met accordingly on the eighth of October, 1766; and appointed James Otis, Joseph Jackson, John Hancock, William Phillips, Timothy Newell, John Rowe, Samuel Adams, and Joshua Henshaw, a Committee to wait on the Governor "to desire copies" of those depositions. The Committee immediately waited upon his Excellency, and in the afternoon of the same day reported to the adjourned meeting that they were informed by him, "that by order of Council said depositions were to be kept secret; but he would comply if so ordered by said Council." Copies of the depositions were finally obtained, and measures taken to counteract their ill effect in England.†

June 13. The Commissioners had thus far escaped the resentment of the people, so freely dealt out to the officers acting under them; but, feeling no security in their own houses, they fled during the riot to those of their friends.‡ These, they soon had intimations, were very insecure retreats, and they informed the Governor early on Monday morning that they were going on board the Romney,§ and requested

* Daniel Malcom, John Matchet, Captain Hopkins, and others, said the sloop should not be taken into custody; and declared they would go on board and throw the people belonging to the Romney overboard. — *Deposition of Benj. Hallowell, Jr., before Edmund Quincy, J. P.* Gov. Bernard said of Captain Malcom, "This man was thought a fit person to be upon a Grand Jury before whom his own Riots were to be inquired into; who, having twice in a forcible manner set the laws at defiance with success, has thereby raised himself to be a Mob Captain." — *Letter to Hillsborough*. Like his friend Marshall, Malcom did not long survive these scenes. He died Oct. 23d, 1769, in his 44th year. He was by birth, I believe, an Irishman.

† At a Town-meeting on the 22 Oct., 1766, soon after the affair with Malcom, a Committee was appointed to write to the Agent of

the Town in London, Dennis De Berdt, Esq., to prepare him to meet the charges contained in the Government depositions and other documents which might accompany them.

‡ In writing to the Earl of Shelburne, of date 19 March, 1768, Mr. Bernard says, on one occasion, "A number of lads, about 100, paraded the Town with a drum and horns, passed by the Council Chamber whilst I was sitting there in Council, assembled before Mr. Paxton's house, and huzzaed, and to the number of at least 60 lusty fellows invested Mr. Burch's house for some time, so that his lady and children were obliged to go out at the back door to avoid the danger which was threatened. This was, I think, on March the 4th."

§ It appears from the letters of Gov. Bernard that the Commissioners went on board the Romney on Saturday evening following the

an order from him to be received into the Castle, which his Excellency gave them; also informing them that he could not protect them. Shortly after, they were conveyed in boats to that fortress, where they remained for a long time; yet they went and came at their pleasure, and were not molested.

At the time of their escape on board the Romney, the people were assembling in different parts of the Town, apparently under some organization for further movements against the officers of the Customs, and particularly against the Commissioners, as was supposed; but, as the latter had escaped, and the others were mostly concealed, no further violence was attempted. This state of things, perhaps, induced the leaders of the people to post up notices* calling for a meeting of the Sons of Liberty the next day at ten o'clock, at Liberty Hall.†

June 14. Several thousands accordingly assembled at the time and place, but it being rainy, they chose their senior Selectman Moderator, and then adjourned to Faneuil Hall. Here it was agreed to have forthwith a legal Town-meeting, and notifications for that object signed by the Selectmen were immediately posted up for a meeting at three o'clock in the afternoon of the same day. So great was the attendance at the hour, that Faneuil Hall could not accommodate them, and they adjourned to the Old South, that being the largest house in the Town. Mr. Otis was elected Moderator. "After very cool and deliberate debates," say the Records, an Address to the Governor was unanimously agreed upon. A Committee of twenty-one gentlemen was appointed to wait upon his Excellency with the Address.‡ Mr. Rowe, Mr. Hancock, and Dr. Warren, were made a sub-committee, to wait first on his Excellency, to ascertain at what time it would be convenient for him to receive the whole Committee. They soon came into the meeting, and reported that the Chief Magistrate was at his country-seat. Whereupon it was voted that the Committee proceed to the Governor's country-seat in Roxbury. Then, after a Speech from Mr. Otis, the Moderator, the meeting was adjourned to the next day at four o'clock in the afternoon. In Mr. Otis's Speech he persuaded

riot. On June 18th he wrote: "The Commissioners and their families, and Officers, are still on board the Romney, where they proceed in their business. The Town won't hear of their return to Boston, and it is much better that they should not until the question is determined. I hear that they are to fix their residence at the Castle next Monday. The Romney is fell down, and now lies off the Castle towards the Town. There is a Sloop of War, of 16 guns, just come in, which being stationed off the other side of the Castle will complete the command of all the approaches to the Castle."

* In a letter of Governor Bernard's, dated the same day, he says: "There was found sticking upon Liberty Tree a paper inviting all the Sons of Liberty to meet at 6 o'clock, to clear the land of the vermin, etc. etc."

† Liberty Hall was the *ground* immediately about Liberty Tree. Since August last (1767), a flag-staff had been erected at Liberty Hall, which went through Liberty Tree, extending far above its topmost branches. When a flag was seen flying on this staff, it was a signal to the Sons of Liberty to be prepared for action. Their primary movements appear to have much puzzled the officials.

‡ These are the names of the Committee of *twenty-one*; James Otis, Joshua Henshaw, Joseph Jackson, John Ruddock, John Hancock, John Rowe, Saml. Pemberton, Henderson Inches, Dr. Thomas Young, Dr. Joseph Warren, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, Dr. Benj. Church, Samuel Quincy, Edward Payne, Daniel Malcom, Richard Dana, Melatiah Bourne, Benj. Kent, Royal Tyler, and Josiah Quincy.



the people to be peaceable, and to keep good order, which was the true course to obtain that which they sought for, a redress of grievances. If, by adopting that course, he said, they failed, a resistance unto blood by one and all would be justifiable before the world; but he prayed that that might never happen. The meeting then closed in good order, and all waited patiently the report of the Committee.

The influence which Mr. Otis had over the people is strikingly observable throughout his whole career. His importance in every Town-meeting has scarcely been equalled by any man's at any period in the history of the Town. When he made his appearance he was received with deafening shouts, a universal clapping of hands, and all other possible demonstrations of admiration. He could successfully put aside any wild, violent or extravagant motions without offending the movers. At the meeting now under consideration, there was a proposition that every Captain of a man-of-war who came into this Harbor should be under the command of the General Court. Another was that if any person should promote or assist the bringing of troops here, he should be deemed a disturber of the peace and a traitor to his country; but they were warded off.

Meantime the Committee of twenty-one proceeded to the Governor's country-seat at Jamaica Plains, about four miles from Town. They went in eleven chaises, and were received on their arrival by the Governor with all possible civility. On receiving the Address or Petition,* his Excellency told them he would give them an answer to it in writing the next day. Wine was then passed round, and they left highly pleased with their reception, "especially that part of them which had not been used to an interview with him."

June 15. The next day the Town met again at the Old South to hear the Report of the Committee. Mr. Otis delivered the Governor's answer, taking notice at the same time of the kind entertainment the Committee had met with at his house, and observed, that he really believed the Governor was a well-wisher to the Province. Such

* In that Address it is said, "Dutiful Petitions have been preferred to our most gracious Sovereign, which (though, to the great consternation of the people, we now learn have been cruelly and insidiously prevented reaching the Royal presence) we have waited to receive a gracious answer to, with the greatest attention to the public peace, until we find ourselves invaded with an armed force, seizing, impressing and imprisoning the persons of our fellow-subjects, contrary to express acts of Parliament. Menaces have been thrown out, fit only for barbarians, which already affect us in the most sensible manner, and threaten us with famine and desolation; as all navigation is obstructed, upon which our whole support depends; and the Town is, at this crisis, in a situation nearly such as if war was formally declared against it. To contend with our

parent State is, in our idea, the most shocking and dreadful extremity; but tamely to relinquish the only security we and our posterity retain of the enjoyment of our lives and properties without one struggle, is so humiliating and base that we cannot support the reflection." They then go on to say that they hoped "in his inclination to prevent this distressed and justly incensed people from effecting too much, and from the shame and reproach of attempting too little." That the Board of Customs, having relinquished the exercise of their Commission, would never resume it, they hoped, under the conviction of its injustice and impropriety, and the inevitable destruction which would ensue from the exercise of their office. And, lastly, it was demanded that the frigate *Romney* should be removed out of the Harbor.

an inference at this time was a very reasonable one, for the Governor, knowing he was entirely at the mercy of the people, expressed himself in his reply in the mildest possible terms, though he did not comply with the requests in the Petition, arguing that they were not within his authority.

Governor Bernard had for some time considered himself driven to the last extremity; the people had not only got the control of the House of Representatives, but of the Council also. His negating Councillors had no other effect than to strengthen the opposition to his measures, for in the end none were brought forward by the House but such as were known friends to its measures. Hence the Governor plainly saw there was a crisis already arrived, and his only hope was from a military power. This he had been intimating in his letters to Earl Hillsborough,* to General Gage, in New York, and to Admiral Hood, at Halifax. To anticipate events the latter had sent two ships of war to support the station-ship, which already frowned defiance in the harbor, and the former was only waiting for Governor Bernard to signify his desire, and one or more regiments of soldiers would be at once sent to his support.

It had been a long time since the people had begun to complain of encroachments upon their rights. They had seen that one encroachment was relinquished only to undertake another; and that even more oppressive than the former. They saw that every new project for raising a revenue was creating new places for the favorites of their originators. That, to carry these oppressions into effect, they were to admit amongst them a large number of people, who were to be maintained by their industry; in fact, the very tools of oppression.† But it was all according to law, and that law was sanctioned by the King. They said, and said truly, that law was one thing, and right was, at least, in their case, a very different thing. It was very clearly seen by the Colonial Government in Boston that so long as the Representatives of the people had the choosing of the Councillors, but little would eventually be left for a Governor to do but to assent to whatever bill they might pass, or to reject them. This was no desirable situation for a Governor. Hence originated an attempt to make the Council as independent of the people as the Governor himself was. This gave the people great alarm. They saw that if the Council was to be appointed by the Crown all offices were liable to the same usurpation. And they very reasonably argued that they had no security

* He was his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the American Department only. To him all communications from the Governor were addressed. He had been at the head of the Board of Trade, and when it decided to establish this new office, at the close of the last year, Hillsborough was appointed to fill it. His original name was Willis Hill.

† "When the British Ministry, embarrassed by the arrears of the Civil List (unable any

longer to provide for the purposes of venality and corruption), and tired with the reiterated importunities of their dependents (for whom no adequate provisions could be made, as the advantage arising from the disposal of places was already anticipated by reversionary grants of all the most lucrative sinecures in the Kingdom), first formed the design of raising a Revenue from the Colonies." — *Samuel Adams' Letter to Hillsborough*.



against the most arbitrary designs which tyranny might think proper to exercise. It is not, therefore, strange that resistance was made when, and in the manner it was.

The people were accused of being incendiaries, breakers of the laws, and of maltreating the King's officers, as though there was no fault in the laws, or those who undertook their execution; while the people believed that he who undertook to execute a bad law was, to say the least, as bad as the law itself. In their case it was true, because they had no voice in making the laws of which they complained. Hence a resistance to laws in an elective Government, as that of the United States, is not a parallel case to that here adduced, though there are those who run such a parallel.

That there was to be a general resistance of the people by arms to the measures of Government, Mr. Bernard was well satisfied; and that immediately. For only eight days after the seizure of the sloop *Liberty* he wrote to Hillsborough that the men-of-war June 18. were stationed so as to defend the Castle from an attack by the people; and added, "If there was not a revolt, the leaders of the Sons of Liberty must falsify their words and change their purposes; yet I cannot think they will be so mad as to attempt to defend the Town, in its defenceless state, against the King's forces. But the lengths they have gone already are scarce short of madness."

The Instructions given by the Town to its Representatives, the day before,* doubtless strengthened Governor Bernard in his convictions that a resistance by arms must be the consequence, and caused him to use the strong expression, that if they did not resist they "must falsify their words." The Instructions state, "It is our unalterable resolution, at all times, to assert and vindicate our dear and invaluable rights and liberties, at the utmost hazard of our lives and fortunes; and we have full and rational confidence that no designs formed against them will ever prosper."

If preparations had before this been in progress to bring troops into the Town, those preparations would not afterwards be likely to be relaxed. And after the Instructions to the Boston Representatives were read in the House on the morning of the eighteenth, a Committee was appointed in that body to inquire into the "grounds and reasons of the present apprehensions of the people that measures have been taken, or are now taking, for the execution of the late Revenue Acts by a naval or military force." Suspicions that an armed force was to be soon expected were well founded, for by the July packet from England, General Gage received orders at New York to remove one or two of the regiments at Halifax to Boston. Whatever

* That was the day (the 17th) on which Richard Dana, Esq., Dr. Benjamin Church, they were reported and adopted in Town-meeting. The Committee to draft them was John Adams, Esq., John Rowe, Esq., Mr. Henderson Inches, and Mr. Edward Payne. The Town Records state that the instructions appointed at the meeting of the 15th, and consisted of seven, namely: Dr. Joseph Warren, were accepted "unanimously."



business had been lately transacted between the Governor and the Assembly was done in a high spirit of antagonism. The Assembly had received great encouragement from the other Colonies, and the Governor had the assurance of being sustained by a military force. But he acknowledged his inability to maintain the position expected of him by his superiors, and excused himself in these words: "I will here observe that it may be suggested that I have not conducted this business with spirit; but it must be remembered to what a weakness this Government is reduced, which makes the most gentle way of doing any business the most advisable."

The Governor prorogued the General Court on the first of July 1. July amidst much confusion. He had required them in his Majesty's name to rescind the Resolutions* sent by the last House to the several Colonies on the Continent, but they refused by a very decisive majority.† Those members who were not present when the vote was taken, wrote letters to the Speaker, endorsing the action of the majority, and avowing that they should have voted against rescinding if they had been present.

The Governor and his friends now gave up all hope of anything but a shadow of authority until they should be seconded by force of arms. No General Court could be called "till the pleasure of his Majesty should be known."

On the seventh of June, the ship *Juno*, Capt. Constant Freeman, arrived from Bristol, in which came passenger the lady and son of the late Sir Henry Frankland.‡ He had died at Bath on the eleventh of the preceding January, as previously mentioned. She was a native of New England, a Miss Agnes Brown. At Lisbon, in 1755, at the time of the great earthquake, she escaped being buried in the ruins of that city in which her husband escaped perishing in an almost miraculous manner, after being enveloped by those ruins above an hour. She was in Boston at the commencement of hostilities in 1775, and was an eye-witness to the battle of Bunker's Hill from her own elegant mansion at the North End of the Town, which joined that of Lieut. Gov. Hutchinson. Afterwards she returned to England, and died at Chichester in 1783, aged about fifty-five years. She had a second husband, Mr. John Drew, a banker of Chichester. In 1765, in the absence of Sir Henry Frankland, his mansion-house in Town was in the care of Mr. Ralph Inman, who advertised it as being to let.§ But to return.

* See *Boston Chronicle*, page 125, for a copy of them. These Resolutions were dated Feb. 11th, 1768, and were a means of uniting the Colonies in opposition to the mother country. The measure was at once seen through in England, and Lord Hillsborough made the demand for rescinding in a letter to Governor Bernard, which the Governor laid before the House in his Lordship's own words.

† Ninety-one to seventeen. All the names are given in the *Boston Chronicle*, pages 279, 280, and in other papers of the day.

‡ According to Noble, *Memoirs of the House of Cromwell*, ii. 433, his whole name is Charles Henry Frankland; that he had a natural son whom he named Henry Cromwell. This son went into the navy, and was with Admiral Kempenfelt in his great action off the French coast, Nov. 14th, 1781.

§ The month of July this year was remarkable for tempests, accompanied with thunder and lightning. On the 2d a summer-house behind the Custom-house was partly demolished, and an iron spire upon it broken to

Governor Bernard had not actually applied for troops to be sent to his assistance, dreading the effects of such application if known to the people of the Town; while his complaints and insinuations amounted to the same thing. Indeed, he could do nothing without an armed force, and it was a dangerous experiment to attempt doing anything with one. He was now in the situation of a soldier of fortune, where everything depends upon the success of the cause he had chanced to espouse. It is not the business of one who enters the ranks of an army to inquire whether the cause is just, but he is bound to execute the will of his master. If he succeeds his fortune may be made, but if he fails disgrace awaits him. Thus it was with those who came here to carry out the orders of George the Third.

July 30. The Governor would have ordered troops to Boston before the end of July, but he could not obtain the advice of the Council in his favor, and he dared not do it without. He strongly recommended to Secretary Hillsborough that forces might be sent directly from England, and that the order for their being sent should originate at Westminster. Thus he hoped to throw the responsibility upon his superiors, that he might be enabled to say to the people, as he had all along, that he had ordered no troops to Boston. He received information from General Gage, on the second of July, stating that he had ordered troops to Boston from Halifax, "if they were wanted here." He returned answer to the General that he could not apply for troops; and in writing home he said, "Though I thought it improper for me to require troops, it was full as improper for me to prevent their coming if they were otherwise ordered." This certainly was a very shallow mode of proceeding on the part of the Governor.

On the night of the eighth of July occurred the following circumstance. A schooner was lying at the wharf, with some thirty hogsheads of molasses on board. The vessel and cargo had been seized for a violation of the law of entry, and was in the custody of two of the officers of the Customs. About thirty men went on board, confined the officers in the cabin, and carried off the molasses. This coming to the knowledge of the Selectmen they immediately caused it to be restored. Upon this Governor Bernard wrote to his superior: "So we are not without a government, only it is in the hands of the people of the Town, and not of those deputed by the King, or under his authority." Many had said that there was no necessity for removing the sloop Liberty, and that she would have been safe in the hands of the Custom-house officers. This affair of the molasses would have falsified that assertion, had the article not been restored. Hence the transaction demonstrated two very important points; one that the faith of the Town would be inviolate, and the other that the Selectmen held authority over the people.

pieces. Hollis Hall, at Cambridge, was struck, of Representatives, the Hon. Thomas Cushing, but the damage to it was not great, but several students and the Speaker of the House who happened to be there, narrowly escaped with their lives.

When the Ministry became advised concerning the Riots which followed the seizure of the sloop *Liberty*, they gave orders for two regiments to sail for Boston from Ireland. Although what was intended to be brought about by Governor Bernard was kept secret, yet the Town had good reason to believe that troops were at hand. Therefore a Town-meeting was summoned, which met on the 12th of Sept. 12. September, of which, as usual, Mr. Otis was Moderator. At this meeting the following record was made: — “Whereas it hath been reported in this Town-meeting, that his Excellency the Governor has intimated* his apprehensions, that one or more regiments of his Majesty’s troops are daily to be expected here, Voted, that the Hon. Thomas Cushing, Richard Dana, Samuel Adams, Dr. Joseph Warren, John Rowe, John Hancock, and Benjamin Kent, Esquires, be a Committee to wait upon the Governor, if in Town, humbly requesting that he would be pleased to communicate to the Town the grounds and assurances he may have thereof.” It was voted also to petition the Governor to call “a General Assembly with the utmost speed,” and another large Committee was appointed† “to take the state of our public affairs into consideration,” and to report at the adjourned meeting, what, in their opinion, was “most salutary to be done in the present emergency.”

Sept. 13. On the following day, the Committee to wait on the Governor reported, that his Excellency answered, with regard to the coming of troops, that his information was of a private nature, and did not come from a public source. And, as to calling a General Court, “that was now before the King, and he could do nothing in it.” At the same meeting, the Committee on “the present emergency” reported; upon which it was voted, “that, as the Governor could do nothing to relieve the Town, a suitable number of persons be raised to act for them as a Committee in Convention, with such as might be sent to join them from the several towns in this Province; in order that such measures may be consulted and advised as his Majesty’s service, and the peace and safety of his subjects in this Province, might require.” Accordingly, James Otis, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams and John Hancock were appointed.

What had given immediate rise to these proceedings was the arrival of an officer from Halifax, whose mission was rightly judged to be to make arrangements for quartering troops in the Town. His arrival was “about the beginning” of September, and immediately after, a tar-barrel was discovered in the skillet of the

* The Governor himself says he thought it best that “the expectation of the troops should be gradually communicated;” that therefore he “took an occasion to mention to one of the Council, in the way of discourse, that I had private advice that troops were ordered hither.” — *Letter to Hillsborough*.

† James Otis, Samuel Adams, John Rud-dock, Thomas Cushing, John Hancock, Richard Dana, John Rowe, Samuel Quincy, Joseph Warren, Wm. Molineux, John Bradford, Dan’l Malcolm, William Greenleaf, Adino Paddock, Thomas Boylston, and Arnold Wells, were the Committee.

Beacon on Beacon Hill.* This, it was understood, was to be fired when the King's ships containing troops from Halifax should make their appearance in the bay. Construing the elevation of a tar-barrel, under such circumstances, to be a gross insult to himself, in his military capacity, the Governor summoned the Council, Sept. 11. which was held at a gentleman's house, half way between the Governor's at Jamaica Plains and Boston. Here the tar-barrel question "was debated, and it was resolved that the Selectmen should be desired to take it down; but they would not do it."† However, Sheriff Greenleaf had private orders from the Governor and Council to remove it, using his discretion as to the proper time to do it. He, therefore, taking about a half a dozen men with him, proceeded stealthily to the Hill, just at dinner time, and effected the important object in the space of about ten minutes. This was a victory over the Sons of Liberty, gained while they were not expecting the enemy.

At the adjourned Town-meeting on the 13th of September, Sept. 13. the Selectmen were requested to write to the Selectmen of the other Towns in the Colony, communicating the vote of Boston respecting a call upon the Governor to convene the Assembly, and his refusal to comply, and to propose to them a Convention at Faneuil Hall, on the 22d of September. A Convention followed accordingly.

On the 15th of September the Town met again, and apparently many expected a collision would soon take place, for a request was made that the inhabitants should "provide themselves with firearms, that they may be prepared in case of sudden danger." It was voted that application be made to the ministers to appoint a Fast on the following Tuesday. But these proceedings give a very faint idea of the consternation which now pervaded the Town. The officers thought they had ample reasons for believing that, when the troops arrived, a desperate attempt would be made to prevent their landing. They believed, also, that it was the determination of the Boston people to surprise the Castle. However, if such propositions were talked of, and they doubtless were, they were laid aside for further consideration.

The proceeding of the Town in calling a Convention was viewed by the Governor as another great offence, and the Lieutenant Governor said, that, in everything but the name, such a Convention would be a House of Representatives; and that the meeting which originated the measure had a greater tendency toward a Revolution in govern-

* Governor Bernard says it was an empty turpentine-barrel, and "was put up upon the poll [pole] of the Beacon (which had lately been erected anew in a great hurry by the Selectmen without consulting him), which gave great alarm," &c. Matters now, he said, "exceeded all former exceedings."

† *Letter of Gov. Bernard.* — On the Town Records is this entry, Sept. 12th. "A vote of the Honorable Board respecting a tar-barrel, which was the other night placed in the skillet on Beacon Hill, by persons unknown, was committed to the Town, but not acted upon."



ment than any preceding acts in any of the Colonies.* This, considered in connection with the recommendation about fire-arms, was indeed ominous. The King's officers talked about the treasonable acts of the Selectmen, in thus summoning a Convention, and "the legal guilt of the promoters of it." Some among the people wavered; but, upon the whole, their cause gained ground; and about ninety towns sent Delegates to the Convention, many of whom had been the Representatives from those towns in the General Court.

Sept. 18. On the 18th of September, a ship, Captain Bruce, arrived direct from London; by which Governor Bernard received intelligence that the two Irish regiments, and those from Halifax, might soon be expected in Boston. Upon this, his Excellency exerted himself to provide quarters for them in the Town. The Council advised him to consult with the Selectmen; but the Selectmen would have nothing to do with it.

Meanwhile the Convention had assembled in Faneuil Hall, and this received the Governor's attention; who, relying upon the expected fleet and army, began to assume a little more authority. He sent a note to Mr. Cushing, Chairman of the Convention, directed "to the gentlemen of a Committee of Convention, assembled at Faneuil Hall," in which he observed, that their assembling was a very high offence, and they were liable to penalties; that ignorance of law might excuse them thus far, but, if they went a step further, that plea would not serve them; and added several threats of kingly vengeance. Soon after, the Convention sent an Address to the Governor; but he refused to receive it. They continued in session, however, until the 29th of September; the expected troops having arrived at

Sept. 28. Nantasket the day before.† These troops were the 14th and 29th regiments, and came in six ships of war. Of the former, Lieut. Col. William Dalrymple, and of the latter, Lieut. Col. Maurice Carr, were the commanders. In each regiment were about 500 men. Soon after, arrived a part of the 59th regiment, with a

Sept. 30. company of the Train of Artillery. On the 30th of September, the vessels of war, amounting now to about twelve, sailed into the harbor, and were ranged in a formidable manner about the north-east part of the Town, and came to anchor. The next day, in the forenoon, the men were embarked in the boats and other craft of

* About the same time, Robert Auchmuty, Esq., Admiralty Judge, wrote a private note to the Lieut. Governor, warning him of some plot against his person; but no conspirators are named, nor does there appear any grounds for the suspicion. Mr. Auchmuty says, "Last night I was informed by a gentleman of my acquaintance, who had his information from one intimate with, and knowing to, the infernal purposes of the Sons of Liberty, as they falsely stile themselves, that he verily believed, from the terrible threats and menaces by those

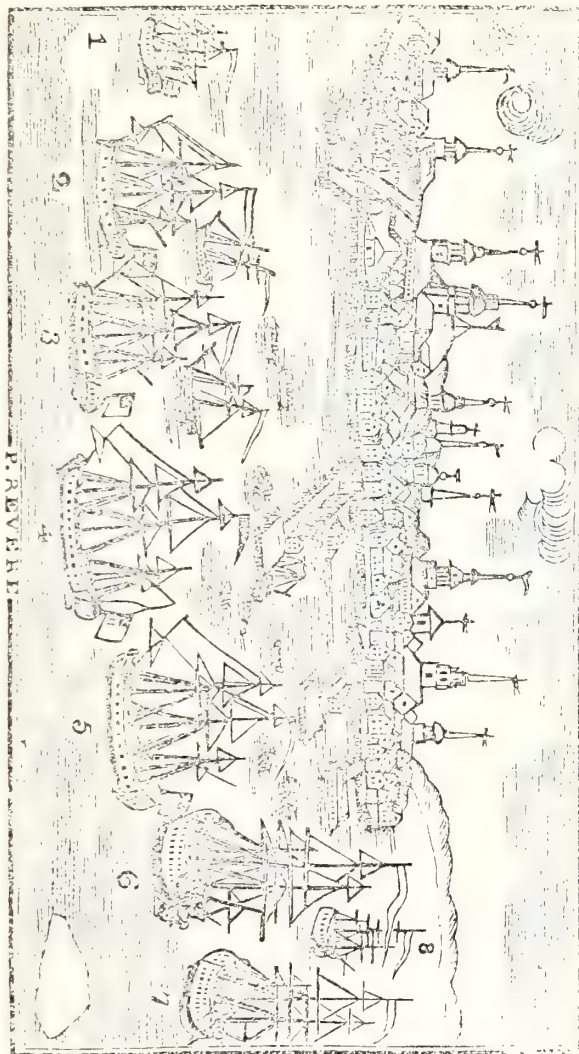
Catalines against you, that your life is greatly in danger." — *Copies of Hutchinson, Oliver, and others' Letters*, p. 13. Judge Auchmuty lived in School-street.

† "On Thursday, the 29th, the boats from the fleet came up and sounded the channel all around the Town. On Friday, the ships of war came up, and anchored off the Town, extending from the North Battery to the south of the Long Wharf; their cannons loaded, and tomkins out, as if intended for a formal siege." — *Almanack*.

the squadron, and, at twelve o'clock, were landed on Long Wharf; thence they marched into King-street, and thence to the Common. Here they were joined by the Artillery about three o'clock. With these were two pieces of cannon. Here the 29th regiment encamped; but the 14th marched, in the evening, to Faneuil Hall, and, after a

delay of "some Oct. 2. hours," was admitted into it.* On Sunday night, a part of the regiment were quartered in the Court House. The detachment of the 59th, and the Train, were quartered in stores on Griffin's wharf.†

Nothing transpired bearing a show of opposition, on the part of the Town, at the landing. Such a display of troops in gaudy uniforms attracted great attention, and, in many, an indignant admiration. All ideas of resistance were stifled, and well they might be. A fleet anchored in their very presence, broadsides to the Town, with springs upon every cable, guns shotted, and matches lighted, — under that threatening aspect, something short of a thousand men, in red coats, with glittering



* "Two or three hours were spent in altercation, when, by some means or other, one of the doors was opened without violence, and they were sheltered there for that night." — *Hutchinson*, iii. 212. The same author says quarters had been demanded for them, by Lieut. Col. Dalrymple, in the Manufactory House, but that the occupiers were prepared with an answer, and refused to open the doors. — *Ibid.*

† The accompanying engraving, by PAUL

REVERE, is very exactly copied from "*Edes and Gill's North American Almanack and Massachusetts Register for the Year 1770*;" the only copy of which, seen by the Author, is the property of Mr. JOHN F. ELIOT, and for the use of which he is indebted to the kindness of that gentleman. Above the engraving in the Almanac is this title: "PROSPECTIVE VIEW OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON, THE CAPITAL OF NEW ENGLAND; AND OF THE LANDING OF TROOPS IN THE YEAR 1768, IN CONSEQUENCE OF LETTERS



firelocks charged, and bayonets fixed, marched through the Town, with drums beating and fifes playing.*

The order of the Governor admitting the troops into the Town House or Court House, was condemned, by some of his own party, as an unwarrantable stretch of power. The very apartment used by the merchants as their exchange was occupied with armed soldiers; and the Hall of the Representatives fared no better.† Thus was the Town unnecessarily insulted in the first instance, and the whole Colony in the second. Then the main guard was posted opposite the House, and two cannon were drawn up, unlimbered, and levelled against it.

Such a state of things was calculated to increase indignation to a point where it admitted of no control. The halls of freedom and justice were filled with armed mercenaries, and could be entered only by passing through files of guards! Thus the Town was converted into a garrison. The inhabitants could not go about their ordinary occupations without being challenged at every corner by sentinels! Sunday devotions were disturbed by the *music* of the fife and drum! All this was submitted to, happily establishing the truth of what Doctor Franklin had said before the House of Commons; namely, that troops, if sent here, would find nobody in arms to oppose them. Thus were the hopes of those who desired to find an open rebellion defeated, and their bloody project frustrated. That opposition by force was expected, there can be no doubt; for it was currently reported in England, the last August, that 10,000 armed men stood ready in Boston to oppose the landing of the King's troops. One captain of a ship, at least, from Boston, had made a deposition to that effect.

FROM GOV. BERNARD, THE COMMISSIONERS, &c., TO THE BRITISH MINISTRY."

Who the Editor of the "Almanack" of that year was, does not appear; but, whoever he may have been, he was a genuine "Son of Liberty;" and the little work embodies a better notion of the political state of things in Boston, at that time, than can be gathered out of the most voluminous publications known to the Writer. The Editor, or Author, signs himself "INCOG.;" and he remains to this day, for aught there is known. "*Stat nominis umbra*," and perhaps "*Stat nigræ nominis umbra*."

The numbers set to the ships are explained: 1, the Beaver, 14 guns; 2, the Senegal, 14; 3, the Martin, 10; 4, the Glasgow, 20; 5, Mermail, 28; 6, Romney, 50; 7, Launceston, 40; 8, Bonetta, 10. — These, though all the engraver had room for, perhaps, were not all the fleet. And so of the Churches and wharves. The steeples represented in the picture number

13, though there were 18 places of worship. The Friends' meeting-house had no steeple, and perhaps some others.

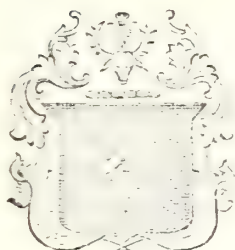
* On the arrival of the troops, the Rev. Mather Byles perpetrated a pun, which was long remembered. He said the people had sent over to England to obtain a redress of grievances, which grievances had returned *red-dressed*. — *Diary of John Adams*. I have seen a different version of this anecdote in one of the papers of that day.

† "Gov. Bernard, without consulting the Council, having given up the State House to the troops, at their landing, they took possession of the chambers where the Representatives of the Province and the Courts of Law held their meetings, and (except the Council Chamber) of all other parts of the house; to the great annoyance of those Courts while they sat," &c. — *Narrative of the Horrid Massacre*, p. 9.



CHAPTER LXXIII.

The Town under the Army. — A Guard-House destroyed. — Anti-Tea Combinations. — Troubles in quartering the Troops. — Mutiny House Affair. — A Military Execution. — Arrival of Commodore Hoon. — Pope Day. — Visit of Gen. Gage. — Address to him. — Case of Capt. Wilson, — of John Hancock. — New Jail burnt. — Town Officers. — Theatricals. — The Common. — Severe Winter. — Desertions of Soldiers. — Gov. Bernard created a Baronet. — Election Protest. — Gen. Mackay. — Stage to Marblehead. — Death of Rev. T. Foxcroft — of Rev. Dr. Sewall — of Capt. Hancock. — Committee to request the Governor to remove the Troops. — His Refusal. — His Conduct censured. — General Court adjourned to Cambridge. — Copies of Gov. Bernard's Letters received. — Massachusetts Resolves. — Gov. Bernard sails for England.



LOWELL.*

THE British soldiers had now quiet possession of the Town; but it was only such a quiet as precedes a storm. The inhabitants were, at their first arrival, dazzled by their strange equipments and equally strange manœuvres; but these were novelties, which only arrested the attention of those who had seen but little of soldiers, and which soon wore off. To this succeeded a dislike, and, at length, hatred. The soldiers were intruders, and could not be tolerated; and hence, the people being once accustomed to them, a sort of familiarity grew up between them, which resulted in mutual contempt and ill-feeling. No other result could have been anticipated. Consequently insults and injuries followed.

The King's ships commanded the entrance of the Town by sea, and his soldiers had possession of the only entrance to it by land;

* This name, when first imported into New England, and for many years later, was written *Lowle*. John and Richard Lowle, merchants of Bristol, England, emigrated to New England in 1639, and settled in Newbury, Massachusetts. Joseph Lowle, sen., and jun., were of Boston, 1693, and perhaps earlier. Ebenezer Lowell, merchant in King-street, 1748. Michael Lowell, merchant, "at the corner shop leading to Mr. James Davenport's bake-house, near the Sign of the Cornfields," also 1748. In 1754, the Governor appointed Mr. Michael Lowell "to be a keeper of the Powder-house in this Town," in place of Capt. Wm. Salter, deceased.

To do justice to the name of Lowell would require more than a moderate-sized volume; a name not only distinguished in literature, theology, and jurisprudence, but in all the relations of life. The family is justly honored, having derived its high position by works for

the public good. The name is fixed upon monuments which can only perish in the wreck of all things. Four of the family have been of the Corporation of Harvard College, — the Hon. John Lowell; his son John, LL.D.; Charles Lowell, D.D.; and John A. Lowell, Esq. Mr. John Lowell, jun., was the founder of the Lowell Institute. John Lowell, LL.D., A.A.S., &c., was son of the Rev. John Lowell, 42 years pastor of the first Church in Newburyport. He came to Boston in 1776, and was a Delegate to the Convention which formed the Constitution of Massachusetts; was Judge of the Court of Appeals; Member of Congress; appointed, by President Washington, Judge of the District Court of this State. John Lowell, LL.D., and Francis C. Lowell, Esq., were sons of Judge Lowell; and from the latter the Town of Lowell was named. There is extant, in MS., a pedigree of Lowell, which, it is hoped, will ere long be published.

therefore the inhabitants were entirely at the mercy of those whose trade was war. Quietness under such circumstances could not be expected to last any great length of time.

Oct. 9. The first considerable offence to the soldiers happened on the ninth of October. Col. Dalrymple having ordered a large guard-house to be built near the Fortification on the Neck, some persons proceeded there in the night, pulled down the frame, and cut it to pieces. Gov. Bernard offered a reward for the discovery of the authors of the outrage; but they were not to be found; perhaps owing to the smallness of the reward, which was but twenty pounds. But the Governor would have been safe, probably, had he offered ten times that amount; that is to say, safe from being called upon to pay it.*

Oct. 15. On the 15th of October, towards evening, Gen. Thomas Gage arrived in Town from New York. He was a veteran officer; had seen hard service under Gen. Braddock; being severely wounded at the Monongahela, and carried a musket-ball in his side. He was now commander-in-chief in North America. There accompanied him Colonels Robertson and Maitland, Majors Small and Sheriff, and Captains Kemble, Mathurine, and Gamble. The troops received him under arms on the Common, and he was saluted with seventeen rounds from the artillery.



General Gage was now in the prime of life, being about forty-eight years of age. He was the second son of Thomas Viscount Gage; entered the army at an early age, and served, with considerable credit, under several distinguished commanders. By his wife, Margaret, daughter of Peter Kemble, Esq., President of the Council of New Jersey, he had eleven children, six sons and five daughters. His death occurred on the second of April, 1788; and his age was about sixty-seven.† Lord Abingdon, of Wytham, living in 1853, married, for his first wife, Emily, daughter of Gen. Gage.

* The land on which the guard-house was being erected had been hired of the Town by Mr. Robert Pierpoint for several years, and he forbid the erection of the guard-house before evidence. It was said to be nearly finished when pulled down.

† For the facts in this paragraph I am indebted to the *Georgian Era*, ii. 67-8. The

accompanying autograph is copied from a letter belonging to the Author, dated New York, May 3d, 1769, and addressed to Col. Bradstreet,

then at Albany, in that Province.

Thos. Gage

Her maternal grandmother was Margaret, daughter of the Hon. Stephen Van Cortlandt, of New York.*

At this period, anti-tea combinations were being formed in the country towns, agreeably to the recommendation of the Boston Patriots; and other measures were taken to render the people independent of England in respect to the importation of goods. The students of Harvard College, "with a spirit becoming Americans, came into the solemn resolution to use no more of that pernicious herb, TEA." There were but four who refused to abide the arrangement. In Boston, the number of families which had "totally" discontinued the use of tea was fifteen hundred.†

The troops quartered in Fanenil Hall, as before intimated, remained there until the third of November; in the mean time, all attempts on the part of the Authorities having failed to procure for them the Manufactory House, which belonged to the Province, but which had been let to Mr. John Brown.‡ As the defeat of Col. Dalrymple on the part of the troops, and of Gov. Bernard on the part of the civil Authorities, was an important victory on the part of the people, a brief detail of what led to it is necessary for an understanding of subsequent transactions.

After Col. Dalrymple's repulse from the Manufactory House, Gov. Bernard summoned the lessee to surrender the premises to the Sheriff. But Mr. Brown was apprised of what was intended, and kept the house securely closed up; and when the Sheriff appeared with his summons, Mr. Brown informed him that it was none of the Governor's affair; that he had hired it of the General Court, and to none but the General Court would he give it up; and as to Mr. Bernard, he did not know him in the matter. Thus the affair stood until about the 19th of October, at which time the Governor got the consent of the Council for clearing the building in dispute. Therefore the Lieut. Governor, accompanied by Sheriff Greenleaf, proceeded to the premises, which they found admitted no entrance but by force. Presently Mr. Brown appeared at a window, and demanded their business. On being told that the Council had ordered them to take possession of the house, he replied that he had had no legal notice to give it up; that, as to the authority of the Council, it did not affect his rights; and he would not surrender unless compelled by force. Whereupon Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Greenleaf retreated, to report the situation of affairs to his Excellency the Governor.

* Mrs. Sumner, the present wife of Gen. William Hyslop Sumner, of Jamaica Plains, is a daughter of Peter Kemble, Esq., and niece of Gen. Gage. Her maiden name was Mary Dickinson Kemble. In the *N. Eng. Hist. G. Reg.*, viii. 188, is a pleasant anecdote respecting a portrait of Gen. Gage, at the seat of Lord Abingdon.

† Statement in the News-Letter of 27th October, 1768. It was added, "that most of the inhabitants of Charlestown, Dedham, Weymouth, Hingham, and many other towns, had refused to use the despised article."

‡ He had hired it for about twelve years. There were several occupants besides Mr. Brown. A Mr. William Brown is mentioned.

Oct. 20. The next day, the Sheriff undertook to get possession by stratagem. Having learned by his spies that a certain aperture in the cellar wall was assailable, he, taking several of his Deputies with him, succeeded in gaining an entrance into the lower apartment. But he soon found, to his surprise, that, instead of taking possession of the house, he was himself taken prisoner; nor was he allowed to retreat, even, by the subterranean passage through which he had entered. Thus ludicrously situated, the assaulting party was harmlessly held for some time in captivity. At length, he found means to communicate with the commanding officer of the forces on the Common, who sent a guard of soldiers to relieve him. The soldiers took possession of the cellar, which they held until the fourth of November, when they evacuated it, and Mr. Brown was left in quiet possession. He afterwards brought an action against the Sheriff and those who aided him. The Sheriff called upon the Governor and Council to sustain and hold him harmless; and the matter caused considerable excitement, as well as amusement.*

Oct. 27. Finding that Mr. Brown was not to be driven from the Manufactory House, other quarters were obtained for the soldiers; and, on the 27th of October, they vacated Faneuil Hall, and went into a store on Pitts' wharf, belonging to Justice Stoddard; and, two days after, the 29th regiment left the Common, and went into a house provided for them in Green's lane, belonging to Major Green, distiller, and a house in New Boston, belonging to a Mr. Forrest. Large and commodious stores on Wheelright's wharf were hired of Mr. William Molyneaux, attorney of Mr. Apthorp, at 300 pounds sterling per annum, for the reception of the two regiments from Ireland when they should arrive.

Oct. 31. A few days after, the revolting spectacle of a military execution took place in the Town. Richard Ames, a soldier, having deserted, and being taken, was shot on the Common, and buried on the place of execution. His case was viewed as one of unnecessary severity, it being a time of peace, and this his first offence.†

Nov. 5. Pope Day was celebrated as usual. "The Pope and other Effigies were carried through the Town, as on these anniversa-

* How the suit finally terminated, I have not inquired. But a passage from Mr. Brown's Complaint may be regarded as sufficiently curious to authorize the space which it occupies: "*Suffolk, ss.* To the Worshipful Richard Dana, John Ruddock, and Joseph Williams, Esqrs., Justices of the peace in and for said County. — *Humbly shews* John Brown, of Boston, in said County, weaver, that Stephen Greenleaf, of Boston aforesaid, Esq., and Joseph Otis, of said Boston, gentlemen, together with divers other malefactors and disturbers of the peace of our Lord the King (whose names to the Complainant are not yet known), on the 20th day of October instant, with force and arms, and with

strong hand, at Boston aforesaid, unlawfully and injuriously did break and enter into the dwelling-house of the said John Brown, then and there being in the possession of the said John Brown; and that the said Greenleaf and Otis, together with the said other malefactors," &c.

† Some of the first ladies of the Town interested themselves in his behalf, and petitioned the commanding General for his pardon; but it was of no avail. It was observed as remarkable, that, in the time of the French war, a greater number of troops had been here encamped, but this was the first military execution.

ries is customary, with great decency and decorum, agreeable to their resolution of 1765, which has been practised ever since."

Nov. 10. The Town being now considered under the control of the army, the obnoxious Commissioners of the Customs ventured to return and take up their residence in it, and had an office in Concert Hall, with a sentinel at the door. They had resided at the Castle since the affair of the sloop Liberty.

Nov. 14. On the fourteenth of November the Romney returned from Halifax, in which came Commodore Hood with his wife and family, proposing to spend the winter in Boston. The Commodore was the Commander-in-chief of all the men-of-war in these parts. There came also in the same ship, Lord William Campbell, Governor of Nova Scotia. Within the previous week six transports had arrived from Cork, having on board the long expected Irish regiments.* These were quartered in the Town.

Nov. 18. On the eighteenth of the same month Gen. Gage reviewed Col. Pomeroy's regiment on Fort Hill. Everything now seemed to be quiet, and the General began to prepare for his return to New York. Somewhat of a change was visible among the opposers of the measures of Government. Several who had been prominent among the Liberty party were almost entirely silenced by the scenes around them, while several others excused themselves for the part they had taken by endeavoring to lay the blame upon others; and some came out openly in favor of the King. Add to this the Council, or as many of them as were present on the 27th of October, signed a conciliatory Address to the General,† in which they remind him that the people had been misrepresented; that there had been disorders in the Town and criminal acts committed, they allowed, but these "had been magnified beyond the truth." They spoke flatteringly of "the candor, generosity and justice, that distinguished his character," and were persuaded he would counteract the misrepresentations which had been made by the enemies of the Town. They endeavored to convince him that there was no occasion for so great a number of troops in the place, and hoped he would have, at least, a part of them removed to the Castle, especially as there were more here than had been intended, as, by Lord Hillsborough's letter of July last, appeared. In reply to the Address, the General was very brief. He thanked them for the honor done him in their Address; but in reference to removing the troops from the Town he gave them no satisfaction whatever. And, on the 24th of November, he left

Nov. 24. Boston for New York, by way of Springfield, leaving Brig. Gen. Pomeroy in command of the forces.

Notwithstanding the quiet which seemed to prevail during the stay

* Namely, the 64th, Col. John Pomeroy, Russell, John Bradbury, Royal Tyler, Samuel which were quartered in the Town; and the White, James Pitts, Samuel Dexter, Samuel 65th, Col. Alexander Mackey, at Castle Island. Danforth, John Hill, Isaac Royal, John Erving, James Bowdoin, Gamaliel Bradford, They consisted of 500 men each.

† The signers were Harrison Gray, James Thomas Hubbard, and Nathaniel Sparhawk.

of Gen. Gage, there were frequent difficulties between individuals of the army and the people. There were turbulent spirits on both sides. Soldiers could not brook insults tamely, and, when they met with any injury, they would naturally seek to be revenged. This would inflame the friends of the injured, and inevitably lead to combats involving large numbers on both sides. Those who caused the troops to be quartered among the people as well understood what the consequences would be before they happened, as afterwards, or they had not the common sense and sagacity of ordinary minds. If an affray happened between the people and the soldiers, with the former the soldiers were the aggressors, and with the latter the people. That there was a disposition among the lower classes of the Town to insult the soldiers, there can be no doubt; and, in a majority of the cases of difficulties, it is more than probable that they were the injured parties in the outset.

In the end of October it was complained that several of the inhabitants had been insulted and abused by soldiers and officers; and that some had been put under guard by order of the latter on frivolous pretences, and without lawful warrants. That a physician of the Town was jostled by an officer while walking the streets, and a scuffle ensued, in which the physician was much injured. That "a tradesman, on going under the rails of the Common, on his way home," received a thrust with a bayonet from a soldier. That, on the evening of the 28th of October, "a merchant was struck down by an officer, who went into the Coffee-house; several gentlemen, following him in and expostulating with the officer there, were treated in the most ungentle manner." At the same time, Capt. John Willson, of the fifty-ninth regiment, was accused of exciting the slaves against their masters, assuring them that the soldiers had come to procure their freedom; and that, "with their assistance, they should be able to drive the Liberty Boys to the Devil." The Selectmen* were so well assured of the alleged practices of Captain Willson, that they preferred a complaint to Justices Richard Dana and John Ruddock, who issued a warrant for his arrest. Benjamin Cudworth, the Deputy Sheriff, was charged with the execution of the warrant, but he was unable to apprehend Willson, who was not taken till the High Sheriff went "with divers Constables." Being brought to Faneuil Hall, the complaint was so well supported, that he was bound over to trial in March following, but, owing to the manoeuvres of the Attorney General, the indictment was quashed, and Willson left the Province about the same time. These are but a few of the cases which might be given; nor were they all confined to the male population. Many instances were reported in which females were grossly insulted.

* They were Joshua Henshaw, Joseph Jackson, John Hancock, John Rowe, Samuel Pemberton, and Henderson Inches.

Some outrage was complained of every day, and the nights were rendered hideous by drunken brawls and revels. The regular Town-watch were insulted during their rounds, and invaded in their watch-houses in the night. Distilled spirits were so cheap that the soldiers could easily command them; and hence scenes of drunkenness and debauchery were constantly exhibited before the people, vastly to the prejudice of the morals of the young. As a remedy for such conduct, the equally demoralizing exhibition of whippings was put in practice. These were not all the bad effects of soldiers being quartered in the heart of the Town. Persons were often knocked down and robbed in the night, as they were returning from their places of business to their houses. Perhaps soldiers were not always guilty of such outrages, but they generally had the credit of them.

There was another grievance very justly complained of. Several hundreds of wretches, mostly females, the very dregs of an European population, had clustered around the troops at Halifax. These found means to follow the soldiers to Boston, and the Alms-house became filled with them; and thus the Town was burthened with a heavy addition of claims upon its charities.

While the Town was disturbed by constant tumults of this kind, the arrest of John Hancock, Esq., tended materially to irritate the minds of the people. The case of the sloop *Liberty* had lain dormant since her seizure; but now the presence of the army gave the officers of the Customs confidence to prosecute her owner, and those concerned with him, for the recovery of the value of the whole cargo and treble damages. Therefore, Mr. Arodi Thayer, Marshal of the Court of Admiralty for the three Provinces, on the morning of November the third, arrested Mr. Hancock on a precept for 9000 pounds, and demanded bail for 3000 more. Mr. Hancock offered ready money for security, which was refused by Mr. Thayer, according to his directions, as he reported. However, bail was finally taken. Five other gentlemen were levied upon in the same manner. Here the matter rested until the following March, when the prosecutions were dropped by order of the King's Advocate, the allegations, after many trials, not being supported by sufficient evidence.*

Nov. 8. The Superior Court met agreeably to adjournment, on the eighth of November, at their usual apartment in the Court-house. In the afternoon of the same day Mr. Otis made a motion to have the Court held in Faneuil Hall, "not only," he said, "as the stench occasioned by the troops in the Representatives' chamber may prove infectious, but as it was derogatory to the honor of the Court to administer justice at the mouths of cannon and the points of bayonets."

* *Observations on Several Acts of Parliament, etc. Published by the Merchants of Boston*, p. 19. John Adams says, *Diary*, ii. 315, "Mr. Hancock thought fit to engage me as his counsel and advocate, and a painful drudgery I had of his cause. There were few days through the whole winter when I was not summoned to attend the Court of Admiralty."

Jan. 30. On Monday night, about ten o'clock, on the 30th January, the new Jail in Queen-street was discovered to be on fire, and when observed it had made such progress that great exertions were necessary to save the lives of the prisoners; but the hurry and consternation caused the keys to be misplaced, and resort was had to axes to break through the doors, which, owing to their thickness and the iron about them, was effected with much difficulty. Hence, in some cases, the prisoners were dragged through such small apertures that their flesh was torn in a frightful manner. However, they were all taken out alive, though two of them were considerably burned, one of them badly. There was great fear of the fire's spreading; but the night, though very cold, was not attended with much wind, and no other building was burned. Two of the prisoners made their escape. On examining the others, it was found that the fire was set to their door by two of them who were confined in one room. One was a soldier and the other a young lad. Mr. Young was the keeper of the Jail.

Mar. 13. At the annual Town-meeting on the 13th of March, the former Town Clerk was reelected. The Selectmen were the same as before, with the exception of John Rowe, Esq., who declined, and Jonathan Mason was elected in his stead. Mr. Rowe had a unanimous vote of thanks for his past services. David Jeffries was continued in the office of Treasurer.*

It having been reported that the soldiers were making preparations for the performance of plays, the subject caused much uneasiness among many of the sober inhabitants. They contended that such representations were against the law, and that the officers of the troops had no right to give leave to their men for any such entertainments.†

The public lands belonging to the Town were often subjects in the warrants for calling Town-meetings. The Selectmen were now appointed a Committee "to consider what measures may be proper to be taken for the preservation of the Common, and preventing any incumbrances being laid thereon, to inquire into the title of the lands," and to report "as soon as may be."‡ The late occupation

* The Overseers of the Poor were John Barrett, Esq., Hon. Royal Tyler, Mr. Benj. Dolbeare, Mr. William Whitwell, Mr. William Greenleaf, Mr. White, Esq., Mr. Joseph Waldo, John Leverett, Esq., John Gore, Esq., Capt. Samuel Partridge, Thomas Tyler, Esq., and Capt. John Bradford. Firewards, John Scollay, Newman Greenough, John Rowe, Esq., Mr. Wm. Cooper, Mr. John Mico Wendell, Thos. Marshall, Wm. Holmes, Esqs., Mr. Joseph Tyler, Capt. Adino Paddock, Mr. James Richardson, Capt. Benj. Waldo, John Hancock, Esq., Mr. Samuel Adams, Capt. Martin Gay, Thomas Dawes, Esq., and Mr. Alex'r. Hill. Wardens, Mr. Daniel Marsh, Mr. Joseph Belknap, Mr. Thos. Handasyd Peck. Mr. Wm.

Mackay, Mr. Samuel May, Mr. Wm. Powell, Mr. Joseph Turell, Mr. Thos. Walley, Mr. Benj. Goodwin, and Mr. Henry Hill.

† It was said in reply that there was an Act of Parliament for the licensing Theatrical performances throughout the King's dominions, "which entirely superseded the Act of the Province for preventing the same." That, when "a few years ago, some *hunglers*, as the means of making assignations, took upon themselves to exhibit plays at unseasonable hours, it highly incensed the sober part of the Town, as well it might; but the present have different and strictly upright motives," &c.

‡ The Selectmen were also required to see what could be done "to check the progress of

of the Common by the soldiery probably gave rise to this movement.* A vote was passed "not to rent the land on which the gun-house is erected to the officers of the train of artillery of the regiment of this Town."†

It is recorded that the winter of 1768-9 had been more severe after February commenced than in all the preceding months; that the ice having opened new passages out of town, desertions among the soldiers were more numerous than at any former period, notwithstanding the military guard which almost surrounded the Town, and the vigilance of the officers; that the practice of sending out Sergeant's parties in disguise was kept up, but, up to the 13th of February "no deserter had been brought back excepting poor Ames, whose execution was as impolitic as it was illegal."‡

Encouraging news was often brought to Town from the other Colonies; news that the non-importation system was gaining ground, and that the inhabitants were heartily sympathized with in their distresses occasioned by the quartering of troops among them. At a recent meeting in Philadelphia, held to celebrate the late successes of the brave General Paoli in attempting to free Corsica from its French oppressors, among the toasts given on the occasion were, "The Massachusetts Ninety-Two, the Town of Boston, Mr. Cushing, Mr. Otis, and Mr. Adams."§ At the same time the news from England was calculated to cause despondency; especially as some whom they had considered the chief cause of their present difficulties had been advanced in honors and places of emolument. By a letter from London, dated on the 17th of February, and received here about the first of May, it appeared that Governor Bernard had received the title of Baronet. This had no tendency to reconcile the leaders of the opposition to his course, and the attacks in the papers of the day were more virulent upon him, if possible, than before.||

vice and immoralities now breaking upon the Town like a flood; and of some suitable methods for employing the poor, whose numbers and distresses are daily increasing, by a loss of trade and commerce," etc.

* Horse-racing on the Common by persons belonging to the army is particularly mentioned as a grievance.

† At an adjourned meeting on the 4th of April Mr. Samuel Calf, Mr. John Gore, and Mr. George Green, were added to the Clerks of the Market. Those elected at the March meeting previous, were Fitch Pool, Samuel Barret, John Singleton Copley, Francis Green, George Spooner, Benj. Andrews, Elisha Hutchinson, John Bernard, Joseph Barrell, And. Allen [Allayne] Otis, Jonathan Clarke, and Bossinger Foster.

‡ Feb. 17. "There have been within these few days a great many severe whippings; among the number chastised was one of the Negro drummers, who received 100 lashes in part of the 150 he was sentenced to receive at a Court Martial. It is said this fellow had

adventured to beat time at a concert of music given at the Manufactory-house." — *Boston Evening Post*.

§ There was much sympathy also in Boston with Gen. Paoli; and there was not long before this a child baptized in one of the churches, named PASCAL PAOLI. Mr. Wilkes had been honored in the same way, one having been christened, in the West Church, JOHN WILKES. The family names of those children are not given in my authority.

|| On the 8th of May the following appeared: "March 14th, G[overnor] B[ernard]'s picture has been lately returned to Harvard College to be hung up in the Library. Our American limner, Mr. Copley, by the surprising art of his pencil, has actually restored as *good a heart* as has been taken from it; though, upon a near and accurate inspection, it will be found no other than a *false one*. There may it long remain *hanging*, to show posterity the true picture of the man, who, during a weak and w[icke]d Administration was suffered to continue in the S[ea]t of G[overn]ment,

May 5. On the fifth of May, James Otis, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, and John Hancock, were reelected Representatives. The late proceedings against the last named gentleman had a tendency to make him more popular than hitherto, and he received the highest number of votes; even two more than Mr. Adams, who had the next highest number. The gentlemen chosen to instruct the Representatives were Richard Dana, John Adams,* John Ruddock, Doctors Church and Warren, Joshua Henshaw, and William Molineux.†

Before proceeding to the choice of Representatives, "the Town made an order to be entered upon their records." The Selectmen had waited upon General Mackay, and informed him that an election of Representatives was to take place on the fifth of May, and requested him to withdraw the troops from the Town, as their presence on that occasion was not in accordance with the rights of British subjects. To which the General replied that he had not the power to march the troops out of the Town, but that he would confine them to their barracks. This the Town declared, that though "a concession of the rectitude of the claim, it was by no means adequate to the extent of their constitutional rights, and they could not proceed to an election without declaring their clear and full sense that the residence of armed forces in the Town during an election of so great importance, is a high infringement of their constitutional rights; *protesting* that their proceeding to an election, under such circumstances, is wholly from necessity, and not to be considered as a precedent at any time hereafter."

May 8. At an adjourned meeting on the eighth of May, the Town took notice of the proceedings of the merchants respecting a Non-importation Agreement, voting, "That it gives high satisfaction to the Town to be informed of that Agreement; and it is hereby recommended to the inhabitants not to purchase any goods of those few persons who have imported any articles in the vessels lately arrived from Great Britain, not allowed of by said Agreement."

Not long before this, a Stage commenced running between Boston and Marblehead; but it was discontinued. The undertaker was Edward Wade; and, on the eighth of May, he gave notice that he was about to resume his trips, which would be performed twice a week; that "he might be spoken with at the widow Trefry's, opposite Mr. Barber's insurance office, in Fish-street;" and that his

a scourge to the people, until he had residence was in Brattle Square, in what was happily awakened a whole continent to a called the White House, where William Bolthorough sense of their own interest, and lan, Esq., had lived many years. Here, directly in front of Mr. Adams' house, Major thereby laid the foundation of American greatness." [John] Snell exercised a regiment through the whole of the succeeding fall and winter.—

* Mr. Adams had become a Townsman about a year before, at the very urgent request, he says, "of my many friends in Boston." His *Diary of John Adams*, ii. 210, 213.

† Often spelt Molyneaux and Molineux.



carriage was a handsome post-chaise, suited to carry ladies and gentlemen.

June 16. On the 16th of June, died the Rev. Thomas Foxcroft, minister of the First Church, in the seventy-third year of his age, and fifty-second of his ministry. He was son of the Hon. Francis Foxcroft, of Cambridge, who was an Episcopalian, and who designed this son for the service of the English Church. But, after his graduation at Cambridge in 1714, he was engaged in instructing a school at Roxbury, where, becoming intimate with the Rev. Mr. Nehemiah Walter, he was convinced by that Divine of the truth and excellence of the Puritan faith, which he adopted, and became an eminent supporter of that doctrine to the end of his life. Though born in Boston, he was, from early childhood, brought up in Cambridge. He was settled over the First Church, as colleague with Mr. Wadsworth, in 1717; and, in 1718, he married Anna, daughter of Mr. John Coney, of Boston, goldsmith, and left, at his decease, one son and five daughters.* Mr. Foxcroft was the author of a large number of works, chiefly in the pamphlet form, some of which have been duly noticed in this history.†

June 27. Only eleven days after Mr. Foxcroft died, happened the death of the Rev. Joseph Sewall, of the Second, or Old South Church, in which he had been settled about fifty-six years. He was a son of the late Chief Justice Samuel Sewall, and, at his decease, was in his eighty-first year; of whom a contemporary said, "Scarce any one ever passed through life with a more unblemished character, or performed its various duties with more universal esteem." The University of Glasgow conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1731. He had before been offered the presidency of Harvard College, namely, in 1724, on the decease of President Leverett; but his Church were unwilling that he should accept it. The evening following the day on which he completed his eightieth year, he preached to a large audience; and, on the next Sunday, he was seized with paralysis, which afterwards confined him to his house. He had a large estate, which he liberally distributed to pious and charitable uses. He published a considerable number of sermons, chiefly occasional.‡ He married, in 1713, Elizabeth, daughter of Major John Walley, who died before him. A son, Samuel, was Deacon of the Old South from 1763 to 1771.§

* The Rev. Samuel Foxcroft, H.C., 1754, *G. Reg.*, viii. 171-2, and 364. See also Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodiensis*.
 † A catalogue of them may be found in Emerson's *Hist. First Church*.
 ‡ See Wisner's *Hist. Old South*, pp. 23 and 98, Dr. Allen's *Hist. and Biog. Dict.*, and *Boston Evening Post*, 3 July, 1769, and Chauncy's *Funeral Sermon*.
 § On the 27th of June, arrived from New Providence His Excellency William Shirley, Esq., formerly Governor of this Province, and

July 12. Several other deaths occurred about this time, both in Town and country. Among them was that of Capt. John Hamock, "a noted vintner in Royal Exchange Lane." He was a large importer of wines and other liquors for above twenty years.* The same day, died, at Newburyport, Mrs. Elizabeth Greenleaf, eldest daughter of the Rev. Charles Chauncy, D.D., of Boston, and wife of Benjamin Greenleaf, Esq. And, on the 15th, died Mrs. Frances Tyler, eldest daughter of John Tyng, Esq., and wife of Mr. Joseph Tyler.

May 31. The General Court, which met on the last Wednesday of May, was stronger against Gov. Bernard than hitherto, and sharp messages passed between them. One of the principal causes of controversy was a demand upon the Province for funds to pay for quartering the troops in Boston. This was a subject calculated to cause great irritation, especially among the Boston Representatives, who argued with great effect upon the enormity which forced a standing army upon them, to the destruction of their trade and the morals of the people, and then to extort money from them to pay for it. But the first business was concerning the removal of the troops from the Town.

James Otis was made Chairman of a Committee to remonstrate with the Governor upon keeping an armed force in the Town, and to request him at once to withdraw it "by sea and land, out of this Port, and the gates of this City, during the session of the General Court." The answer to this demand was as remarkable for its brevity as it was significant of the importance the army was to his authority. "Gentlemen," he answered, "I have no authority over his Majesty's ships in this Port, or his troops in this Town; nor can I give any orders for the removal of the same."

This gave rise to a most powerful and conclusive answer from a Committee appointed for that purpose, which consisted of Major Hawley, Mr. Hancock, Mr. Adams, Mr. Preble, and Mr. James Warren. In their answer, they reminded the Governor that he was here as the King's Lieutenant and Captain-General, and Commander-in-Chief within the Province, in as ample a manner as the King's Lieutenant was in Ireland. That his Majesty the King had ordered the troops to Boston, was admitted; but that he had ordered them here owing to misrepresentations, was certain; and hence they were quartered in the Town as contrary to Act of Parliament as they were to reason and justice. Thus, they said, a brave and loyal people had been treated with insult, reproach, and contempt.

They said it was owing to the exaggerated reports of disturbances

late Governor of the Bahama Islands, and a Lieut. General in his Majesty's army. He was saluted as he passed Castle William, and many principal gentlemen waited on him with their compliments. — *Evening Post*, 3 July, 1769.

* His eldest son, Mr. John Hamock, merchant, died, "in the prime of life," 8 Jan., 1764. His second daughter, Hannah, was married to Andrew Cazneau, of Boston, attorney at law, 2 Sept., 1769. Hannah Cazneau, widow, died here, April, 1784.

that had caused the troops to be sent here, when it was well known that those disturbances bore no proportion to similar tumults in many of the best-regulated cities of Europe, and that they were "far, very far, from being carried to that atrocious and alarming length to which they had been in Britain, at the very gates of the Palace, and even in the Royal presence." But the conclusion of the address placed the Governor in a dilemma which must have caused him no little chagrin and vexation. Here was a military force, they said, not under the control of any authority in the Province; a power without any check, and therefore completely absolute. This power, having the sword constantly in its hand, may exercise a vigorous severity whenever it pleases. Thus circumstanced, "what privilege," they ask, "what security, is then left to this house, whose very existence to any purpose depends on its privilege and security?" Hence, if nothing by way of redress could be had of the King's Lieutenant, they must apply to his Majesty. The dilemma is too apparent to require explanation. Here was a Governor, a Commander-in-Chief in and over the Province, but here was a force over which he had no control! Had he been superseded? or had he been degraded? If the latter, he had degraded himself by calling in a power above him.

While the subject of the removal of the troops was under discussion, no business was done by the General Court; nor would that body proceed to business while the troops were stationed about them. This caused the Governor to take another unwise step, which was to adjourn them to Cambridge. Thus, to save himself the mortification of complying with the request to remove the troops, he removed the General Court; not reflecting, it would seem, that they could not be forced to do business there any more than in Boston, though they would not have the same excuse for delay.* And when he reproached them for sitting two weeks "without doing anything," and thereby putting the Province to the great expense of 500 pounds, they smartly retorted by comparing that sum with the tens of thousands of pounds which the troops had cost the Province, brought upon it through his means.

On the removal of the General Court from Boston to Cambridge, a circumstance occurred well calculated to widen the breach between the members and the Governor. It so happened, whether with design or not cannot now be stated, that, the very night following the removal to Cambridge, the Cannon were withdrawn from before the Court House. This was, naturally enough, turned to the disadvantage of the Chief Magistrate.

* Yet they urged, with much force, that small-pox required it. See *Proceedings of the their removal was illegal, and hence could Council and House of Representatives relative well have justified themselves on that ground to the Convening at Harvard College*, p. 7. The if they had still refused to act. They showed next year, the General Court utterly refused to how Gov. Shute considered a removal from proceed to business at Cambridge, as will be Boston, when, in 1721, the fatality of the seen in the general histories of the Province.

However, after standing out till beyond the middle of June, the House voted to proceed to business; but under a protest, strongly expressed, that it was from necessity, and that it was by no means to be taken as a precedent in future. Thus, though the Governor had gained his point, his days of rejoicing were few, for about the same time he received orders from the King to repair to England, "to lay before him the state of the Province." This he communicated to the General Court on the 28th of June, and proceeded to make
 June 28. arrangements for his departure. It is worthy of note, that, only the day before, namely, June 27th, the House voted a petition to the King for the Governor's removal.

His situation had become one of intense anxiety; for it was not unknown to him that copies of his letters to the Ministry had been obtained, and he was daily expecting their arrival in Boston. But it so happened that they did not arrive until his Excellency had sailed. They were procured by Mr. Bollan, and by him forwarded by Capt. James Scott, of Mr. Hancock's ship, Boston Packet, which arrived the second week in August.*

The state of affairs now existing gave rise to the famous Resolves of the House of Representatives, in which were reiterated most of the charges against Governor Bernard, and through him against the Ministry.

The substance of those relating particularly to Boston are important in this connection. They were reported as unanimous, and are as follows: — "That Governor Bernard, by a wanton and precipitate dissolution of the last year's Assembly, and refusing to call another, though repeatedly requested by the people, acted against the spirit of a free Constitution; and, if such procedure be lawful, it may be in his power, whenever he pleases, to render himself absolute." "That the sending an armed force into this Colony, under a pretence of aiding and assisting the Civil Authority, is an attempt to establish a Standing Army here without our consent; is highly dangerous to the people; is unprecedented and unconstitutional, manifestly tending to enslave them. That whoever has represented to his Majesty's Ministers that the people of this Colony in general, or the Town of Boston in particular, were in such a state of disobedience as to require a fleet and army to support the Civil Magistrate, is an avowed enemy to this Colony, and to the Nation in general. That the misrepresentations of the state of this Colony, transmitted by Governor Bernard to his Majesty's Ministers, have been the means of procuring the military

* They were denied to Mr. Bollan, and when the Governor heard of the denial, he flattered himself that they could not be obtained; but, Members of Parliament having a right to copies of all documents laid before that body, Alderman Beckford demanded and received them, and thus Mr. Bollan became possessed of them. — See Hutchinson, iii. 226. But Mr. Hutch-

inson is singularly out of the way in saying they were received in Boston on the 5th of April, 1769, as will be seen by a reference to the *Boston Chronicle* of 14th August of this year. It is very possible that some letters of the Governor may have been received on the 5th of April, 1769; but his famous letters were not received until the time above stated.

force now quartered in the Town. That whoever gave order for quartering even common soldiers and camp women in the Court House in Boston, making a barrack of the same, placing a main guard with cannon pointed near the said house, and sentinels at the door, *designed* a high insult, and a triumphant indication that the military power was master of the whole Legislature."

These extracts may be taken as a fair specimen of the entire document, which covers nearly the whole ground of the Declaration of Independence of 1776; the sentiments are the same, and in some parts the language differs but little.

July 13. A few days after the passage of the Resolves, Commodore Samuel Hood,* who had resided in the Town for several months, sailed for Halifax, and soon after Governor Bernard sailed for England. His recall had been looked upon as certain for some time, and had been familiarly talked of by the people. He left his seat at Roxbury on the 31st of July, and went to the Castle. The next day he embarked on board his Majesty's ship Rippon, Capt. Samuel Thompson, then lying in King Road. On his leaving the fort a salute of fifteen guns was fired; and on entering the frigate the same number were discharged. There went with him his third son, Master Thomas Bernard; and among the passengers were Col. Hoar, of Nova Scotia, formerly of the Provincial service; Captain Murray, of the 14th regiment; Ensign Bertrand, of the 29th; Lieutenant Armstrong and Ensign Burton, of the 64th.

Before embarking, his Excellency delivered the Province Seal to the Lieutenant Governor, who appeared in Council, and took the oath required by Act of Parliament, and assumed the Government. As soon as the Rippon had spread her sails to a fair wind, the flag which had been flying at the head of the staff at Liberty Tree was lowered. Thus Governor Bernard not only made a timely escape from a troublesome Government, but he escaped witnessing the scenes of King-street, which soon after followed, and the more terrible scenes of Concord, Lexington and Bunker's Hill; while the people had got rid of an implacable enemy, as they believed, and had one the less to misrepresent their actions.

July 26. On the 26th of July, there was a meeting of the Merchants and Traders of Boston, to take into consideration the late movements in England relative to a reduction of Duties. The Ministry had discovered that Duties on glass, paper and colors, were "contrary to the principles of commerce," and that the Act laying them should be repealed at the next Session of Parliament. The Merchants saw through this, and declared, that such a reduction would "by no means

* Afterwards Lord Hood; was son of the Rev. Samuel Hood, of Butleigh, county of Somerset, where he was born 1724. He was long in active service; was with Rodney in the West Indies in 1781, when De Grasse was defeated; at Toulon, Corsica, &c. He married, in 1794, Miss Susanna Linzee, daughter of the Mayor of Plymouth, and died at Bath, 27th Jan., 1816, aged 92. Little is said about the Commodore during his residence in Boston.

relieve the trade from the difficulties under which it labored ;” and they add, “we apprehend it is a measure intended only to quiet the manufacturers in Great Britain, and to prevent the setting up of those manufactures in the Colonies.” They therefore voted to adhere strictly to the non-importation agreement entered into in August, 1768 ; to send for no goods contrary to that agreement ; and a large Committee * was raised to procure a subscription among “the inhabitants not to purchase any goods of such persons as have or may import any goods from Great Britain, contrary to the late agreement of the merchants.”

At the same meeting a Committee was appointed “To prepare a State of the Embarrassments and Difficulties the Trade labors under, by means of the late Regulations and Revenue Acts ; and also a true Representation of the Conduct of the Commissioners and other Officers of the Customs, and lay the same before the Merchants at their next meeting.” The gentlemen who had this in charge were Arnold Wells, Esq., Mr. Henderson Inches, Mr. William Dennie, Mr. William Mollineaux, and Mr. Isaac Smith. They accordingly drew up an account, which was accepted, and soon after printed.†

A little before this there was a Petition circulated in the Town which caused a good deal of excitement among the people. The officers of the Customs and their friends, to counteract the efforts of the Liberty men to procure the removal of the troops, addressed a Petition to the Governor, praying that the 14th or some other regiment might be detained in the Town to protect the lives and property of the King’s loyal subjects. This proceeding of the Ministerial, or Royal Party, gave great offence. A Town-meeting was called, in which it was denounced in severe terms, as being a reflection upon the loyalty of the Town ; as though the “laws of the land” did not make ample provision for the security of all his Majesty’s subjects. It will not be very difficult for the reader to judge which party had the most to fear. But the one being supported by might and the other by right, made a difference of vast importance.

* These are the names of the persons appointed upon the Committee : — Mr. William Bowes, Mr. Jona. Amory, Capt. Saml. Partridge, Mr. Saml. Abbott, Mr. Thomas Walley, Mr. Moses Gill, Mr. Wm. Bout, Mr. Bartholomew Kneeland, Mr. Joshua Gardner, Mr. Thomas Brattle, Mr. Edwd. Church, and Mr. Saml. Salisbury.

Capt. Partridge, Capt. Dashwood, Capt. Bradford, Capt. Waldo and Capt. Matchet were a Committee to inspect the Manifests of the cargoes of vessels which might arrive from

England. — *Boston Evening Post*, 31 July, 1769.

† It was a quarto pamphlet of 24 pages, very handsomely printed, a copy of which is now by me. In this it is said, that “upwards of 20 sail of men-of-war, cutters and other armed vessels, purchased by the Board of Commissioners, have been employed this year to cruise on the trade of this Province.” — P. 17. The acts of some of the Commanders of these vessels were daily reported to be arbitrary and abusive in the extreme.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

Affair of the Rose Frigate. — Deaths — of James Smith, William Torrey, William Edes, James Forbes. — Non-Importation Committee. — Importers advertised. — Fourteenth of August celebrated. — Manufactures encouraged. — Affair of Otis and Robinson. — Bernard's Letters to Hillsborough. — "Appeal to the World." — Samuel Adams' Letter to Hillsborough. — Other Publications. — Free Masons. — New Map. — One tarred and feathered. — Case of John Mein. — Deaths — of the Rev. Samuel Checkley, Mr. John Knight, Mr. Samuel Kneeland. — Indictment of Gov. Bernard. — Case of the Hutchinsons. — Affair of the Wooden Head. — A Boy killed. — Ropewalk Attrays. — Fifth of March Tumults. — Mob in King-street. — Fired upon by Soldiers. — Several killed and wounded. — Troops evacuate the Town. — Funeral Ceremonies. — Proceedings of the Town.



APPLETON.*

A TRIAL of very deep interest came on in June of this year, in a special Court of Admiralty; the circumstances of which were as follows: The Rose frigate, of twenty guns, was at this time the Boston station-ship, commanded by Capt. Benjamin Caldwell, afterwards an Admiral. As this ship was cruising off Cape Ann on the morning of the 22d of April, the brigantine Pitt-packet, Thomas Power, master, was fallen in with. The frigate, being short of men, undertook to press some of Capt. Power's; accordingly, the captain of the frigate sent his Lieutenant, a Mr. Panton, with others, on board for that purpose. There were but four seamen in the brig, and they, knowing the men from the Rose to be a press-gang, retreated to the hold, and afterwards to the fore-peak. Here they made solemn asseverations that they would never be taken alive. The brigantine, or brig, as the vessel was indifferently called, was loaded with salt, and was from Cadiz, bound to Marblehead. Lieut. Panton gave the four men to understand that they were in his power, and that it was not of the least use for them to resist, and even laughed at their repeated oaths that they would never yield. One of the men, Michael Corbett, was armed with a harpoon, and the others with similar weapons. The parley was kept up for some time, and the Lieutenant continued to advance upon

* The pedigree of Appleton has been ascertained with nearly all the certainty and minuteness which can be desired. Samuel Appleton, the first of this family in New England, came from a place called Waldingfield, Co. of Suffolk, England, in 1635. John "Apulton" was living at Great Waldingfield, 1396. Samuel, the 7th in descent from that John, was born in 1586; hence he was 49 years of age when he emigrated. His son Samuel was born at Waldingfield in 1624. He was distinguished

in Philip's war, and in various other important stations in the Colony. The family settled in Ipswich, in the County of Essex, Massachusetts, descendants of which have since become numerous, and spread into many of the States of the Union. The present distinguished families of Boston are the descendants of the Waldingfield emigrant, and from whom also the late Samuel Appleton, Esq., an honor and ornament to the name, was also descended. There is extant a judicious Memoir of Appleton.



the men, until one of them made a mark in the salt, and then Corbett called God to witness that if one of the gang attempted to pass it, that moment he was a dead man. At this, Panton, in the most fool-hardy manner, took out his snuff-box, and, coolly tapping it, proposed to give them ten minutes to alter their minds. This had no effect, and he ordered his men to fire upon the sailors, which they did, and wounded Corbett and another; but Corbett was not disabled, and kept his harpoon in readiness. Panton, after jocularly observing that he had seen as brave men before, and heard as high threats, proceeded to pass the line in the salt. Whereupon, true to his oath, Corbett threw his harpoon, and Panton fell dead upon the place. It struck him in the neck, severing the jugular vein.* In the mean time, a reinforcement having arrived from the frigate, the crew submitted, and the brig was taken charge of by the frigate's men, and brought round into the harbor before Boston. The next day, Gov. Bernard, Commodore Hood, Lieut. Gov. Hutchinson, Secretary Oliver, and Judge Auchmuty went on board the *Rose*, where the four men were in irons, to inquire into the affair.

Great fears were entertained that the sailors would not have a fair trial, as they could have no jury in a Court of Admiralty. John Adams volunteered to defend them, and he said he never took so much pains in any cause, before or after this, as he did to clear them of the charge of murder, feeling it to be one of justifiable homicide. They had, indeed, a powerful defender. He said: "I had appealed to Heaven and earth; I had investigated all laws, human and divine; I had searched all the authorities in the civil law, the law of nature and nations; and I vainly felt as if I could shake the Town and the World." But Mr. Adams was prevented from making his world-shaking argument, the Court dreading its effect upon the people. And the judges, though they denied the plea of jurisdiction put in by the prisoners' counsel, and would not allow a trial by jury, which had been contended for, did not dare to go counter to the judgment of nearly the whole community, by pronouncing Corbett and his fellows guilty, and they therefore acquitted them.

The autumn of 1769 brought with it considerable sickness. There had been a number of cases of the small-pox, besides the usual complaints of the country, and many deaths occurred. Those infected with the small-pox were sent to the Province Hospital at New Boston, and flags were kept out at places where persons had been taken with it.

On the third of August Mr. James Smith died at his seat at Brush Hill, in Milton, at the age of about 81. He had been many

* I have partly followed the account in the *Boston Evening Post* of July 3d and July 24th 1769. It differs considerably from that in the *Boston Chronicle* of May 1st, 1769. It is said in the former paper "that the Lieutenant of the *Rose* was the person, who, not long since, fought a duel with an inhabitant of this Town, who generously gave him a life, which he has since sacrificed to his rashness." I have seen no other mention of such duel.



years a sugar-refiner in Boston, and his remains were brought into Town and buried from the house of James Murray, Esq., in Queen-street.* On the following morning died Mr. William Torrey, baker, one of the Assessors, and was buried on the seventh. His age was 69. The same morning, namely, August the fourth, Mr. William Edes, died. He was a noted grocer and dealer in lemons. Capt. James Forbes died on the evening of the seventh, in his 70th year; and on the night of the same day Mrs. Fairfield and Mrs. Hall; the former was the wife of Mr. William Fairfield, one of the Assessors; the latter was wife of Capt. James Hall.

On the eleventh of August the merchants held a meeting at Aug. 11. Faneuil Hall, to consider what was proper to be done to carry out their Non-importation Agreement; and, being satisfied that certain gentlemen could not be prevailed upon to come into the views of the rest, a vote was passed to publish their names in the newspapers. They were accordingly published as follows: John Bernard, [son of the late Governor], Nathaniel Rogers, Theophilus Lillie, James McMasters and Company, John Mein, Thomas Hutchinson, Jun., and Elisha Hutchinson, sons of the Lieutenant Governor.† It was voted at the same meeting that Mr. Cyrus Baldwin, Mr. Gilbert Deblois, and Mr. John Avery, Jun., should prepare an Agreement

* His sugar-works occupied a part of the lot between Brattle-street Church and Wing's lane: probably the site of the present stables. I find him there as early as 1724. John Head, I think, succeeded him. See *ante*, p. 520. In an interleaved Almanac for this year, Mr. Smith is said to have been "buried from his own house at y^e corner of Queen-street." Mr. Murray may have been a tenant of Mr. Smith.

† In Edes & Gill's *N. Amer. Almanack*,* etc., before cited, is the following list of Importers, with their localities accompanying it: "A List of the names of those who AUDACIOUSLY continue to counteract the UNITED SENTIMENTS of the Body of Merchants throughout NORTH AMERICA, by importing British goods contrary to the Agreement.

John Bernard, in King-st., almost opposite Vernon's Head.

James McMasters, on Treat's wharf.

Patrick McMasters, opposite the sign of the Lamb.

John Mein, opposite the White Horse, and in King-st.

Nathaniel Rogers, opposite Mr. Henderson Inches' store, lower end of King-st.

William Jackson, at the Brazen Head, Cornhill, near the Town House.

Theophilus Lillie, near Mr. Pemberton's Meeting-house, North End.

John Taylor, nearly opposite the Heart and Crown, in Cornhill.

Anne and Elizabeth Cummings, opposite the Old Brick Meeting-house."

On the 23d of January (1770) following, at an adjourned meeting of the merchants and others in Faneuil Hall, to hear the Report of a certain Committee respecting persons persisting in importing, Lieut. Gov. Hutchinson sent Sheriff Greenleaf with a letter to the Hall, directed to the Moderator, Wm. Phillips, Esq., requesting the meeting "to disperse without delay, and to forbear all such unlawful assemblies, as they could not be justified under any authority or color of law." The Meeting decided that they were doing their duty, and in a legal manner, and requested the Sheriff to inform his Honor that they should proceed in their business, and did proceed in pursuance of that determination; and among other doings, *Voted*, "That whereas John Bernard, James and Patrick McMasters & Co., Anne and Elizabeth Cummins, and John Mein, most of whom being strangers in this Country, have set themselves in open defiance of the body of Merchants and others throughout this Continent, by importing British Goods contrary to the known and united sentiments of the merchants, freeholders, and inhabitants of every Colony; therefore, they have in the most insolent manner too long affronted this people, and endeavored to undermine the liberties of this Country, to which they owe their little importance; and that they deserve to be driven into that obscurity from which they originated, and to the hole of the pit from whence they were digged." — *Evening Post*, 29 Jan., 1770.

* In the imprint of this Almanac appear the words "Printed [upon paper manufactured in this Country.]"

for the Vendue Masters to sign, obliging them not to sell imported goods; and all of them signed the articles accordingly.

Aug. 14. Great preparations had been in progress for some time to celebrate the 14th of August of this year in a manner to meet the wishes of all the Sons of Liberty. Therefore, on the morning of that day, the British flag was displayed on Liberty Tree, "the day of the Union and firmly combined Association of the Sons of Liberty in this Province, without the least view of licentiousness, in a constitutional opposition to illegal, oppressive and arbitrary measures at home and from abroad. At eleven o'clock the Sons assembled at 'Liberty Tree, High-street, Great Elm, South End, Boston,' where they drank fourteen toasts."*

There was a large attendance on the occasion; many gentlemen had come from distant places, even from Pennsylvania; among them were the brother of John Dickinson, the author of the Farmer's Letters, and Joseph Reed, of Philadelphia. Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, was expected, but did not, probably, come.

The meeting under Liberty Tree was adjourned to Liberty Tree Tavern, in Dorchester, known as Robinson's Tavern, "where three large pigs barbacued, and a variety of other provisions, were prepared for dinner. The company being large, about 300 in number, the tables were spread in the field under the covering of a tent, where they dined about two o'clock." During the entertainment a variety of colors were flying, music played, and, at proper intervals, cannon were fired. After dinner, toasts to the number of forty-five were given out; † "and, by order of the day, excepting the first, an indispen-

* *Boston Evening Post*, 21 Aug., 1769. The editor adds a note to the words between the single inverted commas,—"See last edition or Budget of Nettleham Epistles,"—which doubtless refers to Bernard's Letters to Hillsborough, and before referred to.

Besides the King, Queen and Royal family, were toasted Alderman Wilkes, the "Glorious 92," Paoli, American manufactures, and, 14thly, "May the 14th of August be the annual Jubilee of Americans till time shall be no more."

† 3. Lord Camden. 4. Lord Chatham. 5. Duke of Richmond. 6. Marquis of Rockingham. 7. Gen. Conway. 8. Lord Dartmouth. 9. Col. Isaac Barré. 10. Sir George Saville. 11. Sir William Meredith. 12. John Wilkes, Esq. 13. Mrs. [Catharine] Macaulay.* 14. The Farmer of Pennsylvania (*three cheers*). 15. The Massachusetts Ninety-Two (*three cheers*). 16. Mr. Bourke [Edmund Burke]. 17. Alderman Beckford. 18. Serjeant Glynn. 24. The Cantons of Switzerland. 26. The

King of Prussia. 27. Paschal Paoli—shamefully neglected by every power in Europe. 28. Dr. Lucas and all other illustrious Patriots in Ireland. 30. May the detested names of the very few importers everywhere be transmitted to posterity with infamy (*discharge of cannon*). 31. May Sir Francis Bernard, of Nettleham, Baronet, the Commissioners, and others his confederates, the infamous calumniators of North America, soon meet with condign punishment (*three cheers*). 32. Annual Parliaments. 38. The speedy removal of all Task-masters, and the redress of all grievances. 43. The abolition of all craft and low cunning in Church and State. 44. A safe lodgment to all peculators, State pirates, thieves, robbers and traitors. 45. Strong halts, firm blocks, and sharp axes to all such as deserve either. (*A discharge of cannon and three cheers.*)

The article is closed with this uncivil language: "Should this account overtake the Baronet of Nettleham on this side T-b-n [Tyburn?], he and Ld. H—h [Hillsborough] are at liberty to write seventy-seven volumes of their High Dutch and low diabolical commentaries 'about it and about it.'"

* This lady had published a History of England, in which she favored free principles, a copy of which was just before this celebration sent over by the brother of the authoress to James Otis, Esq.

sable bumper, drank as moderately as each gentleman inclined.”* At five o'clock, the whole set off in their chariots, chaises, and other vehicles, and returned to Boston.† On their arrival, about six o'clock, “the whole cavalcade passed in procession through the main street, around the Town-house, and then returned to their respective dwellings; the whole having been conducted with the greatest decency and good order,” “which gentlemen ever observe. All gentlemen of distinction from other Colonies, known to be in Town, had cards of invitation sent them.”

In the papers of the day accounts of the celebration are given, but none of the names of the Patriots appear.‡ They were no doubt all there, from Samuel Adams to those whose names have never found their way among printers' types. John Adams was there, who says there were 350 at the dinner; that both Mr. Reed and Mr. Dickinson were “cool, reserved and guarded all day.” “After dinner was over, and the toasts were drunk,” he says, “we were diverted with Mr. Balch's mimicry and the Liberty Song, and a song by Dr. Church, the whole company joining in the chorus.” He remarks also, “Otis and Adams are politic in promoting these festivals; for they tinge the minds of the people; they impregnate them with the sentiments of liberty; they render the people fond of their leaders in the cause, and averse and bitter against all opposers. To the honor of the Sons, I did not see one person intoxicated, or near it. I felt it my duty to be there; but am not able to conjecture of what consequence it was whether I was there or not. Jealousies arise from little causes; and many might suspect that I was not hearty in the cause, if I had been absent, whereas none of them are more sincere and steadfast than I am.”

Great efforts continued to be made by the merchants to cause the establishment of home manufactures of all kinds, which in the end had the effect to render the country independent of England.§ Improved printing-presses began to be manufactured in Connecticut; and Mr. Mitchelson, of Boston, made printing-types “equal to any imported from Great Britain.” But there was another manufacture, which portended not only independence, but a maintenance of independence: for the same merchants created a fund to be employed in carrying on a manufactory “of guns and small arms.”

* To the above passage the editor of the *Evening Post* has this note: “This clearly explains a dark passage in the Nettleham codes, where there is a query made how forty-five drams can be drunk in the morning, and ninety-two in the afternoon consistently with temperance.”

† “Between four and five o'clock the carriages were all got ready, and the company rode off in procession, Mr. Hancock first, in his chariot, and another chariot bringing up the rear. I took my leave of the gentlemen and turned off for Taunton.”—*Diary of John Adams*.

‡ I am chiefly indebted to the *News-Letter*, *Mass. Gazette*, and *Evening Post*. The *Chronicle*, becoming a high tory paper, scarcely noticed the celebration at all.

§ “A gentleman, whom posterity will bless, has deposited 100 dollars in the hands of the Selectmen of Boston, 40 dollars to be given the person, who in the year 1771 shall have raised the greatest number of mulberry trees; 30 dollars to him who shall have the next greatest number, 20 to the next, and 10 to the next.” This was to induce the manufacture of silk. — See *Ames' Almanac* for 1769.



Sept. 5. A very unfortunate affair happened, on the fifth of September, at the British Coffee-house in King-street,* which was a rencontre between James Otis and John Robinson. The latter was one of the Commissioners of the Customs, who, Mr. Otis believed, had deeply injured him by misrepresenting his motives for his political course. He believed also, and probably with good reason, that Robinson, with other Crown officers in Boston, had endeavored to have the leading Patriots, and particularly himself, prosecuted for treason, and sent to England for trial. For a long time, certainly ever since the arrival of the Commissioners, there had been no good feeling towards them among any of the Patriots; and Mr. Otis being considered the most dangerous and most formidable of the latter, it was doubtless agreeable to the Commissioners and their party to draw him into collisions and difficulties; and, knowing his impetuous temper, they succeeded in their object, without difficulty. To counteract their representations, as well as to set their characters in an odious light, as it respected veracity, Mr. Otis advertised the Commissioners and Governor Bernard. In his advertisement he stated that he had “demanded personal satisfaction, and given due warning, but could obtain no sufficient answer.”† Thus the quarrel was carried into the papers of the day, and resulted in a fight, disgraceful to both parties.

Mr. Otis, it seems, went to the Coffee-house by appointment, where he met Robinson, who began the assault upon him. Others, friends of the former, joined in the assault, and Otis was severely handled; being cut in the head, and otherwise wounded. As usual in all such cases, the friends of each party made out a good case for their respective sides. Mr. Otis appears to have gone to the Coffee-house unattended by friends, while the other party was well provided by the presence of several officers of the army and navy. A young man named John Gridley‡ happened to be passing the Coffee-house when the affair commenced, and, being a friend of Otis, he went to his assistance, but he was roughly handled and soon put out of the house.

The matter was carried into court, where it was kept for about four years. The Jury finally brought in damages in favor of Mr. Otis for 2000 pounds sterling. In the mean time Mr. Robinson had married a Boston lady, Miss Nancy Boutineau, daughter of James Boutineau, Esq., and gone to England.§ Mr. Boutineau was a lawyer, and managed the cause for his son-in-law, who, having expressed sorrow for his treatment of Mr. Otis, and confessed himself the aggressor, the fine was refused by Mr. Otis, and nothing was demanded of Robinson but the costs of Court, and the amount of Mr. Otis' surgeon's bill; altogether being about 112 pounds, lawful money.

* Now No. 66 State-street.

† *Mass. Gazette*, 14th Sept., 1769.

‡ See his deposition, *ibid.*

§ They were married on the 5th of October following the affray. On the 16th of the next

March they sailed for England. It is said that Robinson left without leave of his superiors, and so secretly that only a few friends knew of his departure.—*Narrative of the Boston Massacre*, p. 39.

Oct. 4. At a Town meeting on the fourth of October, the subject of the Letters and Memorials sent to Lord Hillsborough by Governor Bernard and others was taken up, and the papers read. The thanks of the Town were voted to Mr. Bollan for having procured and transmitted them to the Selectmen. A Committee was appointed to consider them and report at the adjourned meeting.* After which the subject of a nonconformance by certain individuals to the Non-importation Agreement was acted upon, which is thus entered upon the records:—“Be it therefore SOLEMNLY voted, that the names of those persons, *few* indeed, to the honor of the Town,” † “be entered on the record of this Town, that *posterity* may know who those persons were that preferred their little private advantage to the common interest of all the Colonies, in a point of the greatest importance; who not only deserted but opposed their Country in a struggle for the rights of the Constitution, that must ever do it honor; and who, with a design to enrich themselves, basely took advantage of the generous self-denial of their fellow-citizens for the common good.”

Oct. 18. On the 18th of October the Town met according to adjournment, and the Committee to whom was referred the Letters and Memorials, with instructions “to consider what measures are proper to be taken to vindicate the character of the Town from the false and injurious representations contained in them,” now reported a paper, entitled “An Appeal to the World, or a Vindication of the Town of Boston, from many false and malicious Aspersions contained” in those Letters and Memorials, and the same was ordered to be entered upon the records of the Town, ‡ and to be published; which were accordingly done.§

The year 1769 was very fruitful in important works relating to the difficulties which had arisen between the people of Boston and the Government of Great Britain, on both sides of the Atlantic, as well as on both sides of the question at issue. Among them, “Boston’s Appeal to the World” has been considered a work of consummate ability;

* Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams, James Otis, Dr. Joseph Warren, Richard Dana, Joshua Henshaw, Joseph Jackson and Benjamin Kent, composed the Committee.

† The names are the same as those given on a previous page, and are therefore omitted here.

‡ The Appeal occupies 30 full pages of those records, which pages are of large demy size. The printed tract is now of rare occurrence.

§ This Direction was printed with the Appeal: “The following remarks upon the letters written by Gov. Bernard and others, were ordered to be published; and the Committee were directed respectfully to transmit a printed copy of the same to the following gentlemen, viz., the Hon. Col. ISAAC BARRE, Esq., Member of Parliament; His Excellency THOMAS POWELL, Esq., late Governor of this Province, and

a Member of Parliament; BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Esq., Doctor of Laws; WILLIAM BOLLAM, Esq., Agent for his Majesty’s Council of this Province; DENNYS DE BERDT, Esq., Agent for the House of Representatives, and BARLOW TRECOTHIC, Esq., Alderman of the City of London, and a Member of Parliament.

WILLIAM COOPER, *Town Clerk.*”

Why a copy was not ordered for Alderman William Beckford, does not appear; for Mr. Bollan was indebted to him for his success in obtaining the pernicious documents, as already stated.

In 1773 the General Court resolved to pay William Bollan, Esq., £1200 sterling for his services from 12 July, 1769, to 12 July, 1773; and Dr. Franklin, for three years, ending 31 Oct., 1773, £800 sterling.—*House Journal*, p. 25.

and its composition is almost, if not entirely, the work of Samuel Adams. He was also the author of the Letter to Earl Hillsborough, published anonymously, and doubtless many other similar productions. Edes & Gill printed the Charter of the Province, as granted by William and Mary, in their Almanac, and also the Explanatory Charter of George the First.*

The "Royal Arch Lodge" of Free Masons had its beginning in Boston this year.† It was afterwards called "St. Andrew's Royal Arch Chapter." The next year they held their meetings at the "Green Dragon," in Union-street, which was their regular place of meeting until 1805, when they removed to Mason's Hall, the north side of the Market-house.

Notwithstanding the agitations in the Town in 1769, and the difficulties and discouragements which beset it on every side, its progress was onward, and a beautiful map of it was issued by Mr. William Price, with this title: — "A New Plan of the Great Town of BOSTON in New England in AMERICA, with the many additional Buildings and new Streets, to the year 1769." It is dedicated to Governor Belcher, whose Arms are conspicuously delineated in the upper left hand corner.‡ Like the Map of 1722, it contains statistics of fires, times of small-pox visitations, number and time of building of the several Churches, and other matters, continued to the year of publication. It is also noted that on the Castle "are mounted about 120 cannon." The number of houses in the Town about 4,000, and inhabitants 20,000.

In a thickly settled Town, of so many inhabitants as were now in Boston, it was a move highly criminal to quarter troops, and every day they were continued difficulties increased, and it required no prophet to predict that a time was near at hand when either the people or the soldiers must be masters. There was an occurrence Oct. 24. on the 24th of October, which greatly irritated the Revenue Offices, to redress whose grievances the soldiers were here specially stationed. It was a high offence to the former for any goods to be

* This Charter is dated August 20th, 1725, 12th Geo. I. Dr. Holmes does not mention it in his invaluable Annals.

† Its first meeting was held on the 28th of August, at which were present, the Rt. Worshipful James Brown, Master; Charles Chambers, Sen. Warden; Winthrop Gray, Jun. Warden; William McMullen, Henry Glynn, Wm. McKeen, John Woodington, Joshua Loring, D. Sec.; Samuel Sumner, Tyler. — *By-Laws, &c., of St. Andrews' R. A. Chapter*, edited by Thomas Waterman, Esq., of Boston.

‡ This leads me to the opinion that maps from the same plate were issued during Mr. Belcher's administration; copies of which are doubtless in existence, though I have not met with any, nor have I heard of such. However, this (of 1769) is the same, as to outline and scale, as that by Capt. John Bonner, de-

scribed at page 566, *ante*. Mr. Price was interested with Bonner in publishing that of 1722, and he no doubt came into possession of the plate, and used it from time to time. On the map is Mr. Price's advertisement, by which it appears his sign was "The King's Head and Looking-glass," and his shop was the 2d door South of the Old Meeting-house in Cornhill, "Where is sold a large New South-east Prospect of Boston, neatly done, and a Prospect of the Colledg's in Cambridge, N. E. And great variety of Maps and Prints of all kinds, with Frames and Glasses or without. Also pictures painted in Oyle" — "Newest fashioned Looking Glasses, Tea Tables, China Ware, English and Dutch Toys, Flutes, Hautboys, Violin Strings," &c. In 1727 he published "A Draught of the Meeting-house of the Old Church in Boston, with the New Spire and Gallery."



landed without being duly entered. On the other hand, it was an equally high offence to the people for any one to inform against those who should bring in goods without paying duties. On the occasion referred to, a certain individual, not having the fear of the people before his eyes, and happening to know that "a cask or two" of wine had been brought in, in a sloop from Rhode Island, proceeded to give information of the fact to his Majesty's Commissioners. Aware that he had taken a very dubious step, that individual kept himself secref for a time; but, in the evening of the 24th, he fell into the hands of some persons who had been on the watch for him, and who, unmolested, proceeded to substitute for his ordinary dress one of tar and feathers. Thus attired, they carted him through the streets for about three hours;* which period was ended in King-street near nine o'clock. Here "he promised better behavior for time to come, and asked pardon for his past offence." Then his clothes were returned to him, and "all peaceably dispersed."

The fifth of November falling on Sunday this year, Pope Nov. 5. Day was celebrated on Monday the sixth. Salutes were fired at the Castle and the Town Batteries. "A number of young persons exhibited some pageantry, and, after going through the principal streets of the Town, they retired to Copp's Hill, where the effigies were committed to the flames, about seven o'clock." Mr. John Mein having rendered himself obnoxious by certain publications in his Boston Chronicle, his effigy was added to the number, and labelled in a manner far beyond the bounds of decency.† He had taken the side of the Home Government, and published the names of many of the merchants as importers, who had pledged themselves not to import British goods, and who had signed the Non-importation Agreement. This he did in retaliation for the publications of the merchants before

* They proceeded first to Liberty Tree, equal to these, of which the following are a specimen:—
 "amidst a vast concourse of people," making him hold a large glass lantern in his hand, "that people might see the doleful condition he was in, and to deter others from such infamous practices." Under Liberty Tree they "made him swear never to be guilty of the like crime in future." As the procession was proceeding to Liberty Tree, it was fired upon from Mein & Fleeming's printing office. Upon which some of those in the crowd broke into the office; but the persons inside had escaped. They however found three guns, which they brought off.

† On one of the transparencies was exhibited this acrostic:—

"Insulting wretch, we'll him expose,
 O'er the whole world his deeds disclose;
 Hell now gapes wide to take him in,
 Now he is ripe, O lump of sin!
 Mean is the man, M—n is his name,
 Enough he's spread his hellish fame,
 Infernal Furies hurl his soul
 Nine million times from Pole to Pole."

There were verses also to the "Tories," quite

"Now shake, ye Tories, I see the rogue behind,
 Hung up a scarecrow, to correct mankind."
 "Now we'll be free, or bathed in honest blood,
 We'll nobly perish for our Country's good.
 We'll purge the land of the infernal crew,
 And at one stroke we'll give the Devil his due."
 The Inspectors of the Customs are thus noticed:—
 "Here stands the Devil for a Show,
 With the I—n—rs in a row,
 All bound to Hell, and that we know."
 "Wilkes and Liberty, No. 45," stood at the head of some lines, in which the "Informer" suffers thus:—

"If any one now takes his part,
 He'll go to Hell without a cart."
 I suppose Gov. Bernard to be referred to in these verses:—
 "From —, the veriest monster on earth,
 The fell production of some baneful birth,
 These ill proceed, — from him they took their birth.
 If I forgive him, then forget me, Heaven,
 Or like a Wilkes may I from right be driven."

mentioned. His paper had, in fact, become completely subservient to the oppressors, and he was free in impeaching the motives of the men on whom the people looked as models of excellence. This brought down the vengeance of the latter upon him, and he was attacked in the street near his own office, and obliged to fly to the soldiers for protection. This affair happened on the 28th of October, and he soon after sailed for England.

Dec. 1. The Rev. Mr. Samuel Checkley, the first minister of the New South Church, died on the 1st of December, in his 74th year, after a long and able pastorate. He was son of Col. Samuel Checkley, distinguished for his public services in the Town, and for his excellent character. Mr. Checkley was father-in-law of the distinguished patriot, Samuel Adams. And on the fourth following, an aged merchant, Mr. John Knight, died, aged 81 years. His warehouse was in the vicinity of Faneuil Hall.

On the 14th of December died Mr. Samuel Kneeland, many years a well known and highly respectable printer, in the 73d year of his age. He commenced business about 1718, and his office was in Prison lane, at the corner of Dorset's or Dassett's alley, and was used as such, by Mr. Kneeland and his successors, for eighty years. He was a native of Boston, respectably connected, and served his time with Bartholomew Green. In 1727 he commenced the publication of "The New England Journal," and four months after went into partnership with Timothy Green, — a connection which was continued twenty-five years. Kneeland and Green were engaged in printing the first Bible ever issued from the Boston Press, as has been before stated. Mr. Kneeland was many years printer to the House of Representatives.*

A very curious farce was enacted soon after the departure of Governor Bernard for England. The Grand Jury found bills of indictment against him, General Gage, the five Commissioners of the Customs, the Collector and Comptroller, "for writing certain letters to the Secretary of State, and other the King's Ministers, and therein slandering the inhabitants of the Town and Province." This was of course only to show the resentment of the people in a new light; for it was doubtless well known to the Grand Jury, that a King's Governor could not be tried in a Colonial Court. Hence there were no writs of attachment ever issued, and, after a while, a *nolle prosequi* was entered upon each case.

The Non-importation Agreement ended with the year 1769, and some of those who had been forced into it were determined to proceed in their regular business, and would pay no attention to a renewal of

* In the Journal of the House, June 6th, Mr. Samuel Kneeland, the Printer to the 1735, it is entered, — "Col. Prescott, from the House, he allowed 14s. and 4d., new tenor bills, Committee appointed to inquire into the matter of charge, &c., of printing the Journal of the House, as they shall be taken off from the House, made report, &c. Ordered that the Journal."

that Agreement. Two of the sons of Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson²⁰ were of this number. They had delivered certain goods into the custody of the Committee, or, what amounted to the same thing, they had allowed the Committee to place its padlock on the warehouse in which they were, and to keep the key. The first of January having come, the Messrs. Hutchinsons removed the lock, and, taking their goods from the warehouse, caused them to be secreted. They were immediately called upon to return them to the custody of the Committee, which they refused to do. A meeting of merchants was called, the whole body of whom proceeded to Garden Court, the residence of the Lieut. Governor, a part of whose household were those two sons. The merchants were attended by a great number of people, and it is not surprising if the Lieut. Governor was apprehensive of a repetition of the scenes of 1765; for, when the merchants made known their business, and demanded the restoration of the goods, "without sufficiently considering the consequences," he advised his sons to comply; "but had soon reason to repent; and that he felt more trouble and distress of mind from this error in his public trust, than he had done from loss and damage to his private fortune, when his house and great part of his property were destroyed;" that "he was triumphed over, and reproached for the concession, by the men who, under color of friendship, advised him to it."

The Lieut. Governor could hardly suppress his indignation, and reproached himself for doing what he did not dare to refuse to do. The merchants continued their meetings, which he pronounced treasonable, and endeavored to put a stop to, but all to no purpose. Joseph Hawley said, in the General Court, that he should like to know how the Parliament of England had acquired a right of legislation over the Colonies. And Samuel Adams said at the same time, what was reiterated afterwards in the same words in the Declaration of 1776, "Independent we are, and independent we will be." This feeling disseminated itself through all classes, and would not be controlled.† Meetings of the merchants were continued. The Lieut. Governor called upon the Council to assist him in putting a stop to them, but they refused. He next appealed to the Justices of the Peace, but they were with the people. Then he sent Sheriff Greenleaf into one of the meetings with a paper to read to those assembled, which required them, in his Majesty's name, to disperse and cease their unlawful proceedings. But his Majesty was too far off to be dreaded, though they allowed the paper to be read in his name, and then went on with their business as though nothing had happened.

* Thomas and Elisha Hutchinson, before PUBLIC.—It is reported that a cursed design noticed. They went to England, and both died there. See *ante*, page 227. of this Town, and enslave North America. If so, may the inhabitants behave like men and like Christians.

† About the same time appeared, in the *Evening Post*, these expressions:—"To THE
A FREEHOLDER."

The proscribed Importers were doomed to experience much trouble. It was too humiliating for them to submit to the dictation of the other merchants, and they had almost the whole community, on which they depended for trade, against them. Boys and others would deride and point at them as they passed by their shops. This feeling was kept up, and the affair at length ended in blood, which thus came about.

Feb. 22. : On the 22d of February, "some boys and children set up a large Wooden Head, with a board faced with paper, on which were painted the figures of four of the Importers, who had violated the merchants' Agreement, in the middle of the street, before Theophilus Lillie's door." Soon after it was set up, a famous Informer, who lived but a few doors off, came along, and endeavored to persuade a countryman to drive his cart against it, but that individual had no inclination to meddle. Not long after, the Informer endeavored to get a man with a charcoal cart to break down the Image, but he declined also. The Informer became vexed at his ill-success, and the by-standers at the same time became incensed at his attempts, and he retreated towards his own house, followed by numerous boys and others. As he was retreating, he passed Mr. Edward Proctor, Mr. Thomas Knox, Captains Riordon and Skillings, at whom he cried Perjury! Perjury! Upon this, angry and insulting language followed on both sides. Missiles were thrown at the Informer by the boys, who at length compelled him to shut himself up in his house. Not satisfied with being safe there, he most unwisely undertook to revenge himself, which he did by firing a gun from his window, severely wounding a boy, Samuel Gore, son of Capt. John Gore, and mortally wounding another boy, Christopher Snider, about eleven years of age, who died on the following evening. This boy lived with "Madam Aphthorp," and his father lived in Frog lane, from whose house he was buried on the 26th following, with great ceremony;* upon which Mr. Hutchinson remarked, that "a grand funeral was very proper for him. Young and old, some of all ranks and orders, attended in a solemn procession from Liberty Tree to the Town House, and then to the Common Burying-ground." The Historian also injudiciously remarked upon this funeral, that it was only for the son of a poor German. To return to the house of Ebenezer Richardson, this being the name of the Informer.

As soon as the persons above named were shot, some of the people "got into the New Brick Meeting-house and rang the bell, on which, they soon had company enough to beset Mr. Richardson's house front

*The corpse was set down under Liberty Tree, whence the procession began. About 50 schoolboys preceded, and there were "at least 2000 in the procession, of all ranks, amidst a crowd of spectators." The pall was supported by six youths, chosen by the parents of the deceased. A board was fixed upon Liberty Tree, inscribed, "Thou shalt take no satisfac-

tion for the life of a Murderer;—he shall surely be put to death." Upon each side and at the foot of the coffin were Latin inscriptions, with interpretations well calculated to excite sympathy for the deceased, and at the same time indignation against him who occasioned his death. In the *Evening Post* of 26 Feb. is a very minute account of the affair.

and rear," and broke into it. There they found another obnoxious person, Mr. George Wilmot, from whom they took a gun, "heavily charged with powder, and crammed with 179 goose and buck shot." Whereupon Richardson and Wilmot were captured and taken before Mr. Justice Ruddock. This gentleman, not caring to act alone in the case, ordered them to Faneuil Hall. There, with the other Justices, Richard Dana, Edmund Quincy, and Samuel Pemberton, the Examination was had, "before at least a thousand people," which resulted in their committal to prison. It was remarked at the time that the people were so exasperated, that, had not some gentlemen of influence interposed their good offices, the prisoners would have been torn to pieces before they reached the jail.

On the 20th of April following, the two culprits were tried for their lives. Josiah Quincy and Sampson Salter Blowers were their Counsel; Samuel Quincy and Robert Treat Paine, of Taunton (afterwards a Signer of the Declaration of Independence), conducted the cause on the part of the Crown, the Attorney General being absent. Richardson was brought in guilty of murder, but Wilmot was cleared. Mr. Hutchinson, the Chief Justice, viewed the guilt of the former, as everybody would now, a clear case of justifiable homicide, and consequently refused to sign a warrant for his execution; and, after lying in prison two years, Richardson was, on application to the King, pardoned and set at liberty.*

The next event of much importance was an affray between the soldiers and ropemakers. The 14th and 29th regiments, it will be remembered, were the regiments now remaining in the Town. The former had their principal barracks in Brattle-street, nearly opposite a little alley (then called Boylston's alley) now the covered passage nearly in a line with Washington-street, and at the foot of Cornhill. These were called Murray's barracks, and sometimes Smith's barracks. The 29th was quartered in Water and Atkinson streets.

The merest spark has many times caused the most lamentable conflagrations. So a silly word, or a trifling action, has led to the sacrifice of many innocent lives. After the affair of the Wooden Figure at Lillie's, the officers of the regiments were strict with their men, and kept them more promptly at their posts of duty; but old grudges could not be removed by discipline. The 29th regiment being stationed in the vicinity of large ropewalks, in which were employed many young men, ill-feeling had sprung up between them and the soldiers, which ripened into a spirit for mastery. The week previous to the fifth of March, two soldiers met with a young man, probably one of the journeyman ropemakers, whom it is said they insulted, and were by him knocked down. This was near the foot of King-

* In this account of the case of Richardson and Wilmot, it must be borne in mind that it is almost entirely made up from the facts detailed by their enemies. Richardson was no doubt insulted beyond endurance, which caused his rashness; in a moment of intense excitement he fired on the Mob. These facts doubtless had their weight with the Court.

street. The soldiers were determined to be revenged. Several of them, being armed with clubs or bludgeons, and swords, proceeded, about eleven o'clock, on Friday, the third of March, to Mr. John Gray's Ropewalk. The leader of the soldiers told the workmen at the Walk that he had come for satisfaction for a previous transaction, and was prepared to take it. He of course met with new insults and derision; and no one offering himself for "satisfaction," the "gentleman" soldier challenged any one to single combat. Then one of the ropemakers went out, a fight ensued, the soldier was worsted, had his sword taken from him, and was glad to retreat. He soon returned, however, with some eight or nine more, who being expected by the ropemakers, these were prepared for the emergency, and a general fight followed. The soldiers were severely beaten, and returned to their comrades for a reinforcement, which obtaining, to the number, as it was said, of 30 or 40, they returned again to the Ropewalk. Being now superior in numbers (three to one, as was reported), an unequal but desperate encounter followed; and, although none were killed, two or three of the workmen were much wounded, and many of the soldiers fared quite as hardly. As they were going to the fight, Mr. John Hill, Justice of the Peace, met them, and endeavored to divert them from their purpose; but he came near being knocked down with a club, aimed at his head, and the individual who aimed it knocked down a laborer in the Justice's presence, and beat him badly after he fell. In this affair "a tall negro drummer" was conspicuous, and led on a party sword in hand; but he had reason to regret his rashness, having his sword beat out of his hand, and was otherwise punished for his temerity.*

On the evening of the same day another large party of the soldiers proceeded to renew the attack; but Mr. Gray, the owner of the Walk to which they were going, met them, and finally succeeded in dissuading them from their purpose. But the next day, between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, "three stout grenadiers," well armed, went to Mr. Archibald M'Neil's Ropewalk, and finding three young men there at work, called to them in highly offensive language. In the mean time, Mr. James Bayley came up, and being seconded by Mr. Archibald M'Neil, Jr., and a journeyman employed in Mr. Winter Calef's tan-yard, near by, the three grenadiers were soon put to flight.

The influence of these brutal affrays extended far and wide, in proportion to the number and consequence of the friends of the parties to them. That outrages were committed by the soldiers is no doubt true, but those outrages were exaggerated; and they, probably, in nine cases out of ten, were the abused party. It was their misfortune to occupy the very uncomfortable position which they now did, and

* This is very nearly in accordance with Mr. Hill's deposition, who, when the occurrence took place, happened to be at a house "on the corner of a way leading from Atkinson-st. to Mr. John Gray's ropewalks near Green's barracks." His age at this time was 69. His account favors the ropemakers.

those who sent them here deserve all the execration of posterity, and not the poor soldiers.*

Mar. 5. In the order of events, the tragedy of the fifth of March is next to be detailed. It commenced soon after nine o'clock in the evening of a bright moonlight night, and had its immediate origin in this manner. As four young men, or "youths," as they were called, named Edward Archbald, William Merchant, Francis Archbald and John Leach, Jr., came down Cornhill together, they separated at Dr. John Loring's corner. The two former went on down Cornhill, to pass through Boylston's alley, in which a sentinel was posted. When they came near him he was "brandishing a broad sword of an uncommon size," striking it against the wall, "out of which he struck fire plentifully." This he appears to have been doing by way of recreation. There was "a mean-looking Irishman" in company with the sentinel, who had in his hand a large cudgel. Archbald and Merchant attempted to pass the sentinel without answering his challenge; whereupon a scuffle ensued, in which Archbald was struck on the arm, and Merchant had his clothes pierced under his arm-pit and his skin grazed; and in turn he struck the soldier with a short stick which he brought with him. The Irishman ran to the barracks to alarm the soldiers, and immediately returned with two of them. One was armed with a pair of tongs, the other with a shovel. The man with the tongs drove Archbald back through the alley, and struck him over the head with them. By this time the noise had brought several people to the place, and John Hicks, "a young lad," knocked the soldier down. The soldiers then retreated to the barracks, followed by their assailants. Immediately after, about a dozen of the soldiers came out, armed, and the people dispersed. About the same time Samuel Atwood† came up from Dock Square, and meeting the soldiers hurrying down the alley leading to the Square, asked them if they intended to murder the people? To which some of them replied, "Yes, by God, root and branch!" and almost at the same instant one gave Atwood a blow with a club; being unarmed, he attempted to make off, but before he got out of their reach another struck him, and another cut him on the shoulder, to the bone. In the Square the soldiers inquired, "Where are the Yankee boogers? Where are the Cowards?" This being attended with much noise, many persons hurried into Dock Square, pressed upon the soldiers, and some blows were given and received. The officers, however, succeeded in causing the soldiers to

* The accounts of the Ropewalk affrays are stated with so much variation, that it is exceedingly difficult to arrive at the truth. Capt. Preston states that the ropemakers were the first aggressors, and that the trouble began while two or three soldiers were quietly going through one of the walks. But he was probably mistaken as to the beginning or origin of the

troubles. Mr. Gray, the owner of the walk where the principal fights were, did not understand it so, but he was so well convinced that his men had been in fault, that he discharged one of them, after hearing Cols. Carr and Dalrymple's accounts.

† He belonged to Wellfleet, and was from a vessel then lying in the Town Dock.

return to their barracks in Brattle-street, to which they were followed by the Mob and besieged there. Then some among the assemblage cried out, "Now for the Main Guard!"* which had its quarters in King-street, opposite the south door of the State House. Upon this the mass in the Square moved for King-street; part of them running up Cornhill, some up Wilson's lane, others up Royal Exchange lane.

After the soldiers were withdrawn to their barracks, some well-disposed persons among the crowd endeavored to persuade them to go to their homes;† but little or no attention was paid to them, and many were engaged in tearing up the stalls of the Market place, probably for the purpose of a supply of such arms as those materials afforded. It appears that another party of the inhabitants from the south end were assembled at Oliver's Dock, and that they began to appear in King-street about the same time as those from Dock Square.

The sentinel at the Custom House (which stood on the lower corner of Royal Exchange lane, fronting on King-street) was the object aimed at by a part of the Mob,‡ and a boy pointed him out as one who had at some time previous knocked him down; whereupon this first party, consisting of some twenty young men of various ages, pressed upon the sentinel, some crying out, "Kill him, knock him down!" with other similar expressions. The poor sentinel retreated up the steps by which the Custom House was entered, beset by a shower of missiles, as snow-balls, pieces of ice, and sticks of wood. While thus attacked the man loaded his gun, which the Mob observing, hallooed, "Fire and be damned!" He then knocked stoutly at the door, hoping to escape into the house, but, gaining no admittance, he called upon the Main Guard, whose station was within hearing.

The Main Guard on that day was commanded by Capt. Thomas Preston of the 29th regiment, whose Lieutenant was James Bassett. As soon as the sentinel called for protection, Lieut. Bassett detached a Serjeant with a file of six men for his relief, and sent an express for Capt. Preston, who was at Concert Hall. The Captain immediately came, and, on learning that men had been sent to the Custom-House, sent six others there, and said, "I will go there myself to see they do no mischief;" and actually overtook them on the way, as their progress was necessarily slow, from the great number of people which had

* Gordon says, the cry was, "Damn the dogs, where are they now? Let us go and kill that damn'd scoundrel of a sentry, and then attack the Main Guard!"

† "The body of the Mob, when they have finished their repeated attacks upon the barracks, are addressed in the street by a tall large man in a red cloak, and white wig. After listening to what he has to offer in the space of three or four minutes, they huzza for the Main Guard, and say, 'We will do for the soldiers.'" — Gordon.

‡ "We have been entertained," says John Adams, "with a great variety of phrases to avoid calling this sort of people a Mob. Some call them shavers, some call them geniuses. The plain English is, they were, most probably, a motley rabble of saucy boys, Negroes and mulattoes, Irish teagues and outlandish jack-tars; and why we should scruple to call such a set of people a Mob, I can't conceive, unless the name is too respectable for them." — *Plea in Defence of the Soldiers.*

by this time clustered into King-street. At the same time a large number came rushing down that street from Cornhill, in the van of which was a Mulatto, named Crispus Attucks, and a number of sailors. Their object was, doubtless, the Main Guard, but when they came to the Town House, they saw the gathering at the Custom House, and immediately proceeded thither, — some of them exclaiming, “Damn the rascals, this will never do! The way to get rid of these soldiers is to attack the Main Guard. Strike at the root. This is the nest!”

The bells had been set ringing, which some supposed was for fire, and, coming out of their houses, were told that the *fire* was in King-street, in order to concentrate the people there. Somebody told Capt. Preston that it was a plan of the people, to give notice of an intended massacre of the soldiers, and that a tar-barrel was to be fired on Beacon Hill to bring in the people from the country. These rumors, whether true or false, must have given the officers great alarm.

Meanwhile the soldiers were so pressed upon and insulted, that the only way they could keep upon their feet was by presenting charged bayonets. This they did, forming a kind of half circle in front of the Custom House. Their pieces were not charged when they left the guard-house, and Capt. Preston testified that he never gave any orders for them to be charged. However, it soon appeared that they were charged, and it is not improbable that the Captain might have given orders to that effect, and, being in much trepidation, and under such excitement as not to have been conscious of the order afterwards.

The soldiers were unable to keep off the crowd, even with fixed bayonets, having their guns knocked this way and that with clubs; and Capt. Preston, at the utmost peril, stood for a time between his men and the people, using every endeavor to prevent further outrage; but all to no purpose, while some called out, “Come on, you bloody backs, you lobster scoundrels! fire if you dare! fire and be damned! we know you dare not.”* Immediately after a soldier received a severe blow from a club, upon which he stepped a little on one side, levelled his piece, and fired. Capt. Preston remonstrated with him for firing, and while he was speaking he came near being knocked down by a blow from a club aimed at his head.† The noise and confusion was now so great, some calling out, “Fire, fire if you dare! Damn you, why don’t you fire!” with horrid oaths and imprecations, that no one could tell whether Capt. Preston or anybody else ordered the men to fire; but fire they did, some seven or eight of them, and the pieces of two or three more were snapped, but missed fire. The Mob seeing

* It was well understood by the people, that no soldier was allowed to fire his piece under any circumstances, unless ordered to do so by the Civil Magistrate. This may account for the presumptuous conduct of the people. Gov. Hutchinson, it is said, on arriving on the ground, reproached Capt. Preston for allowing his men to fire. Preston’s reply was used against him at his trial.

† Richard Paine acknowledged a few days after, that he was the man who struck the soldier and Capt. Preston.

that the soldiers were in earnest, began to leave the ground, fearing the firing might be continued. The time occupied thus far had not exceeded half an hour. That is, from the time the attack began on the sentinel in King-street.

The result of the firing was now disclosed. Three lay dead on the ground, two others were mortally wounded, and several slightly.* On the return of some of the people to take away the dead and wounded, the soldiers, supposing them coming to renew the attack, levelled their guns to fire upon them, but the Captain struck them up with his hands, and thus prevented further bloodshed. A few minutes after, a citizen came to the Captain, and told him that there were about 5000 people assembled close at hand, who were coming to take his life and the lives of his men. He therefore disposed his men into street firings; set a guard at the entrance of King-street from Cornhill, on the south side of the State-house, and another at the east end of it, in King-street, to protect the Main Guard. The people had set up the cry, in the mean time, — "To arms! to arms! Turn out with your guns, every man!" and the drums were beating to arms. This was followed with the beating to arms in the regiments. Several companies of the 29th soon arrived at the Town-house, which were formed into street-firings also. At the same time Capt. Preston despatched a Sergeant to Col. Dalrymple, the chief officer, with an account of what had happened. As the officers were repairing to their regiments, some were knocked down by the Mob and very much hurt, and some had their swords taken from them. The Lieut. Governor and Col. Carr immediately met at the head of

* The three immediately killed were Samuel Gray, Crispus Attacks, and James Caldwell. Gray was shot in the head, the ball beating off a large portion of his skull. He was one of the Rope-walk men, and had been in fights with the soldiers. His brother, Benjamin Gray, lived in a house "on the north side of the Exchange," into which Samuel was taken, and whence he was buried. Caldwell and Attacks being strangers, were taken to Faneuil Hall. The former was "mate of Capt. Norton's" vessel. The latter was a native of Framingham, "but lately belonged to New Providence, and was here in order to go for North Carolina." He was instantly killed, two balls entering his breast. In one account he is said to have been a slave; and that he was the most insulting, fierce and outrageous of all the Mob.

Samuel Maverick was mortally wounded, and died on the following morning. He was a son of a widow, Mrs. Mary Maverick of Union-st., and about 17 years of age; was an apprentice to a joiner, a Mr. Greenwood.

Christopher Monk was badly wounded, also about 17; was an apprentice to a Mr. Walker, a shipwright. He finally recovered.

Patrick Carr's wound was mortal, but he

lived about nine days after he was wounded. He was about 30 years of age, and worked with a Mr. Field, leather-breeches-maker in Queen-st. He was an Irishman.

John Clark, aged about 17, whose parents lived in Medford, was an apprentice to Capt. Samuel Howard, of Boston. His wound was severe, and it was supposed mortal, but he recovered.

Mr. Edward Payne, merchant, was shot through the right arm, as he was standing in the front door of his own house, which stood nearly opposite the east end of the Custom House in King-street. On finding himself wounded, he coolly remarked to some persons who stood near him, "Those soldiers ought to be talked to."

John Green, a tailor, received a ball in his thigh, near his hip, as he was coming up Leverett's lane. The ball was extracted.

Robert Patterson, a sailor, was shot through the arm. He was in the crowd at Richardson's in the affair of the Wooden Head, when a shot passed through his clothes.

David Parker, a lad, apprentice to "Mr. Eddy the wheelwright," received a ball in his thigh. In the *Hist. of the Massacre*, p. 11, it is said the number killed and wounded was eleven.



the 29th regiment, which was now paraded in King-street, and, through the exertions of the former, and the influence of a number of distinguished citizens, the people were persuaded to go to their homes, and the regiment returned to its barracks. This was about one o'clock at night. About 100 persons, among whom were some men of distinction, volunteered to form a Citizen's Guard for the remainder of the night, which they did, and thus ended the ever memorable FIFTH OF MARCH, 1770.

Mar. 6. Late in the night of the fifth, several Justices assembled in the Council Chamber, and warrants were issued for the arrest of Capt. Preston, and they were soon after joined by Lieut. Gov. Hutchinson, at the request of Col. Dalrymple. It was some time before the Captain could be found, but about three o'clock in the morning of the 6th he surrendered himself, and was committed to jail; and, a few hours later, the soldiers who had fired on the people, were committed also.

This did not satisfy the inhabitants, large bodies of whom were in motion early in the morning, and at eleven o'clock a Town-meeting was held in Faneuil Hall, and the affairs of the previous night were recounted by several speakers. The crowd was immense, and an adjournment to the Old South became necessary. A vote was passed, that, as it was impossible for the soldiers and people to live together in the Town, a committee should be appointed to request their immediate removal. A committee of fifteen was accordingly raised for that purpose, and the Governor and Council, being in session, were immediately waited upon by that Committee, and received answer, by the Lieut. Governor, that he had no authority to remove the soldiers, nor could it be done except by the orders of the General at New York; that the Council also desired their removal, and Col. Dalrymple had consented to take the responsibility of removing the 29th regiment to the Castle, that being the one to which the soldiers belonged who had fired on the people, and had the fights at the Ropewalks.

When this was reported to the Meeting, the answer was voted to be unsatisfactory; one individual only dissenting. Then a committee of seven was chosen out of the former committee, consisting of Samuel Adams, John Hancock, William Molineaux, William Phillips, Joseph Warren, Joshua Henshaw and Samuel Pemberton. This committee was instructed to carry the vote of the Town to the Governor and Council, which was, That their former answer "was by no means satisfactory, and that nothing less will satisfy than a total and immediate removal of the troops." Mr. Adams was Chairman, and he discharged his duties with such intrepidity, consummate ability and firmness, as not only to secure the object then demanded, but also the admiration of the world through all coming ages. The Committee were received, as before, by the Lieut. Governor, who returned a similar answer, — that he had not the power to comply. But Mr. Adams showed, conclusively, though briefly, that by the Charter he had the power. Mr. Hutchinson, not being able to meet the argument



advanced, consulted Col. Dalrymple in a whisper, and then remarked, that one of the regiments should be sent away. "At this critical moment," says Tudor, "Mr. Adams showed the most noble presence of mind. The officers, civil and military, were abashed before him. They shrank from the arrogance they had hitherto maintained, and their reliance upon standing armies forsook them, while the Speaker, seeming not to represent, but to personify the universal feeling and opinion, with unhesitating promptness and dignified firmness, replied, 'IF THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OR COLONEL DALRYMPLE, OR BOTH TOGETHER, HAVE AUTHORITY TO REMOVE ONE REGIMENT, THEY HAVE AUTHORITY TO REMOVE TWO; AND NOTHING SHORT OF THE TOTAL EVACUATION OF THE TOWN BY ALL THE REGULAR TROOPS, WILL SATISFY THE PUBLIC MIND, AND PRESERVE THE PEACE OF THE PROVINCE.'"

This had the desired effect, and Col. Dalrymple pledged his honor that the troops should be removed, and that immediately; and they were removed agreeably to promise.

Mar. 8. On Thursday following the massacre, as it is called, took place the funeral of those who were killed, for which great preparations had been made. Most of the shops were closed for the day, and the bells of the Town were effectually tolled, as were those of Charlestown and Roxbury. There was an immense assemblage; more, it was said, than had ever come together on any former occasion in the Town. The four hearses formed a junction in King-street, upon the spot where the tragedy took place; thence the procession proceeded through the main street, six deep, followed by a long train of carriages, belonging to the principal people in the Town. The four bodies were deposited in one grave, "in the middle of the ground."*

Mar. 12. The people of the Town, by a Committee duly appointed, proceeded at once to collect a full account of the affair of the fifth. Another was raised to write to Thomas Pownall, Esq., to give the earliest possible notice in England of what had happened, to prevent the effect of any adverse statements, which they had very good reason to apprehend would reach that country at the earliest possible moment. This Committee consisted of the same seven gentlemen who, with Samuel Adams at their head, had effected the removal of the troops from the Town, and they reported a letter the same day. The other Committee were James Bowdoin, Joseph Warren and Samuel Pemberton. They reported on the 19th following. Their

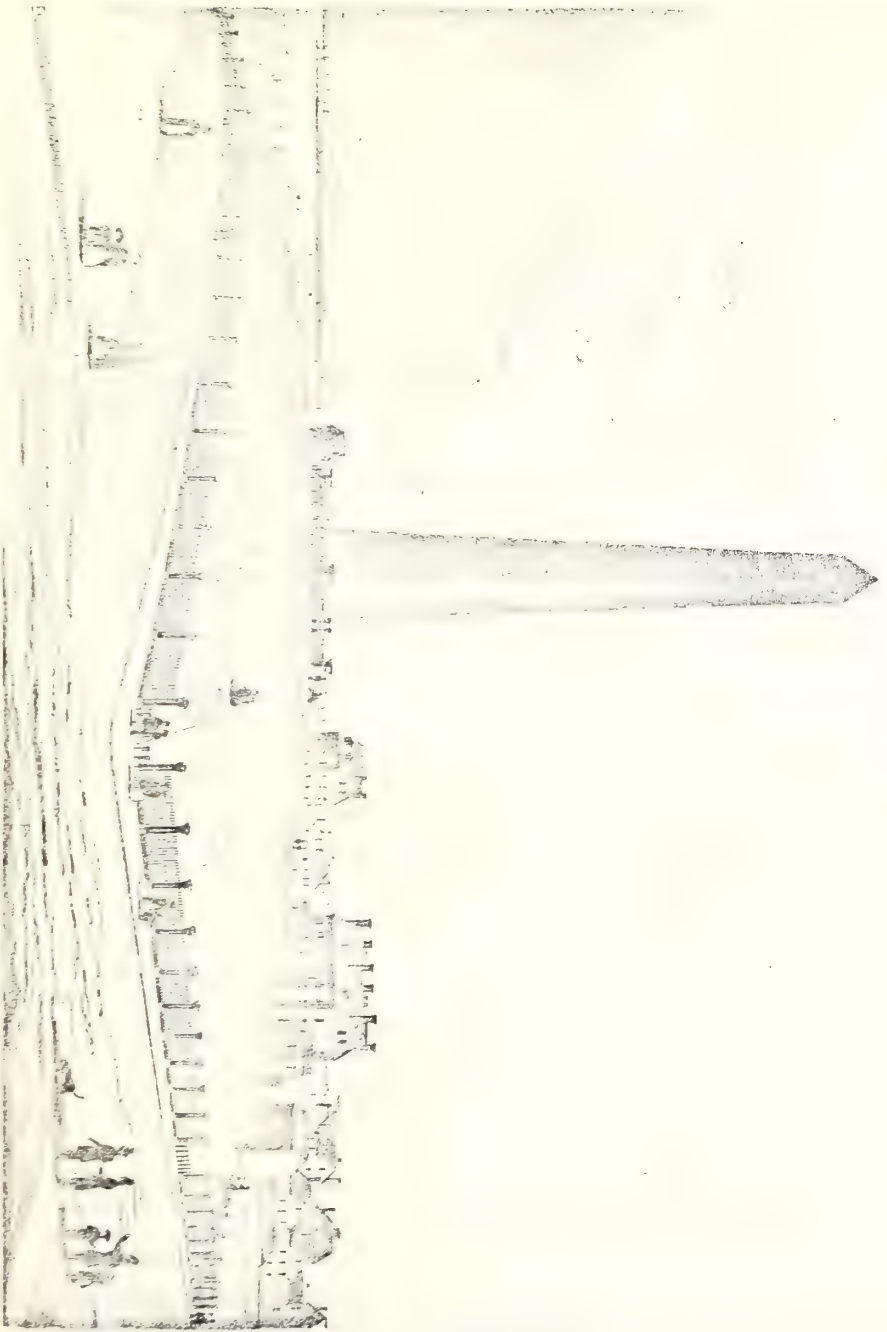
Mar. 19. Report and accompanying documents were afterwards printed, to which they gave this title: — "A Short Narrative of the Horrid Massacre in Boston," † &c.

* The following verses were composed and circulated on the occasion: —

"Well-fated shades! let no unmanly tear
From Pity's eye disdain your honored bier:
Lost to their view, surviving friends may mourn,
Yet o'er thy pile shall flames celestial burn;

Long as in freedom's cause the wise contend,
Dear to your country shall your fame extend,
While to the world the lettered stone shall tell
How CALDWELL, ATTUCKS, GRAY and MAVERICK fell."

† It consisted of about 100 pages octavo. There was a reprint of it in N. York in 1849.





APPENDIX.

NO I.

THE BOOK OF POSSESSIONS

OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON.

A MANUSCRIPT volume, bearing the above title, is in the City Clerk's office, and was compiled, probably, in pursuance of an Order of the General Court of April 1st, 1634. In an original MS. memorandum, made by Isaac Addington, that gentleman says, "When I was appointed Clerk of the County Court in 1672, I found such a book in that office, entitled on the cover, 'Possessions of the Inhabitants of Boston.'" Mr. Addington adds that while he was in office persons often came to consult the work, but he did not see its "validity."

As to the *validity* of the BOOK OF POSSESSIONS, I will suggest that, for about twenty years after Boston was settled, there had been some litigation and much confusion about estates, owing to a want of system in transfers and a regularity in recording them; such matters not then having been systematized. There was not at that time any book or books, for regularly recording transfers of real estate, of which I am aware. The first book or volume in our office appears to have been commenced about 1653, and the second, Mr. Edward Rawson says, in his own hand, was begun April 7th, 1654. Hence, in the absence of a County Registry, the BOOK OF POSSESSIONS was caused to be compiled, which stood as a basis of all after transfers, and has been regarded as a sort of *Dooms Day Book*. My friend, N. I. Bowditch, Esq., concurs with me in my estimate of the work.

The persons whose possessions are described were not *all* of them original settlers on the peninsula. There had been a constant change of occupants for the twenty years before named, and it is not easy at this day to designate the original possessors in the majority of cases. Many had died, and many had gone to other parts, and their places were filled by others.

In laying a copy of the BOOK OF POSSESSIONS before my readers it is necessary to observe that the original is preserved entire, so far as its facts, dates, names, etc., are concerned. I have omitted all tautologies, all words not necessary for a clear understanding of the matter, and abridged or abbreviated words and names which occur very frequently. The abbreviations will be generally understood at sight, and do not require a particular explanation.

Unless otherwise mentioned, the persons and property are to be considered as belonging to Boston proper.

The names of persons and places are spelled as in the original.

It may facilitate the perusal of the work to note the following abbreviations: bnd., bound or bounded; pcl., parcel; ab., about, more or less; a., acre or acres; E'ly., Easterly; E'd., Eastward, and so of the other points of the compass; gr., granted.

WINTHROP, MR. DEANE. — Farm at Pullen Pt., ab. 120 a., Mr. Pierce N, the Bay and Fisher's Cove W. Pullen Pt. S, the Sea E. — 26 (10) 1649. Bridget and William Pierce gr. Mr. Deane W. their farm at P. Pt. (join. sd. D. W.) ab. 100 a.; by deed 14 (11) 1647. Wits. Wm. Aspinwall, Jno. Evered.

BELLINGHAM, RICHARD, ESQ. — 1. House and lot, ab. $\frac{1}{4}$ a., the St. E, Christ. Stanley, Jno. Biggs, James Browne, and Alexr. Becke, S, Josha. Scotto W, Mr. Wm. Tyng N. — 2. Gard. plot, Mr. Jno. Cotton and Danl. Maude N, the Highw. E, Jno. Coggan S. — 3. Marsh, Jno. Hills and the Highw. W, the Common Marsh N, Jno. Lowe E, Hen. Symonds, Jno. Hills and the Cove S.

- FOWLE, THOMAS. — House and gard., Walt. Sinet S, Thos. Butolph E, the High-st. W, Jacob Leger N.
- HIBBENS, MR. WILLIAM. — 1. House, gard. and stable, Mr. Jno. Winthrop W, Richd. Sherman and pt. of Fort-st. S, the Spring-gate N, Jno. Spoor E. — 2. At Mud. r, 6 score a. Mr. Tho. Oliver N, Edwd. Bndall, Tho. Snowe and Wm. Talmidge W, Boston Common S, Roxbury bounds SE. — 3. Also 25 a. marsh at Mud. r., bnd. by Charles r. and a creek in form of an isthmus. — 4. Also house and farm ab. 350. a. at Mud. r., Mr. Wm. Tyng S, Cambridge bounds NW, Dedham bounds SW.
- GIBBONS, MAJ. EDWARD. — 1. Dwell. h., other housing and garden, the St. on the W and N, Mr. Jno. Wilson E and S. — 2. House and lot, Jno. Smith E, Robt. Nash W, the St. S, the Cove or Mill-pond N. John Milom, Cooper, gr. E. G., merch., $\frac{1}{4}$ of the Water Mill or Mills and appurtenances by deed 12 (8), 1649. Wits., Jno. Davis, Jno. Mills. Ackn. bef. Wm. Aspinwall, 15 (8) 1649.
- HAUGH, MR. ATHERTON. — 1. House and garden, the St. E and N, Arthur Perry W, Francis Lyle S. — 2. House and garden, Mr. Hibbins E, the Common W, Richd. Sherman N, the St. S.
- COTTON, MR. JOHN. — House and garden, ab. $\frac{1}{4}$ a., with an a. adjoining, Sudbury-street E, Edwd. Bndall N, Centry Hill W, Mr. Bellingham and Daniel Maude S.
- TYNG, MR. WILLIAM. — 1. House, close, garden, great yard and little yard before the hall window, Mr. Richd. Bellingham and the St. that goes to the Dock S, Benj. Thwing and Wm. Wilson W, Geo. Burden, Fra. Dowse, Jer. Houtchin, Sarah Knight and Saml. Greenes N, John Glover, Wm. Hudson, Jr., Geo. Burden, and Hugh Gunnison and the St. E. — 2. In the Mill-field marsh, 18 yards and 4 rods wide from the ditch, and so all the depth of the Marsh. David Phippen on the ditch NE, the highway SE, the marsh granted to the Milne SW, Thomas Marshall and John Oliver, NW.
- KEAYNE, CAPT. ROBERT. — 1. House and garden, the Market-st. N, the High-st. W, Richd. Fairebanks S, Mr. Hudson E. — 2. Garden, John Spoor E, Wm. Pell N, and Robt. Rice N.
- WILSON, MR. JOHN. — House and barn, two gardens and a yard, Water-st. S, Anth. Stoddard and Wm. Franklin E, the Cove-st. and Maj. Edwd. Gibbons N, Maj. Gibbons, Wm. Courser and John Coggan W.
- DUNSTER, MR. [HENRY.] — House and yard, Thomas Hawkins W and N, and the St. E and S.
- NEWGATE, JOHN. — House and garden, ab. $\frac{1}{4}$ a., Henry Fane N, the New-field W and S, Anne Hunne vid. Geo. Hunne, Ed.
- MAUD, DANIELL, — House and garden, Mr. Bellingham S and W, Mr. Cotton N, and the St. E.
- OLIVER, MR. THOMAS. — 1. House and garden, Richd. Fairebanks and Capt. Robt. Keayne N, Wm. Courser and the Lane E, the Spring gate S, the St. W. — 2. Also $1\frac{1}{2}$ a. in the New-field, Richd. Fairebanks S, Marsh W, Richd. Carter, S. — 3. Garden plot, Robt. Scott E and W, James Pen and John Kenrick N.
- HOWEN, ROBERT. — House and garden ab. $\frac{1}{4}$ a., Sudbury-st. NE, Robt. Meeres SE, Anne Hunne, vid. Geo. Hunne NW, Val. Hill SW.
- LEVERIT, MR. THOMAS. — House and garden, Mr. John Winthrop E, St. and Robt. Scott N, marsh of Mr. Winthrop S, the Old Meetingh., Robt. Scott, Mr. Henry Weebb and Thos. Parsons W. David Selleck gr. to Mr. Thos. L. ab. 1 a., Richd. Parker and Edwd. Hutchinson W, Mr. Stoughton S, Thos. L. W, in the New-field, deed 20 (12) 1645; ackn. bef. Mr. Winthrop, Dep. Gov., 30 (1) 1646. — 7 (12) 1650. John Milom gr. Capt. John Leveret betn. 45 and 50 feet in length, near the Mill and by the Mill-creek NE, and Thos. Marshall towards the S, with liberty of ingress and egress to the Mill-creek, with vessels not prejudicing the Mill-stream, deed 27 (6) 1648.
- JACKSON, EDMUND. — 1. House and garden, the Lane S, John Leverit E, John Mellowes N, Sudbury-st. W. — 2. Ab. 3 a. in the New field, Valentine Hill S, Robt. Meeres W, Geo. Burden N, David Sellick E. — 17 (5) 1645. John Davies gr. to Edm'd. J. 10 ft. wide 40 ft. long, which was again sold to Hez. Usher, 1 (12) 1646. — 5 (8) 1646, sd. J. Davies gr. to



sd. E. J. his dwell. h. and yard, Mr. Wilson N. Edm'd J. E. Market Place S, John Coggan W, deed 5 (8) 1646; ackn. bef. John Winthrop, Gov., 6 (8) 1646, which is also sold to Hezekiah Usher, 1 (12) 1646.

CORP, WILLIAM. — House and lot of $\frac{1}{2}$ an a. in the Mill-field, Thos. Butolph SE, John Button NE, Marsh SW, River NW.

MELLOWES, JOHN. — 1. House and garden, Edmund Jackson S, John Leveret E, John Cole N, St. W. — 2. At Braintree 132 a., James Browne N, John Davies S, John Webb and the Rocky Common W, the mouth of Monotaquit river and the Bay E. — 3. Eight a., John Webb, Capt. James Browne and Wm. Wendell N. Monotaquit river SW. — 4. Marsh $\frac{1}{2}$ a., Jas. Browne N, Zac. Bosworth W, and Monotaquit river SE.

GOODWIN, EDWARD. — House and lot, ab. $\frac{1}{2}$ a., John Sweete SE, Thomas Buttolph NW, and SW, the Bay NE. House and garden bought of Sampson Shore; sd. Sampson S. SE and NW, Matthew Chaffie NE. Christopher Gibson SW, with privilege of well and landing on sd. Shore's wharf; deed 5 (11) 1648, before Wm. Aspinwall, N. Pub. — Sampson Shore gr. Edwd. Goodwin his garden, Thos. Faulconer SW, the Cove SE, Mr. John Clerk and Math. Chaffie NE, the St. NW; deed 22 (10) 1649. — 1, (2) 1649. Sampson Shore gr. Edw. Goodwin, house and garden, bnd. SE and NW with his land, Math. Chaffie NE, Chr. Gibson SW, with privilege of well and landing; deed 5 (11) 1648, in presence of Wm. Aspinwall, Not. Pub. This is again sold to Nathaniel Adams.

FISH, GABRIEL. — House and yard, John Davies S and W, Valentine Hill N, the St. E.

SWEETE, JOHN. — House and lot, ab. $\frac{1}{4}$ a., Edwd. Goodwin NW, Isaac Grosse SE, Christopher Stanly SW, the Bay NE. This is sold to Wm. Wicks. — 17 (1) 1648. Mark Hawes gr. J. S. the shop formerly John Milom's, and ground to'rds the sea 14 8-12 feet wide, and in length as far as sd. Milom had any right; also that ground on the back side $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and in length 26 feet, per assignment dated 7 (9) 1647. Ackn. before Wm. Aspinwall, Not. Pub. This is assigned to John Farnham.

PEASE, HENRY. — 1. House and garden, the Lane E, the St. S, John Leveret W, the Cove N. — 2. Farm at Braintree, the Common N and W, James Everill S and E. — 3. One and $\frac{1}{4}$ a. marsh at the Mount, compassed E, W and S by Jas. Everill's marsh, a salt bay N.

SEABERRY, JOHN. — House and garden, ab. $\frac{1}{2}$ a., Isaac Grosse NW, Walter Merry SE and SW, the sea or bay NE.

SMITH, JOHN. — House and garden, the St. S, John Davies E, Maj. Edwd. Gibones W, the Cove N.

MERRY, WALTER. — House and lot, ab. an a., John Seaberry and Isaac Grosse NW, John Sweet SW and SE.

DAVIES, JOHN. — 1. House and garden, James Johnson N, Gabriel Fish and Val. Hill E, John Smith W, the St. S. — 2. At Braintree 36 a., John Mellowes N, Zacheus Bosworth S, John Webb W, Monotaquit r. E. — 3. One a. of marsh, Zacheus Bosworth N and W, Monotaquit r. S. — Mr. John Wilson sold to John Davies 45 ft. front to the St., and 40 ft. deep, sd. Wilson's garden N and E, the Market Stead S, John Coggan W, deeds 5 (2) 1644 and 29 (2) 1645. Ackn. before John Winthrop, Gov'r., 23 (8) 1646. In which writing John Davies is bound to make and maintain the fence between Mr. Wilson and him, and not to annoy him with any stincke or jacks. This was sold to Edmd. Jackson afterwards.

BEAMSLEY, WILLIAM. — 1. House and House lot, ab. $\frac{1}{2}$ a., Anne Tuttle S and SW, the Bay E, Isaac Grosse N and NW. — 2. At Muddy river 16 a., bnd. with John Biggs E, Thos. Grubb W, Cedar Swamp S, Marsh and River N. — Wm. Phillips gr. to Wm. B. land in the Mill field, 238 ft. long (towards the SW) 80 ft. wide, and NW 60 ft., Mrs. Mary Hawkins SE, Richd. Bennet SW, my own land NW and NE; deed 6 (5) 1650.

JOHNSON, JAMES. — 1. House and garden, Thos. Hawkins NE, the St. SE and SW, Cove NW. — 2. Garden near the Common, John Leveret N, Geo. Burden S, Anthony Harker E, and the Common W. — 3. An a. in the New-field, John Biggs N, Francis Loyall W, Zacheus Bosworth S, Thos. Clarke E. — 4. Also $\frac{1}{4}$ a. of marsh and upland, the Cove N and E, John Smith W, John Davies S.

TUTTLE, ANNE. — 1. House and garden, Wm. Beamsley N, Nehemiah Bourne S, the Bay E. — 2. Farm at Rumney Marsh, John Coggan N, Saml. Cole S, the Sea E, highway W. — House and garden, Wm. Teft E, Thomas Foster S, Geo. Griggs W, the Mill-st. N.

- CREEVERS, BARTHOLOMEW. — House and garden, the St. SE, the Cove NW, Robt. Hull NE.
- BOURNE, NEHEMIAH. — House and garden, Anne Tuttle N, Capt. Hawkins S, the Bay E and N.
- ARNOLD, JOHN. — House and garden, Thos. Munt E, the St. S, highw. N, John Jackson W.
- HAWKINS, CAPT. THOMAS. — House and garden, Capt. Bourne N, the Bay E, Edward Bendall S. — Edwd. Bendall gr. Capt. H. land beginning 40 ft. to the N'd of that lot which was Mr. Robt. Thompson's, and so to Maj. Neh. Bourne's lot, running with a straight line according as Maj. Bourne's pales run from the seaside (towards the E) to the rails of Christ. Stanley W'd, the S'th side running near parallel to this; deed 30 (11) 1645. Executed in pres. of Wm. Aspinwall, Not. Pub.
- JACKSON, JOHN. — House and garden, John Arnold E, the St. S, Highw. N, Robert Hull W.
- SAVADGE, ENS. THOMAS. — 1. House and garden, the Bay E, Edwd. Bendall N, the Lane S, Chr. Stanley W. — 2. Farm at Braintree, in two parts; one 38½ a. rocky ground W'd, Jas. Everill N, Richd. Cooke S, a salt Bay E: the other, 26 a. rocky ground E'd, Wm. Werdall and Geo. Hunne W'd, Jas. Everill N, Richd. Cooke S. — 3. Also 1½ a. of marsh, Oliver Mellowes E and N, Rich. Cooke W, Monotaquit river S.
- OLIVER, JOHN. — House and garden, ab. ½ a., Val. Hill NE and SE, Jno. Pierce and Jno. Knight SW, the St. NW.
- GROSSE, EDMUND. — House and lot, the Lane N, Saml. Cole S, Isaac Cullimer W, the Bay E. — This was sold to John Anderson.
- WERDALL, WILLIAM. — 1. House and garden, John Milom SW, John Hill NE, the St. NW, highway SW. — 2. At Braintree 20 a., John Mellowes S, Geo. Hunne N, a rocky bottom and Monotaquit river W, Jas. Browne, Richd. Cooke and Tho. Savage E.
- COLE, SAMUEL. — House and garden, Edmd. Grosse N, the Bay E, Isaac Cullimer SW.
- HILL, JOHN. — 1. House, Henry Symons E, Mr. Bellingham N, the St. W, Cove S. — 2. Small lot, ¼ a, Sampson Shore NE, John Milom SW, the St. NW, the Cove SE.
- CLARKE, MR. THOMAS. — Warehouse and house lot, the Cove and Thos. Joy S, Isaac Cullimer W, Tho. Joy NW, Isaac Cullimer NE.
- MARSHALL, THOMAS. — House and garden, ab. ½ a., the marsh SE, the St. SW and NW, John Pierce or John Knight NE. — John Milom gr. Tho. M. land near the Water-mill, Mill-creek NE, Tho. Marshall SW, the highw. NW, John Milom SE; being 76 ft. on that side next Tho. Marshall, and 74 at the Creek, 30 on the SE side, and 44 on the NW side; with liberty of egress and regress in sd. Creek with boats, lighters and other vessels. That Tho. M. shall not build any nearer the Creek than the now dwelling-house of the sd. Milom, and that he shall not hinder the mills going by any vessel in the Creek; dated 2 (3) 1648. Ackn. bef. Mr. Richd. Bellingham, 8 (6) 1848.
- JOY, THOMAS. — 1. House and lot, ab. ½ a., and another house adjoining Mr. Thos. Clarke NW, NE, and SE, the Cove SW. — 2. One a. between Isaac Cullimer NE, Richd. Rawlins SW, Christopher Stanley NW, Mr. Clarke SE.
- LOWE, JOHN. — House and garden, the marsh N and E, the Cove S, Mr. Bellingham W.
- RAWLINS, RICHARD. — House and garden, ab. 1½ a., Isaac Cullimer SW, Thos. Joy NE, Mr. Clarke SE, Christ. Stanley NW.
- SYMONS, HENRY. — House and lot, Mr. Bellingham NE, John Hill W, the Cove S.
- CULLIMER, ISAAC. — House and garden, ab. ¾ a., Richd. Rawlins NE, Chris. Stanley NW, Fra. Hudson and Barthol. Pasner SW, the Cove SE. — 2. Another house and lot, ab. 1½ a., Christ. Stanley, Saml. Cole, and the way NE, the Bay SE, Mr. Clarke and Richd. Rawlins SW, Chr. Stanly NW. — 12 (7) 1650. Bartholomew Palmer sold John Sweete land below the bigw. next the water side; deed 1 (10).
- MILOM, JOHN. — House and garden, John Hill NE, Val. Hill SW, Wm. Werdall NW, the Cove SE.



- PASMER, BARTHOLOMEW. — House and garden, ab. $\frac{1}{4}$ a., Isaac Culliner NE, John Gallop SW, Cove SE, Fra. Hudson NW.
- PHIPPENI, DAVID. — House and lot, Valent. Hill NE, Cove SE, Mr. Wm. Tyng SW, John Oliver NW. — 15 (12) 1650. John Milom gr. to David P. land in length 162 ft., in breadth at the highway $9\frac{3}{4}$ ft., Barthol. Barlow SW, David Phippeni NE, highway SE; deed 7 (12) 1649, executed in pres. of John Gore.
- HUDSON, FRANCIS. — House and garden, ab. $\frac{1}{4}$ a., Isaac Cullamer NE, Barthol. Pasmer SE, Jno. Gallop SW, Wm. Hudson, Sen., NW.
- COLE, JOHN. — House and garden, John Mellowes S, Nathl. Chappell N, John Leveritt E, the Lane W.
- CHAFFIE, MATTHEW. — House and lot, John Gallop NE, Samp. Shoare SW, Tho. Mekins NW, the Cove SE. — Mr. John Clarke, late of Newbury, now of Boston, gr. Mat. Chaffie, shipwright, a farm ab. 400 a. between Merrimack and Newbury rivers, in Newbury, Co. Essex, with the houses, buildings, &c.; deed 29 (7) 1649. Executed in pres. of Robert Sultonsall, John Davies. Wm. Aspinwall, Not. Pub.
- CHAPPELL, NATHANIEL. — House and garden, ab. $\frac{1}{4}$ a., John Cole S, John Leveret E, the Cove N, the Lane W.
- GALLOP, JOHN. — House and garden, Mat. Chaffie SW, Fra. Hudson NE, the Cove SE, and the Way NW.
- HAWKINS, JAMES. — House and garden, Wm. Kirkby S, Richd. Sanford W'ly. — John Milom had gr. him 26 (12) 1646, which he gr. Jas. Hawkins, marsh lot NE, by a small parcel of marsh reserved for a wharf, the highway SE, Mr. Bellingham SW, a small parcel of marsh reserved for a wharf, NW, being on the NE 50 ft., on the SE 60 ft., on the SW 120 ft., on the NW 115 ft., with liberty for sd. James, his heirs, &c., to bring any vessels into sd. creek, or the branches thereof, and to land goods on sd. marsh or wharf, &c., per deed 28 (12) 1648, executed in pres. of Wm. Aspinwall, Not. Pub.
- SHOARE, SAMPSON. — House and garden, Mat. Chaffie NE, Cove SE, John Hill SW, Street NW. — Richd. Hawghton gr. Sampson Shoare, tailor, his dwellh. and gard., Mr. Thos. Clarke N, John Anderson S and E, Highw. W. Deed 27 Oct. 1651, in pres. of W. Aspinwall, Not. Pub.
- KIRKBY, WILLIAM. — House and garden, James Hawkins N, the Lane SE, Richard Sanford W'ly.
- SANFORD, RICHARD. — House and lot, ab. one acre, Robert Meeres W, Richard Parker N, James Hawkins and Wm. Kirkby E'ly, Street W.
- MEERES, ROBERT. — 1. House and garden, the St. NE, Edwd. Bendall SE, Robt. Howen NW, Val. Hill SW; deed 22 (7) 1648. — 2. In the New-field, 2 a., Edwd. Jackson E, Robert Turner W, Richd. Cooke S, Geo. Burden N. — 3. In the New-field $\frac{1}{4}$ a., Tho. Scotto S'd, James Hawkins E'd, Mr. Richd. Parker N'd, Richd. Meeres W'd. Granted and confirmed to Robt. Meeres by James Penniman, as was also the first parcel; deed 22 (7) 1648. Sealed, &c. bef. Wm. Aspinwall, N. P.
- FANES, HENRY. — House and garden, Sudbury St. E'ly, the Lane N, the New-field W, Mr. John Newgate S.
- HOUTCHIN, JEREMY. — House and garden, ab. $\frac{1}{4}$ a., Sudbury St. SW, Wm. Wilson SE, the Lane NW, Thomas Makepeace and Wm. Wilson NE.
- MAKEPEACE, THOMAS. — House and garden, Jeremy Houtchin SW, Wm. Wilson S, the St. W'ly, the Lane N'ly.
- THWING, BENJAMIN. — House and garden, Sudbury St. SW, Wm. Wilson NW and NE, Joshua Scotto SE.
- WILSON, WILLIAM. — 1. House and garden, Mr. Wm. Tyng E, Thomas Makepeace and Geo. Bates N, Sudbury St. SW, Benj. Thwing S. — 2. In the New-field $2\frac{1}{2}$ a., Richd. Parker E, John Ruggle W, Zac. Bosworth S, Wm. Hudson, Sen., N.
- SCOTTO, JOSHUA. — 1. House and garden, abt. $\frac{1}{4}$ a., Sudbury St. SW, Benj. Thwing NW, Mr.

- Bellingham NE, Alex'r. Beck SE. — 2. In the New-field 2 a. — 7 (3) 1646. Mr. Rich'd Bellingham gr. Joshua S. $\frac{1}{2}$ the marsh formerly gr. him by the Town, between John Lowe's and Mr. Symonds; deed 4 (4) 1644. — 30 (3) 1650. Jas. Everill, for £24, gr. Joshua S. marsh lately Mr. Bellingham's, in form of a triangle, bnd. on one angle by pt. the marsh of the sd. Everill, being 130 ft., on the other angle by land of Wm. Franklin, being 147 ft.; on the 3d angle by the back part of the house-lot of Good. Evans, with $6\frac{1}{2}$ ft. at the lot of Joshua S., at the E end; deed 3 (3) 1650, ackn. bef. Mr. Bellingham.
- BECK, ALEXANDER. — 1. House and garden, the St. S, Jas. Browne E, Mr. Bellingham N, Josh. Scotto W. — 2. In the New-field 1 a., Tho. Munt E, the water N, Maj. Edwd. Gibbons W and S. — 3. A small pd. first gr. for a house-lot, John Leverit S, Henry Pease E, a small creek W, Cove N. Tho. Woodward gr. Alex'r. B. at Muddy r. ab. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ a., Richd. Carter SE, Wm. Lamb SW, Nathl. Woodward and Robt. Root NW; deed 11 Nov. 1651. In pres. of John Angier and Wm. Aspinwall, N. P.
- BIGGS, JOHN. — House and yard, James Browne W, Mr. Bellingham N, Tho. Hawkins E, Val. Hill, Tho. Buttolph, Chr. Stanley and Centry Hill-st. S.
- BROWNE, JAMES. — 1. House and garden, John Biggs E, Mr. Bellingham N, Alex'r. Beck W, Centry Hill-st. S. — 2. In the New-field $\frac{1}{2}$ a., the Common S, Mr. Wilson's garden NE, Andw. Messinger NW. — 3. In the New-field $\frac{1}{2}$ a. more, Richd. Fairebanks N, Isaac Allington E, Alex'r. Beck W, Thos. Clark S. — 4. At Braintree 26 a., Richd. Cooke N'd, John Mellowes S'd, Bay E'd, common rocky ground W'd. — 5. Also 8 a. John Webb W'd, John Mellowes S'd, Wm. Wardall W'd, Richd. Cooke N'd. — 6. Also 1 a. marsh, Monotaquit r. E, Zac. Bosworth W.
- HAWKINS, THOMAS. — 1. House and yard, Val. Hill N, the St. E, John Biggs W, Mr. Henry Dunster and Centry Hill-st. S. — 2. A $\frac{1}{2}$ a. towards Charlestown, Jas. Johnson SW, Cove NW, John Button NE, St. SE. — 2 (7) 1648. John Pierce gr. Tho. H. his house-lot wh. he lately purchd. of Mr. Val. Hill; deed 12 (7) 1648.
- BUTTOLPH, THOMAS. — 1. House and garden, Val. Hill S, the St. E, John Biggs W, Chr. Stanley N. — 2. Abt. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ a., (first laid out for gardens); Highw. S, a lot wh. lies common E'd, Jacob Leaguer, Walter Sinet and the Lane N'd, Mr. Fowle and Robt. Woodward W'd. — 3. In the Mill-field abt. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ a., the Bay NE, Nicholas Parker and Val. Hill NW, Chr. Stanley S. — 4. Abt. 1 a., compassed with Chr. Stanley's ground. — 5. Abt. $\frac{1}{2}$ a., the Causew. NE, Wm. Copp NW, marsh SW. — 6. At Pulling Pt. 25 a., the Sea NE, Mr. Pierce SE, Jas. Pen NW, John Webb and John Oliver SW. — 7. Also ab. 7 a. marsh, his own upland E, River W, Edwd. Hutchinson, Jr., S, Jas. Pen N. — 8. Wm. Hudson, Sen. gr. Thos. B. 5 a. in the New-field, Richd. Cooke E, Jas. Johnson W, Wm. Wilson S, — Davies, apothecary, N; deed 16 (4) 1646, ackn. same day bef. Winthrop, Gov.
- STANLEY, CHRISTOPHER. — And Wm. Phillips his successor. — 26 (6) 1648. Chr. Lawson gr. Wm. Phillips in the Mill-field, abt. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ a., the Highw. to Charlestown NW, Causew. W, Wm. Phillips SE, Thos. Ruck and Chr. Lawson NE; deed, bef. Wm. Aspinwall and John Spoor, 23 (4) 1648; wh. sd. Phillips gr. Susan his wf. for life. — Richd. Bennet gr. Wm. Phillips 2 or 3 a., Wm. P. and Chr. Lawson NW, land of Wm. P. and land lately exchgd. with sd. Phillips SW, Wm. P. SE, the river and sund. small lots NE; deed 26 (6) 1648, bef. Wm. Aspinwall, N. P. — 10 (4) 1650. Thos. Clarke of Dorchester, merch., gr. Chr. S., tailor, land in Boston-neck, being pt. of house-lot once belong. to Wm. Weekes, contg. abt. 60 poles, Isaac Cullimer SW, Thos. Clarke NW, — Rawlins NE, the Sea SE, thro. wh. are two highways, one towards the Mill-hill 12 ft. broad, the other 36 ft. to the lower-most highw., thence to low-water mark 30 ft.; deed 30 (2) 1644. In pres. of John Stratton and Robt. Jeffreys. — Edwd. Bendall gr. Chr. S. land bnd. by an highway SW, Capt. Hawkins NE, Lieut. Savage's pales SE, Mr. Stanley's rails NE; deed 20 (10) 1645. Wits. Samuel Bellingham. — Edwd. Tyng gr. Mr. Stanley abt. 2 a. wh. was allotted Mr. Baulston, and sold by him to Mr. Cornewell, of whom the sd. Edwd. bo't it, and made sale thereof to Mr. Stanley, dated 26 (10) 1643.
- GUNNISON, HUGH. — 1. House and garden, the St. SE, Geo. Burden NE, Wm. Hudson, Jr. NW, Wm. Ting W'd. — 10 (4) 1650. Robt. Saltonstall gr. Hugh G. 50 a. in Salem, near Mr. Downing's farm, late the land of Richd. Walker of Salem; deed 25 (5) 1647. In pres. of Rich. Stileman, John Bushnell and Wm. Aspinwall.
- GLOVER, JOHN. — House and yard, the St. SE, Geo. Burden SW, Wm. Hudson, Jr., NW and NE.
- BURDEN, GEORGE. — 1. House and yard, the St. S'd, Hugh Gunnison W'd, Wm. Hudson,

- Jr., N'd, John Glover E'd. — 2. Garden near the Common, Jas. Johnson N, Henry Webb S, Thos. Clarke E, the Common W. — 3. In the New-field $5\frac{1}{2}$ a., Richd. Fairebanks N, John Mallowes W, Edmund Jackson S, marsh E.
- HUDSON, WILLIAM, JR. — House and garden, Mr. Wm. Tyng SW, Saml. Greames and the Lane NE, the St. SE.
- GREAVES, SAMUEL. — House and yard, the Lane NE, Wm. Hudson, Jr., SE, Mr. Wm. Tyng SW, Sarah Knight NW.
- KNIGHT, SARAH. — House and garden, Saml Greames S'd, the Lane E'd, Mr. Wm. Tyng W'd, Jeremy Houtchin N'd.
- DOWSE, FRANCIS. — House and yard, the Lane E'd, Jeremy Houtchin S'd, Mr. Wm. Tyng W'd, Geo. Burden N'd.
- BATES, GEORGE. — House and garden, Wm. Wilson S, Geo. Burden E, Anne Hunne N, Thos. Makepeace W.
- HUNNE. — Anne vid. [vide licet] George Hunne. — 1. House and garden, Georges E and S, Tho. Makepeace W, the Lane N. — 2. Abt. $\frac{1}{2}$ a. in the New-field, Robt. Howen S, the St. E. — 3. At Braintree, 31 a., Tho. Savage, James Everill and Capt. Richd. Wright W, Wm. Werdall S, and N by the rock that lies common.
- BUTTON, JOHN. — 1. Three houses, garden and yard, abt. 1 a., the Cove SE, the Lane SW, Jas. Everill NW, Nicholas Willis NE. — 2. In the Mill-field 1 a., Charles r. N'y, marsh SW, John Shaw NE and SE.
- WILLIS, NICHOLAS. — House and garden, John Button SW, the St. E, Thos. Painter N'y, Jas. Everill W'y.
- BARRELL, GEORGE. — House and lot, not $\frac{1}{2}$ an a., Thos. Painter S, Nicholas Willis W, Jas. Everill N, the St. E.
- PAINTER, THOMAS. — 1. House and garden, Geo. Barrell N, Nichols. Willis SW, the St. E'd. — 2. At Mud. r. 20 a., Ralph Goulthrop E, Wm. Toy W, Griffith Bowen S, John Leverit N. — 25 (1) 1649-50. Robt. Wing gr. Thos. Painter his dwell-h. both old and new built, Ralph Mason N, the High-st. E, Henry Web W, the Lane S; deed 18 (3) 1648. Wits. John Mainard, Job Judkin, Philemon Portmert [Pormort.] This is again "aliened" to Eph. Hunt. — Richd. Bellingham sold to Tho. Painter marsh next Wm. Hudson, Sen., on the W, on the S the Highw., E — Hawkins, and Ki. Bellingham N; in breadth to the St. abt. 46 ft., in breadth to the N abt. 14 ft., same length with Wm. Hudson's pales. Also sold to Eph. Hunt.
- EVERILL, JAMES. — 1. House and house-lot, the St. E'y and N'y, the Lane SW, John Button, Nicholas Willis and Geo. Barrell SE. — 2. At Braintree, farm of 88 a., Tho. Savage, and rocky ground undisposed of S'y, Geo. Hunne W'y, Henry Pease and a swamp N'y, his own marsh NE. — 3. Also 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ a. marsh, a salt bay NE, and partly by Henry Pease's marsh, SW by his own upland, and upland of Hen. Pease. — 4. Tho. Savage gr. Jas. E. 26 a. at Braintree, rocky ground E, Richd. Cooke S, Wm. Werdall and Geo. Hunne W, Jas. Everill N. Also 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ a. marsh, Monotacut SE, Richd. Cooke SW, Oliver Mallowes N; deed 15 (11) 1645; bef. Winthrop, Dep. Gov.; 19 (11) 1645. — 5. John Shaw gr. Jas. E. land at the Dock, in front on the dock abt. 40 ft., E. by Josha. Scotto, Edmd. Jackson W, the Cove S, Highway N, with the cellar-frame, &c. 25 (8) 1648. Ackn. bef. Wm. Aspinwall, Recorder.
- COGGAN, MR. JOHN. — 1. House and garden, Mr. Jno. Wilson N and E, the St. W. and S. — 2. Abt. $\frac{1}{4}$ a., Mr. Bellingham N'd, Mr. Wilson S'd, burying-place E, New-field W.
- LEVERIT, JOHN. — House and yard, Richd Parker S and W, the St. N and E.
- FRANCKLIN, WILLIAM. — House and garden, the St. E and N, Mr. Jno. Wilson W, Jno. Leverit and Ant. Stoddard S.
- NASH, ROBERT. — 1. House and yard, N and W, [?] Val. Hill S, Edwd. Bendall E. — 2. House-lot of 1 a., Maj. Edwd. Gibones E, the Lane W, the St. S, Cove N. — Wm. Phillips gr. Robt. N. land near the New Meeting-house, abt. 60 ft. wide, and 6 score ft. long, more or

less, as now staked out; NW, SW and SE on sd. Wm. Phillips, and the river NE; by deed 26 (1) 1650. — Susan P. wf. of sd. Wm. P. released to Robt. N. all her right in sd. land by deed 26 (1) 1650. It was again sold sd. Wm. P. 28 (6) 1650, by sd. Nash. Mr. Aspinwall, N. P. — 5 (8) 1650, John Milom gr. Robt. Nash $\frac{1}{2}$ his dwell-h. near the mill, with wharf and land appertaining; deed 2 (8) 1650. In pres. of Jo. Bushnell, Ri. Waite, Wm. Aspinwall.

FOXGROFT, MR. GEORGE. — House-lot, the Cove N, Edwd. Bendall E and S, Robt. Nash N.

BENDALL, EDWARD. — 1. House and $\frac{1}{4}$ a., Mr. Foxcroft and Robt. Nash W, Mr. Hill S, the Cove N and E. — 2. House and garden, with 2 a. adj., Sudbury-st. E, Robt. Meers N, Mr. Cotton S and W. — 3. House and lot, Capt. Hawkins N, Lt. Savage S, the Bay E. This was by him sold to Anchor Ainsworth.

TYNG, EDWARD. — House, yard, warehouse and brewhouse, the Bay E, Valentine [Hill?] Henry Webb and pt. of the Cove N, Jas. Oliver W, the St. S. At Braintree 217 $\frac{1}{2}$ a. upland, 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ a. meadow, 53 $\frac{1}{4}$ a. swamp, as by plot made in 1640, by Mr. John Oliver, bund. N. by a swamp bottom ptng. betn. him and Mr. Edward Hutchinson, and also by a pond and Geo. Burden. — 18 (10) 1650, Jane Harwood and Nathl. Bishop, attorneys to Geo. Harwood, gr. Edwd. Tyng the dwell-h. of sd. George, and land, thereto belong., at the end of the land which joineth the house and land of Mr. Thos. Oliver; deed, Dec. 1650. Signed, Jane Harwood's mark and a seal and Nathl. Bishop and seal. Wits. Robert Reynolds, Nathl. Reynolds and Wm. Aspinwall.

OLIVER, JAMES. — House and yard, Edwd. Tyng E, Valentine Hill N, David Sellick W, the St. S.

SELICK, DAVID. — House and garden, Jas. Oliver E, Val. Hill N, Mr. Pierce W, the St. S. — House purch'd of Christ. Lawson, formerly Henry Synonds, and a garden, the St. W'd, the common marsh tor'd the N and E, John Hill and Nathl. Long tor'ds the S, together with a lane of 10 ft., leading to sd. garden; also the wharf or lane lying afore sd. house 42 ft. wide, and 56 ft. long; by grant of Gen. Court. This by deed 20 (11) 1645. Acknl. bef. Mr. Hibbins same day. — Edwd. Wells gr. David S. his house and garden, Samson Shore NE, the Cove SE, John Milom SW, John Hill's garden NW; by deed 11 (7) 1647; ackng. bef. Winthrop, Govr. 14 (7) 1647.

PIERCE, WILLIAM. — House and garden, David Sellick E, Isaac Grosse and St. N, Wm. Davies, Jr., and St. S, Edwd. Bendall, Val. Hill and Wm. Davies W.

GROSSE, ISAAC. — 1. House, Wm. Pierce S and E, Edwd. Bendall W, the Cove N. — 2. House and garden, abt. $\frac{1}{4}$ a., Wm. Beamsley S, the way W, the Bay and John Sweete N'y. — 3. House and garden, John Seaberry S, John Sweete N, Walter Merry W, and the Bay E.

DAVIES, WILLIAM, JR. — House, Wm. Pierce E and N, Valent. Hill W, the St. S.

HUDSON, WILLIAM, SEN. — 1. House and yard, the St. N, the Bay E, Mr. Winthrop S, Wm. Davies, Sen., W. — 2. In the New-field abt. 5 a., Richd. Cooke E, Mr. Tho. Clarke W. Sold to Thos. Buttolph. — 3. Garden to'rd Fort Hill, Robt. Scott E, Nathl. Eaton, Richd. Hogg and Fra. East W, Amos Richardson S, Nicholas Parker N.

DAVIES, WILLIAM, SEN. — 1. House, Wm. Hudson, Sen., E, the St. N, Mr. Winthrop S and W. — 2. House and abt. $\frac{1}{4}$ a., the water SE, Richd. Gridley SW, NW, and NE. — 3. One a., Jacob Eliot E and S, Mr. Colbourne W, the sea N. This lies in Mr. Colbourne's field.

SCOTT, ROBERT. — House, Mr. Thos. Leverit E and S, the St. W and N. — 2. A garden, Capt. Robert Keine E, Thos. Oliver W, John Webb N. — 3. A garden, Mr. Thos. Leverit E, Henry Webb S, the St. W and N. — 4. A garden plot, Jacob Leger E, Wm. Hudson, Sen., W, Nicholas Parker and Jas. Pen N, Edwd. Bates S.

PARSONS, WILLIAM. — House and garden, the Lane W, Hen. Webb N, James Davies E, the Swing-gate S.

DAVIES, JAMES. — House and garden, Thos. Leverit N, the marsh E, Wm. Parsons W, the Spring-gate S.

WEBB, HENRY. — 1. House and garden, the Market-place N, the Old Meeting-house and Lane E, the Highway S, Mr. Hudson W. — 2. Garden, John Leverit E, the Highway and Robt.



- Scott N, the Lane W, Mr. Thos. Oliver S. — 3. Garden, Robt. Wing and Ralph. Mason E, the Lane S, Geo. Burden N, the Cove W.
- FAIRBANKES, RICHARD. — House and garden, Capt. Keine N and E, Mr. Oliver S, and the High-st. W. — 2. Garden, Wm. Aspinwall S and E, Zac. Bosworth, John Synderland, Richd. Cooke, John Lugg and Arthur Perry N, the Common W. — 3. In the New-field 4 a., Mr. Tho. Oliver N, Geo. Burden and Hen. Pease S, Isaac Allington, Alexr. Beck and James Browne W, the River E. — 4. In the Fort-field 6 a., Mr. Hibbins NE, Robt. Turner SW, John Spore W, the Common N, Richd. Gridley SE.
- CORSER, WILLIAM. — House and garden, Mr. Thos. Oliver S and W, Capt. Robt. Keine N, and the Lane E. — James Everill gr. W. C. house-lot, Robt. Porter SE, the Street NE, Wm. Tyng and Evan Thomas NW; deed 22 (6) 1649, bef. Wm. Aspinwall, N. P.
- LEVERIT, JOHN. — House and yard, Richd. Parker S and W, the Street N and E.
- PARKER, RICHARD. — House, barn and yard, the Marketstead E, John Leverit N, Prison yard W, Richd. Truesdale and the Meeting-house S. — 18 (8) 1651. Mr. Adam Winthrop by ord. from his bro. Maj. Steph. W., gr. Mr. Richd. Parker that house in the yard that belonged to his father's dwelling-house by the Spring, SE from sd. dwell-h., with 40 ft. of ground fronting the Spring, and backward to the pales of the garden, datd. 7 Dec. 1650. Wits. Michael Powell, Valentine Hill. [Then follows an abstract of Mr. Steph. Winthrop's letter to Mr. Adam W., authorizing the sale; dated Feb. 6th, 1650.]
- TRUESDALE, RICHARD. — 1. House and garden, Richd. Parker N, Val. Hill S, the Prison yard W, the Meeting-house E. — 2. In the New-field $\frac{3}{4}$ a., the Common S, Nathl. Eaton N, Zachaeus Bosworth W, Thos. Millard E.
- HILL, VALENTINE. — House and garden, the Street E, the Meeting-house and Richd. Truesdale N, Capt. Robt. Sedgwick S, the Prison garden W. — Another house and backside, John Biggs W, Thos. Buttolph N, Thos. Hawkins S, the Street E.
- SEDGWICK, MAJ. ROBERT. — House and garden, Thos. Clarke, Robt. Turner and the St. E, Mr. Hutchinson S, Valentine Hill N, Henry Messinger W.
- HUTCHINSON, MR. RICHARD. — House and garden, the Street E and S, Thos. Scotto W, Mr. Sedgwick N.
- SCOTTO, THOMAS. — 1. House and garden, the Burying-place W, Henry Messinger N, the Street S, Mr. Richd. Hutchinson E. — 2. At Muddy r. 4 a. upland, Wm. Beamsley and Thos. Grubb S, Richd. Sanford and Alexr. Beck N, the Cedar swamp W'd, and his own marsh E. — 3. Also 1 a. marsh at Muddy r., Charles r. E, Richd. Sanford, Thos. Grubb and his own upland W, Jacob Eliot S'd.
- MESSINGER, HENRY. — House and garden, the Street W'd, Richd. Crychley N, Thos. Scotto and the Burying-place S, Maj. Sedgwick E.
- CROYCHLEY, RICHARD. — 1. House and garden, the Street N and W, Richd. Tapping E, Henry Messenger S. — 2. In Mr. Coleborne's field 2 a., Jacob Eliot E and W, Richd. Parker S, Wm. Salter N. — It is to be understood that both the house and garden, and also the 2 acres do belong [to] the wife and children of William Dinely, although they be put under the name of Richd. Croychley, who only possesseth them in the right of his wife and her former husband's children. — Nathl. Williams gr. Richd. Critchley his house and land thereto belonging, the Street N, the Prison E, Hen. Messenger S, Richd. Critchley W. By deed 22 (12) 1648. — This house and land last named, being formerly the possession of Richd. Tapping, [said Tapping] did acknowlg. himself satisfied, and did release unto Nathl. Williams all his right therein, 5 (11) 1649. Test. Wm. Aspinwall, Robt. Meeres.
- TAPPING, RICHARD. — House and garden, Richd. Croychley W, the Prison E, Street N, Hen. Messenger S. — Henry Bridgam gr. Richd. Tapping the house wherein sd. Richd. now lives, and half the lot as now it is marked out, Thos. Millard S, Arthur Perry W, the High-street E, sd. Henry Bridgham N, as by deed 12 (11) 1648; in pres. of Wm. Aspinwall, N. P.
- GILLOM, BENJAMIN. — House and garden, Benj. Ward W, Mr. Wm. Hibbins S, John Compton and the Cove E, the Marsh N. — Also house and lot, Wm. Deming W'd and N'd, Robt. Turner's pasture E, the Lane SE.

- WARD, BENJAMIN. — House and abt. 1 a., Nathl. Woodward the younger W, Benj. Gillom E, Mr. Hibbins S, Edwd. Hutchinson and the Marsh N.
- COMPTON, JOHN. — House and garden, the Cove E, Benj. Gillom W, the Fort Hill S, Benj. Gillom N.
- WOODWARD, NATHANIEL. — House and garden, Benj. Ward and Edwd. Hutchinson E, the Marsh N and W.
- HUTCHINSON, EDWARD. — House and yard, Benj. Ward E and S, Nathl. Woodward W, the Marsh N.
- SHERMAN, RICHARD. — House and garden, Mr. Hibbins N and E, Mr. Atherton Haugh S, the Green W.
- SPOORE, JOHN. — 1. House and garden, Mr. Hibbins W, Creek N, Marsh E, Street S. — 2. Abt. 1½ a. Bt. A. Fairebanks E, Robt. Turner S'd, Street N, Capt. Robt. Keine and Wm. Pell W. — Henry Bellingham gr. John S. his dwell-h. and lot as now marked out, Richd. Tapping S, Arthur Perry W, Mr. Haugh N, the High-st. E; as by deed 13 (11) 1648; in pres. of Wm. Aspinwall. N. P.
- PELL, WILLIAM. — House and garden, John Spoor E, the Street N, Capt. Keine S, Miles Robt. Rice W.
- DINSDALE, WILLIAM. — House and garden, Robt. Rice E, Street N, John Kenrick W, Robt. Scot S.
- RICE, ROBERT. — House and garden, Wm. Pell E, Wm. Dinsdale W, Capt. Keine S, the Street N.
- KENRICK, JOHN. — House and garden, Wm. Dinsdale E, James Pen W, the Street N and S.
- PEN, JAMES. — House and garden, John Kenrick E, Street N, Richd. Parker W.
- PARKER, NICHOLAS. — 1. House and garden, Jas. Pen E, the Street N, Nathl. Bishop W, Robt. Scot S. — 2. At Rumneymarsh 260 a., Jno. Newgate N and E, Mr. Bellingham and the Creek S, Charlestown bounds W. — 3. Also at Rumneymarsh abt. 20 a., Saml. Cole E and N, John Newgate W and S. — 4. In the Mill-field 2 a., Thos. Buttolph SE and SW, Val. Hill NW, the Water NE.
- BISHOP, NATHANIEL. — House and garden, Nicholas Parker E, Wm. Hudson, Sen., S, John Stevenson, Richd. Waite and Edwd. Fletcher W, the Street N.
- STEVENSON, JOHN. — House and yard, Nathl. Bishop E, Street N, Robt. Reinolds W and S. — Richd. Parker gr. John S. land, Richd. Truesdale and the Meeting-house yard S, his own land N, E, and W: as by deed 5 (11) 1646. Wit. Tho. Roberts. — This was again sold to Richd. Astwood. — James Everill gr. John S. a house-lot, Wm. Hayward SE, Wm. Tyng S, Robt. Porter NW, the Street NE, as pr. deed 22 (6) 1649. Before Wm. Aspinwall, N. P.
- BOSWORTH ZACCHES. — 1. House and garden, the Street W and N, Richd. Fairebanks S, John Synderland E. — 2. In the New-field 2 a., the Common S, Richd. Truesdale E, Jane Parker W, Wm. Wilson and John Ruggle N. — 3. In the New-field 1½ a., Thos. Millard S, James Johnson N, Edmund Dennis E, Richd. Sherman W. — 4. At Braintree 51 a., rocky Common and Richd. Cooke N, John Mellowes, John Davies and Monotaquit r. S, John Mellowes and Jas. Browne W, Zac. Bosworth, John Davies and John Mellowes E.
- SYNDERLAND, JOHN. — House and garden, Zacc. Bosworth W, Street N, Richd. Fairebanks S, Richd. Cooke Ely. — 15 (6) 1650. Whereas John Gallup deceased, gr. John S. land 9 rods wide, more or less, and 20 rods long, more or less, the St. SE, the Mill-dam (where it is but 8 rods wide) NW, Francis Hudson Ely, Mr. Coale Wily: also a pcl. 80 ft. long, 36 ft. wide, the St. N'd, John Sweete S'd, John Gallop W'd, John Synderland E'd, Meheta-bel Gallop, wf. of sd. John, confirmed the same by deed 27 Feb. 1649.
- COOKE, RICHARD. — 1. House and garden, John Synderland W, the St. N, Richd. Fairebanks S, John Lugg E. — 2. Garden, the Common W, Danl. Maud S, Wm. Aspinwall N, and Ephraim Poppe E. — This is again sold. — 3. In the New-field a pcl., Wm. Hudson, Sen., W, Val. Hill E. — 4. At Braintree 35 a., Tho. Savage N'ds, Jas. Brown S'ds, the Bay E'ds,

rocky ground W'ds. — 5. Abt. 7 a. more, Tho. Savage N, Jas. Browne and Jno. Webb S, Wm. Wendall W. — 6. Also 14 a. marsh, Tho. Savage and Monotaquit r. E, Jno. Davies and Oliver Mellows W.

LUGG, JOHN. — House and garden, Richd. Cooke W, Richd. Fairebanks S, Arthur Perry E, the Street N.

FEAY, ABRAHAM. — House, yard and garden, John Lugg W, Richd. Fairebanks S, Street N, Mr. Haugh, Francis Loyall, Thos. Grubb and Thos. Millard E.

LYLE, FRANCIS. — 1. House and garden, Mr. Haugh N, Street E, Arthur Perry W, Thos. Millard S. — 2. In the New-field $\frac{1}{2}$ a.

MILLARD, THOMAS. — House and garden, Fra. Lyle N, Tho. Grubb S, Arthur Perry W, Street E. — 2. In the New-field $\frac{1}{2}$ a., Richd. Truesdale W, Tho. Scotto E, Nathl. Eaton N, the Common S. — 3. In the New-field 1 a., Jane Parker W, Wm. Wilson E, Zacc. Bosworth, Jno. Ruggle, and Edwd. Dennis N and S. — Zacheus Bosworth gr. Tho. M. ab. 1 a. in Centry-field, Edwd. Hutchinson N, the Common S, Tho. Millard E, Zacc. Bosworth W; as by deed 10 Oct. 1651. In pres. of Wm. Aspinwall, N. P. and Ralph Roote.

ASPINWALL, WILLIAM. — 1. House and garden, Richd. and Tho. Grubb N, Common W, High-st. E, Richd. Cooke and Eph. Pope S. — 2. At Mud. r. 9 a., surrounded with the Cedar-swamp and Nathl. Woodward the elder. — 3. At Hogg Island 1 a. upland, and $\frac{3}{4}$ a. marsh, bet of Mr. Ormslie. — Concerning the Windmill, see the great book of Records of copies, &c. — Wm. Davies, apothecary, gr. Wm. A. abt. $\frac{1}{2}$ a., the land of sd. Aspinwall S and E, Common W, Zacc. Bosworth, — Baker, Richd. Cooke, Robt. Wright and — Bomsted N. as by deed 11 Nov. 1652. In pres. Jno. Sanford.

GRUBB, THOMAS. — House and garden, Tho. Millard N, Arthur Perry W, Wm. Aspinwall S, High-st. E.

POPE, EPHRAIM. — House and garden, Wm. Aspinwall N, Richd. Cooke W, Edmund Dennis S, High-st. E.

DENNIS, EDMUND. — 1. House and garden, Eph. Pope N, Edmd. Jacklin S, Street E, Richd. Cooke and Danl. Maud W. — 2. In the New-field $\frac{1}{2}$ a., Jno. Ruggle E, Zac. Bosworth W, Tho. Millard S, Mr. Tho. Clark N. — 3. A small pel., Jas. Everill E'ds, the Lane and St. SW and NW. — 4. At Braintree, ab. 20 a., Tho. Metson E, Alexr. Plimley W'ds, Val. Hill S'ds.

JACKLIN, EDMUND. — House and garden, Edmd. Dennis N, Wm. Townsend S, Street E, Danl. Maud W. — 22 (3) 1647. Richd. Cooke gr. Edmd. J. $\frac{1}{2}$ a., Wm. Aspinwall N, Daniel Maud S, Common W, Eph. Pope E; by deed 10 (2) 1645; wits. Wm. Aspinwall, N. P. — 22 (3) 1647. Danl. Maud gr. Edmd. J. the same $\frac{1}{2}$ a., Richd. Cooke N, Common W, Richd. Sherman S, Edmd. Jacklin E; by deed 13 (8) 1643. Wits. Hutavill Nutter and Edwd. Starbuck, Elders of the Ch. at Dover.

TOWNSEND, WILLIAM. — House and garden, Edmd. Jacklin N, Jane Parker S, Street E, Danl. Maud W.

PARKER, JANE. — 1. House and garden, the St. E and S, Wm. Townsend N, Richd. Sherman W. — 2. In the New-field $\frac{1}{2}$ a., Thos. Millard E'ds, David Sellick, Nathl. Chappell, Jacob Leger and Mr. Pope S'ds, Wm. Bamsley, Richd. Sherman and Zac. Bosworth NW. — 3. Also 40 a. at Muddy r. — Jane P. the wid. of Richd. P. intending to marry, did by deed of gift give Margaret her dau. out of her house-lot 21 ft. square in the angle at the meeting of the streets; then all her house and lot, the $\frac{1}{2}$ a. in the New-field, and 40 a. at Mud. r. to her sons; viz., to John P. her eldest, half; the other half equally bet. Thomas and Noah, by deed 15 (5) 1646; same day acknowl. bef. the Governor.

BLOTT, ROBERT. — House and garden, the St. E and N, Mr. Flint S, Jno. Leverit W.

FLINT, MR. — — House and garden, Robt. Blot N, John Leverit W, Street E, Anthony Harker S. — House and garden, Anthony Harker N, Thos. Clarke S, Street E, Geo. Burden W.

HARKER, ANTHONY. — House and garden, Street E, James Johnson W, Mr. Flint N, and Mr. Flint S.

CLARKE, THOMAS. — House and garden, Mr. Flint N, Henry Webb and Geo. Burden W, Street E, Ralph Mason S.



- MASON, RALPH. — House and garden, Thos. Clarke N, Henry Webb W, Street E, Robt. Wing S. — This is sold to Thos. Painter. — 21 (12) 1645. Isaac Perry gr. Ralph M. 10 a., more or less, at Mud. r., Ralph M. S, Thomas Scotto N, Mr. Hibbins W; by deed 20 (10) 1645, before Mr. Wintthrop.
- WING, ROBERT. — 1. House and garden, the St. S and E, Henry Webb W, Ralph Mason N. — 2. Also $\frac{1}{2}$ a. the River W, Mr. Pope S, James Everill and ——— E.
- CARTER, RICHARD. — House and garden, Mr. Oliver N, Common W, Street E, Jacob Leger S. — Wm. Parsons gr. Richd. C. abt. an a., Robert Wing and Ralph Mason E, the Lane S, Common W, Geo. Burden N; by deed 2 (9) 1646, bef. Wintthrop, Gov. — 2 (1) 1647. Wm. Aspinwall gr. Richd. C. his lot at Mud. r., abt. 9 a., Nathl. Woodward, Sen., to'rd NW, Cedar Swamp on the other side; by deed 7 (1) 1647. — 4 (11) 1648, Richd. Gridley gr. Richd. C. his lot at Spectacle I., abt. 3 a., on the hithermost part of the Eastern Spectacle; by deed 2 (11) 1648, in pres. Wm. Aspinwall, N. P.
- LEGER, JACOB. — 1. House and garden, Mr. Coleborne S, Common W, Street E, Richd. Carter N. — 2. House and garden, Mr. Thos. Fowle S, Street W, Robt. Woodward N, Thos. Buttolph E. — 3. Abt. an a., ——— Chaplaine E, Richd. Parker N, Common S, Mr. Pope W.
- COLEBORNE, MR. WILLIAM. — House and garden, the High-st. E, the Lane and Edwd. Belchar S, Jacob Leger N.
- BELCHAR, EDWARD. — House and garden, Mr. Colborne E and N, the Lane S, Wm. Talmage W.
- TALMAGE, WILLIAM. — 1. House and garden, the St. S, Edwd. Belchar E, Thos. Snow N and W. — 2. Garden, Robt. Walker W, Jacob Eliot E and S, the Street N.
- WALKER, ROBERT. — 1. House and garden, Thos. Snow E, Common N, St. S, Wm. Briscoe W. — 2. Garden, Thos. Snow E, Common N, &c., bounded before. — 3. Garden, Wm. Talmage E, Street N, John Cranwell W, Jacob Eliot S.
- BRISCOE, WILLIAM. — House and garden, Robt. Walker E, Common N, Street S, ——— Flacke W. — 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ (4) 1651. Thos. Alcock of Dedham gr. Wm. B. abt. 20 a., Edmd. Grosse E, Edwd. Belchar W, half a mile from Mr. Hibbins' farm; by deed in the year 1644.
- ROOTE, RALPH. — House and garden, John Cranwell E, John Cranwell and Richd. Croychley S, Wm. Salter W, the Street N.
- SALTER, WILLIAM. — 1. House and garden, Ralph Roote E, Common W, Street N, Jacob Eliot and Richd. Croychley S. — 2. In Mr. Colborne's field 1 a., Jacob Eliot S and E, the Bay W, Common N. — 3. At Mud. r. 8 a., Robt. Burden W, Wm. Briscoe E, Nathl. Woodward, Sen., N, Jacob Eliot S. Again sold Ed. Devotion.
- ELIOT, JACOB. — House and garden, the Highway E, the Lane N, Wm. Talmage W, Mr. Colborne's field S.
- BOURNE, GARRET. — House and garden, Edwd. Rainsford E, the Marsh S, Street W and N.
- CRANWELL, JOHN. — House and garden, Ralph Roote W, Robt. Walker E, Street N, and on the S 2 a. belonging to it; wch. 2 a. has the garden N, Mr. Roe E, Mr. Richd. Croychley W and S.
- RAINSFORD, EDWARD. — House and garden, Garret Bourne W, David Offley E, Street N, Cove S.
- OFFLEY, DAVID. — House and garden, Edwd. Rainsford W, the Lane E, Street N, Cove S.
- ROE, MR. OWEN. — House and garden, Street N, Lane W, Cove S, John Pelton E.
- PELTON, JOHN. — House and house-lot, Owen Roe, W, Street N, Cove S, the Marsh E.
- BOWEN, GRIFFITH. — House and garden, the St. S and W, Miles Reading E, ——— Cole N.
- COLE. ———. — House and garden, Griffith Bowen S, the St. W, Miles Reading E, John Odlin N.
- ODLIN, JOHN. — House and garden, the St. W, Miles Reading E, ——— Cole S, Walter Sinet N. — 12 (8) 1650. John Bateman gr. Jno. O. house and lot (lately bo't of Jno. Cuddington),

- sd. Jno. O. N, Grif. Bowen S, the High-st. W, Richd. Wilson E, by deed 10 (8) 1650. Test. Wm. Aspinwall, Jno. Cuddington.
- SNEY, WALTER. — House and garden, Jno. Odlin S, the St. W, Thos. Buttolph and Miles Reading E, Jacob Leger N.
- WOODWARD, ROBERT. — House and garden, Jacob Leger S, Thos. Buttolph E, the High-st. W, the Lane N.
- WHEELER, THOMAS. — 1. House and garden, the Lane S, High-st. W, the Watering-place E, Wm. Blantaine N. — 2. At Mud. r. 15 a., Mr. Hibbins W, Cambridge bounds N, Robt. Hall E, Hen. Fane S.
- BLANTAINE, WILLIAM. — 1. House and garden, Thos. Wheeler S, John Hurd N, the St. W, the Watering-place E. — 2. House-lot, Jno. Serch W, Wm. Briscoe E, the St. S, Common N. — Wm. Davies, gunsmith, gr. Wm. B., carpenter, abt. $\frac{1}{2}$ a., Thos. Bel W, the Mill-st. N, Geo. Griggs E, Wm. Blantaine S; by deed 27(4) 1646. Acknld. same day bef. Jno. Winthrop, Gov.
- HURD, JOHN. — House and garden, Wm. Blantaine S, the High-st. W, Gaml. Waite E, Robt. Hull N.
- HULL, ROBERT. — House and garden, Jno. Hurd S, the High-st. W, Job Judkin N, Gaml. Waite E.
- JUDKINS, JOB. — House and garden, Robt. Hull S, Elizabeth Purton N, the St. W, Gamaliel Waite E.
- WOODWARD, NATHANIEL (the elder). — House and garden, the Mill-lane S, the High-st. W, Jno. Palmer, Jr., E, Jno. Marshall N.
- MARSHALL, JOHN. — House and garden, Nathl. Woodward, Sen., S, Richd. Hogg N, Amos Richardson E, the Street W.
- HOGG, RICHARD. — House and garden, Jno. Marshall S, Nathl. Eaton N, Amos Richardson and Wm. Hudson E, Street W. "Aliened" to Jno. Lake.
- EATON, NATHANIEL. — House and garden, Richd. Hogg S, Fra. East N, Wm. Hudson, Sen., E, the St. W.
- EAST, FRANCIS. — House and garden, Nathl. Eaton S, Charitie and Richard Waite N, Wm. Hudson and the St. E.
- WHITE, CHARITY. — House and small yard, Fra. East S and E, the St. W, Richd. Waite N.
- WAITE, RICHARD. — House and garden, Charity White and Fra. East S, Edwd. Fletcher N, the St. W, Nathl. Bishop E.
- FLETCHER, EDWARD. — House and garden, Richd. Waite S, Robt. Reynolds N, the High-st. W, Nathl. Bishop E.
- REYNOLDS, ROBERT. — House and garden, Edwd. Fletcher S, the High-st. W, the Fort-st. N, John Stevenson E.
- PALMER, JOHN, Jr. — House and yard, Nathl. Woodward, Sen., W, the Mill-st. S, Aaron Richardson E, John Marshall N.
- RICHARDSON, AMOS. — House and garden, Jno. Palmer, Jno. Marshall and Richd. Hogg W, the Street S, Jno. Palmer, Sen., E, Wm. Hudson, Sen., and Robt. Scott N. — Francis Smith gr. Amos R. 2 a., bo't of Edmd. Jacklin and Richd. Sherman, Wm. Aspinwall N, the Common W, the St. S, Jane Parker, Wm. Townsend, Edmd. Jacklin, Edmd. Jackson and Eph. Pope E; by deed 22 (3) 1647. Wm. Aspinwall, N. P.
- PALMER, JOHN, Sen. — House and garden or house-lot, Amos Richardson W, Gaml. Waite E, Robt. Scot and young Wm. Hudson N, the Mill-st. S.
- WAITE, GAMALIEL. — House and lot, Jno. Palmer W, Mr. Thos. Oliver N, Benj. Negoos E'ly,

- the Mill-st. S. — Also, a garden plot, Richd. Hollich E, Eliz'th. Purton W, Wm. Blantaine S, the St. N.
- NEGOOS, BENJAMIN. — House and lot, Gaml. Waite W, Maded Engles E, Mill-st. S, Mr. Oliver W.
- ENGLES, MADID. — House and lot, Mr. Scott N, Benj. Negoos W'd, Wm. Deming E'd, the Millstead S'd.
- DEMING, WILLIAM. — House and lot, Capt. Keine N, Madid Engles W, and Benj. Gillom E'ly, and the Lane SE.
- GRIDLEY, RICHARD. — House and lot, the Street S and W, the Bay E'ly, Jno. Harrison N'ly. — Also a lot, Robt. Turner NW, Jno. Harrison SW, the Bay SE, the Fort NE.
- HARRISON, JOHN. — House and lot, Richd. Gridley S'ly, the Bay E'ly, Richd. Gridley N'ly, Robt. Turner W'ly.
- BAXTER, NICHOLAS. — House and lot, the Street or Lane N and W, Edwd. Browne and the Bay E, Matthew Jyons S'ds.
- BROWNE, EDWARD. — House and garden, Nicholas Baxter N'ly and W'ly, the Bay E'ly, Matthew Jyons S'ly.
- JYONS, MATTHEW. — House and lot, the Lane W'd, Nich. Baxter and Edwd. Browne N'd, the Bay E'd, Wm. Netherland [Letherland?] S'ds.
- LEATHERLAND, WILLIAM. — House and lot, the Lane W'd, the Bay E'd, Matthew Jyons N'd, Abel Porter and the Cove S'd.
- TEFT, WILLIAM. — House and lot, the Cove S, the Lane E, the Mill-st. N, Thos. Munt and — Tuttle W'd.
- MUNT, THOMAS. — House and lot, Wm. Teft E and N, the Cove S, Jona. Negoos W'd.
- NEGOOS, JONATHAN. — House and lot, Thos. Munt E, Thos. Foster W, Wm. Teft N, the Cove S.
- FOSTER, THOMAS. — House and lot, Jona. Negoos E, Richd. Woodhouse W, Mrs. Tuttle N, the Cove S. — Sold to Wm. Browne. — 30 (7) 1639, Boston gr. Thos. Foster, the gunner at Castle Island, a great lot at the Mount for 6 heads, upon condition expressed for Mount Wollaston lands; being 49 a.; land of Mr. Haugh N'd, Benj. Keaine W'd, Fr. Lyall S'd, Nathl. Williams and Fra. Lyall E'd. If it be aliened from the town, they require 2 a. in 7 to be returned to the Town, or 2s. 4d. instead.
- WOODHOUSE, RICHARD. — House and House-lot, Thos. Foster E, Jno. Vyal W, Geo. Griggs N, the Cove S.
- GRIGGS, GEORGE. — House-lot, Mrs. Tuttle E, Wm. Davis W, Jno. Vial S, the Mill-st, N.
- BELL, THOMAS. — House and lot, Wm. Davies E, Richd. Hollich W, Wm. Blantaine S, the Street N.
- HOLLICH, RICHARD. — House and lot, Thos. Bell E, Gaml. Waite W, Wm. Blantaine S, the Street N.
- LAWSON, CHRISTOPHER. — 20 (11) 1645, Richd. Bellingham, Esq., gr. Chr. L. $\frac{1}{2}$ the marsh land anciently gr. to him by the Town, between his own house wh. he bo't of Mr. Symonds and Jno. Lowes, by deed 4 (4) 1644. Wits. Saml. Bellingham, Thos. Lake. — Thos. Buttolph gr. Chr. L. abt. $4\frac{1}{2}$ a. in the Mill-field, the Bay NE, Nich. Parker and Val. Hill NW, Chr. Stanley S; by deed 20 (6) 1646. Ackng. bef. Jno. Winthrop, Gov.
- NANNEY, ROBERT. — David Selleck gr. R. N. his house and garden, with 10 ft. wide for a way to sd. garden (formerly purchased of Chris. Lawson) also 10 ft. of the wharf in breadth from Jno. Hills, and in length from the Dock to his house; Jno. Hills and St. W'ly, the Marsh N'ly, the Marsh and Nathl. Long E'ly, the Cove S'ly, by deed 25 (1) 1646. Acknlg. same day bef. Winthrop, Dep. Gov. David Selleck gr. also 6 ft. more of the wharf next the former 10 ft., deed 29 (5) 1648. — Paul Allistre gr. R. N. his dwelling-h. taken in execution of a judgment agt. Richd. Straine, land of Thos. Lake SW, Arthur Perry NE,

Robt. Wing NW, the Cove SE, in breadth 31 ft., together with the land and wharf to sd. house belonging; by deed 16 (7) 1630.

FLETCHER, MR. ROGER. — Jeremy Houtchin, tanner, gr. R. F., late of London, merch., his dwell-h. garden and orchard, and tan-pits, Benj. Thwing S, Jno. Ruggle and Wld. Hunne E, Sudbury-st. W, the Lane N; also a pcl. of land, Jno. Newgate SW, Mrs. Staughton NW, Highway NE, Thos. Ludkin SE; by deed 26 (4) 1646; ackng. same day bef. Mr. Richd. Bellingham.

BUSBIE, NICHOLAS. — Edmd. Jacklin gr. N. Busbie, worsted weaver, dwell-h. and garden, abt. $\frac{1}{2}$ a., Edwd. Dennis N, Wm. Townsend and the High-st. E, Edmd. Jacklin W; by deed 22 (6) 1646, ackn. bef. Gov. Jno. Winthrop, Esq.

HAILESTONE, WILLIAM. — Edwd. Fletcher gr. W. Hailestone, late of Taunton, tailor, pt. his dwell-h., viz. the N end, being 13 ft. N and S, 26 ft. E and W, or thereab., with $\frac{1}{2}$ his garden, Thos. Painter N, High-w. E, Nathl. Woodward and Edwd. Fletcher S, the High-st. and Edwd. Fletcher W; by deed 29 (6) 1646; ackn. bef. the Gov. same day.

SHRIMPTON, HENRY. — 28 (7) 1646. Anth. Stoddard and Jno. Leverit sold H. Shrimpton, brazier, dwell-h. and garden, the Water-st. S, the New-st. E, Mr. Jno. Wilson W, Jno. Parker N; by deed 9 (5) 1646. Ackn. 26 (7) 1646, bef. Jno. Winthrop, Gov.

PAGE, ABRAHAM. — Jno. Stevenson gr. his house and yard to A. P., Nathl. Bishop E, the Fort-st. N, Robt. Reinold S and W; by deed 22 (8) 1646. Ackn. bef. Mr. Jno. Winthrop, Gov., same day. — This is sold to Jno. Hansett.

HANSETT, JOHN. — Abra. Page gr. Jno. H., of Roxbury, house and yard in Boston, Nathl. Bishop E, the Fort-st. N, Robt. Reinold S and W; by deed 28 (8) 1646. Ackn. as above.

USHER, HEZEKIAH. — Edmund Jackson gr. H. U. his house and garden, Mr. Jno. Wilson N and E, the Marketstead S, Jno. Coggan W; 25 ft., front on the St. 40 ft. deep; by deed 1 (12) 1646. Ackn. bef. Jno. Winthrop, Gov. 2 (12) 1646.

WICKS, WILLIAM. — 12 (1) 1646. Jno. Sweete gr. Wm. W. house and garden, Thos. Ankor SE, Chr. Stanley SW and NE, by deed 25 (12) 1644. Ackn. 12 (1) 1646, bef. Gov. Winthrop.

PHIPPEN, JOSEPH. — House-plot wh. was formerly Anchor Ainsworth's, and by Hen. Rashley, attorney to sd. Anchor, sold to J. P., by deed 30 (1) 1647. Ackn. bef. Gov. Winthrop.

JEPHSON, JOHN. — Jas. Oliver by virtue of will of Jno. Oliver, decsd., gr. J. J. the house and garden formerly Jno. Oliver's; Val. Hill SE and NE, the St. NW, Jno. Pierce and Jno. Knight SW; as also the lot of Thos. Marshall wh. (for 1 rod length abutteth on the SW, at the S'y end of Jno. Knights and Joseph Pierce's lot); by deed 30 (2) 1647. Ackn. same day bef. the Gov'r.

ANDERSON, JOHN. — Edwd. Grosse gr. John A., shipwright, his dwell-h., next Geo. Harlsall's, as by deed 1 (3) 1647. Ackn. bef. Gov'r. 20 (3) 1647.

SMITH, FRANCIS. — Edmd. Jacklin gr. F. S. ab. $1\frac{1}{2}$ a., by him formerly purchsd of Danl. Maud and Richd. Cooke, Wm. Aspinwall N, the Common W, Richd. Sherman S, Wm. Townsend, Edmd. Jacklin, Edwd. Dennis and Eph. Pope E; by deed 22 (3) 1647; bef. Wm. Aspinwall, N. P. — Richd. Sherman gr. F. S. $\frac{1}{4}$ a., sd. Fra. Smith N, the Common W, the St. S, Isaac Parker E; by deed 22 (3) 1647; bef. W. A., N. P. — Wm. Hudson, Jr., gr. Fr. Smith his pt. in the dwell-h. of Wm. Hudson, Sen., being £46 (the whole being £130); by deed 12 (7) 1648; W. A., N. P. — John Milom, cooper, gr. F. S. his pt. in the same, £40 sterling, deed 29 (12) 1637. — Wm. Chamberlaine assignd F. S. his house and ground, formerly bot of sd. Francis; the Lane N, High-st. E, Richd. Carter S, the Common W; assignmt. 5 (11) 1648. — 18 (2) 1651. Ambrose Leech gr. F. S. land in breadth bet. the house wh. is Joseph Wormall's and the land of sd. Francis, being at the St. 8 or 9 ft., and so according to the range by the end of sd. Wormall's house to the wharf or Cove; by deed 16 (2) 1651. Wm. Aspinwall, N. P.

CLARKE, ARTHUR. — Henry Pease, planter, gr. A. Clarke, carpenter, land, $42\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide on front, and $8\frac{1}{2}$ long on SW side, the other side $91\frac{1}{2}$, and the end 38 ft.; bnd. SE by the Street, Mrs. Paine SW, his own lot NE and NW; by deed 23 (4) 1647. Ackn. bef. Mr. Nowel, 5 (5) 1647. — Wm. Tyng gives $\frac{1}{4}$ his 5 rods, bet. Goodm. Fippenys and the bridge to his cousin Jno. Francklyn, forever; dated 15 (11) 1652. — Testimony of Wm. Francklin a.

- ab. 45: being by occasion at Mr. Wm. Tyngs house upon 15 (11) 1652, heard s^d. Tyng say $\frac{1}{2}$ the 5 rods before the highway bet. the Bridge and goodm. Fippenes he did give his cousin Jno. Franklin, and would confirm it by deed; this on oath 1 (12) 1652, before Mr. Hibbins. — This deed of gift within written by Capt. Wm. Tyng's own hand, I Wm. Phillips, Jr., testify that it was did, to my bro. Jno. Franklin by Mr. Wm. Tyng in my preence. Wits. my hand this 1 (12) 1652.
- ENDECOT, RICHARD.** — Wm. Hailstone, tailor, gr. Richd. L., barber, his house and garden, Thos. Painter N, the High-st. and Edwd. Fletcher's garden W, the Highw. E, Nathl. Woodward E, Edwd. Fletcher S; by deed 31 (5) 1647. Ackn. bef. Mr. Endecot 10 (6) 1647.
- GRIGGS, JOHN.** — House and garden of $\frac{1}{2}$ a., Richd. Woodhouse E, Highway W, Geo. Griggs N, the Marsh and Cove S.
- BROWNE, WILLIAM.** — Thos. Foster gr. W. B., late of Salem, his house and garden, Jona. Negroes E, Geo. Griggs N, Richd. Woodhouse W, the Cove S; by deed 13 (8) 1647. Ackn. bef. Gov. same day.
- BEAMONT, THOMAS.** — Thos. Foster gr. T. B., of London, mariner, 49 a. at Mount Wolaston, Atherton Haugh N, Benj. Keaine W, Fra. Lyle S, Nath. Williams and Fra. Lyle E; by deed 9 (8) 1647. Acknowl. bef. Gov. 29 (8) 1647. — Also he gr. a highway of 6 ft. bet. Barnab. Fawer, James Mattox, Arthur Perry and his own, at the head of the lots, 14 (1) 1648.
- CHAMBERLAINE, WILLIAM.** — Fra. Smith gr. Wm. C. his house and garden, with the shop and out-housing, the Lane N, the Common W, High-st. E, Richd. Carter S; by deed 30 Oct. 1647. Ackn. 9 (9) 1647, bef. Mr. Hibbins.
- FAWER, BARNABAS.** — Val. Hill gr. B. F. house-lot, the Cove SE, the Lane NE, Jas. Mattocks SW, his own NW, by deed 23 (9) 1646. Ackn. bef. Wm. Hibbins 14 (7) 1647.
- MATTOX, JAMES.** — Val. Hill gr. J. M. a house-lot, Arthur Perry SW, the Cove SE, Barnabas Fawer NE, his own land NW; by deed 23 (9) 1646. Ackn. bef. Mr. Wm. Hibbins 14 (1) 1648: he also gr. a high-way of 6 ft. at the head of the lots of Bar. Fawer, Jas. Mattox and Arthur Perry, 14 (1) 1647.
- TURNER, ROBERT.** — Val. Hill gr. R. Turner, shoemaker, house and garden, Thos. Buttolph N, Thos. Hawkins S, John Biggs W, the Street E; by deed 1 (10) 1644. Ackn. bef. Mr. Bellingham 10 (2) 1648.
- CLARKE, CHRISTOPHER.** — Nichls. Willis gr. C. C., mariner, his house and garden, Jno. Button SW, the Street E, Thos. Painter N'y, Jas. Everill W'y; by deed 12 (3) 1648. Wits. Wm. Aspinwall, Jas. Allison.
- NASH, JAMES.** — John Milom gr. Jas. N., of Weymouth, marsh 40 ft. wide, front, the Mill Creek SW, the High-w. NW, Mr. Wm. Tyng NE and SE. as far as low-water mark; by deed 7 (4) 1648. Wm. Aspinwall, N. P.
- LAKE, JOHN.** — 14 (4) 1648. Richd. Hogg gr. J. L. his house and garden, John Marshall S. Nathl. Eaton N, Amos Richardson and Wm. Hudson E, the High-st. W; by deed 21 (8) 1645. Wit. Philemon Pormort. — Sold to Thos. Wiborne. — Thos. Wiborne gr. J. L. 11 perches, m. or l., Robt. Reynolds N and E, Edwd. Fletcher S, the High-st. W; by deed 26 (4) 1648. In pros. of Wm. Aspinwall, N. P.
- WIBORNE, THOMAS.** — John Lake gr. T. W. his dwell-h. and garden, John Marshall S, Nathl. Eaton N, Amos Richardson and Wm. Hudson E, the High-st. W; by deed 14 (4) 1648. Bef. Wm. Aspinwall, N. P.
- PHILLIPS, JOHN.** — John Milom gr. J. P. his dwell-h., shop and garden, John Hill NE, the Lane SW, Thos. Yow NW, the Cove SE, by deed 16 (4) 1648. Before Wm. Aspinwall, N. P.
- BROWNE, HENRY.** — Wm. Douglas gr. H. B., of Limehouse, mariner, pt. of his house-lot, abt. 56 $\frac{1}{2}$ perches, in front at the sea 31 ft., in front to'rd the Street abt. 5 rod 3 ft., Joseph Baster, the River and Wm. Douglas NE, Wm. Douglas and the Street SE, Wm. Phillips and — SW, Joseph Baster and Thos. Anchor NW; by deed 20 (4) 1648. W. A., N. P.
- DOUGLAS, WILLIAM.** — Walter Merry, in behalf of self and Thos. Anchor, gr. W. D., cooper, dwell-h. bet. the lots of Jno. Sweete and Jno. Seabury, with the shop that was Thos. Anchor's, and ground thereto belong; by deed 1 (3) 1646. Ackn. bef. Mr. Bellingham, 15

- (4) 1648. Walter Merry gr. W. D. one little house with the house late in tenure of Jno. Newgrove, adjoining the former; by deed 12 (1) 1647. Ackn. bef. Mr. Bellingham 15 (4) 1648.
- BAKER, JOHN. — 1 (5) 1648. Joseph Phippeni gr. Jno. B. $\frac{1}{2}$ his house-lot 20 ft. wide, Thos. Savage S, Wm. Phillips W, sd. Phippeni N, the Bay E; by deed, died in pres. W. A., N. P.
- DAVIES, WILLIAM. — Val. Hill gr. Wm. Davies, apothecary, abt. 4 a. in the New-field, Jas. Pen N, Jno. Biggs and Jas. Pen W, Robt. Turner E, Thos. Buttolph S; by deed 2 (6) 1648. Wm. A., N. P.
- BENNET, RICHARD. — Wm. Phillips and wf. Susan gr. R. B. 2 or 3 a. in the Mill-field, their own land NW, SW and NE, Richd. Bennet and Wm. Phillips SE; by deed 26 (6) 1648; bef. W. A., N. P. — Thos. Clark, merch. gr. R. B. $\frac{1}{4}$ a. in the Mill-field, the farm and barn yard of sd. Richd. NE, the St. SE, Wm. Phillip SW and NW, by deed 12 (1) 1650; bef. Wm. A., N. P.
- STRAINE, RICHARD. — Val. Hill gr. R. S. abt. 1 a., Mr. Nathl. Eldred, Mr. Jno. Oliver and the High-w. SW, Arthur Perry NW and NE, the great Cove SE; by deed 27 Aug. 1648. Ackn. by Mr. Hill bf. Wm. Aspinwall, 25 (7) 1648. Wits. Henry Shrimpton, Thos. Bomsted.
- MICHELL, GEORGE. — Joseph Phippeni gr. G. M. house and lot, Capt. Thomas Hawkins N, Jno. Baker S, the Bay E, Wm. Phillips W; deed 10 (8) 1648; bef. W. A., N. P.
- LANGDON, JOHN. — Nathl. Woodward, Jr., gr. J. L. his dwell-h. and garden, Richd. Waite S, Edwd. Fletcher N, Nathl. Bishop E, the High-st. W; deed 16 (8) 1648; bef. Wm. A. and Robert Button.
- RICE, JOANES. — Robert Burnam gr. Jones Rice a house-lot, Robt. Burnam S, old Rawlins N, the Highw. E, Wm. Phillips W; by deed 27 (9) 1648; bef. Wm. Aspinwall, Not. Pub.



A P P E N D I X.

NO. II.

A N C I E N T O B J E C T S A N D L O C A L I T I E S.

To do full justice to this department of the History and Antiquities of Boston would require a volume of considerable magnitude, at the present time, and one of far greater comprehensiveness, at the end of fifty years from now, provided the spirit or *organ of destructiveness* should gather strength in time to come, as it has for some fifty years past, among those who have the power to exercise it. I refer to the continual changes of the names of Streets, Lanes, Alleys, &c. Not but what changes are *sometimes* necessary and highly proper. But reference is here made to those changes of names having no other foundation than a *whim*, for which no good reason has been or ever can be assigned. For example; what possible advantage could be expected from changing *Pudding-lane* to *Devonshire-street*? There should be a statute imposing a penalty for every such *unreasonable* proposal. It would be my decision, in the case of *Pudding-lane*, that the *culprit* should never be allowed again to taste any more pudding "during his natural life"! Such innovators do not consider that they are destroying all historical associations; that they make the task of the historian an endless one; that they insult the valuable citizen who undertakes to make correct Directories, and confound and confuse every stranger who honors the City by his presence.

Who does not take sincere pleasure in reading any portion of English history, when the scene is laid in London, to meet with the well-known names of Temple-bar, Cheapside, Thread-needle-street, Charter-lane, Old Bailey, Bolt-court, Soho, Distaff-lane, Leadenhall-street, Shadwell, Mile-End, Pall-Mall, &c. &c.? Many of these have come down from a period not reached by records, and nothing would more displease the good substantial citizens of that Metropolis than a proposition to have any of them obliterated, or others substituted in their stead. So it is hoped it will soon be in Boston.

The following list is but a meagre abstract of a MS. collection of much extent, and is all that room can possibly be spared for in this Appendix; but, as meagre as it is, it has cost great labor, and it is believed it will be found useful. My general plan was to give all the names which had gone out of use, and to show what the present names are of those places and objects once known by other names; also, to give the names now borne which were early bestowed or acquired. In many instances I have fixed the dates of origin and change. This could be done in a majority of cases, but has been only partially attempted in this brief analysis. Hence completeness must not be looked for, and exactness is only approximated throughout. It is possible I may carry out my plan at some future day, in a separate volume; but I make no promise. I may also make a supplement to this Article, at the end of my second volume, should I publish another. This will depend on the countenance of the Public, and the continuance of health.

ADAMS STREET. — That part of Kilby-st. from Liberty sq. to Milk-st. 1806 to 1825.

ADAMS' WHARF. — Owned by Samuel Adams, father of Gov. Saml. Adams. On maps from 1722 to 1777. Now Tileston's wharf.

ADMIRAL VERNON TAVERN. — In King-st. In 1743, Peter Faneuil had a warehouse opposite. About this time it was kept by Richd. Smith. In 1775, it was kept by Mrs. Mary Bean.

The sign was a portrait of Admiral Vernon. Its site was near highwater-mark.

AIKIN'S LIME-KILN. — In Lynn-st. at Lyme-alley, in 1732.

ALDEN'S LANE. — So named from Capt. John Alden. See p. 500.

ALFORD'S CORNER. — Cor. Century and Beacon sts. 1728.



- ALFORD'S WHARF. — The next N. of the foot of King-st. in 1673. Butler's in 1769.
- ALLEN'S CORNER. — In Ann-st. corner of Wentworth's lane, 1732.
- ALLEN'S FARM HOUSE. — Northerly end of Green-st. in 1708.
- ALLEN'S WHARF. — At the South End, foot of Allen's lane, next S. of Bennet-st. 1777.
- ALMSHOUSE. — The Town appointed persons to receive Capt. Keayne's legacy of £100, and Mr. Webb's of £100, with several other gifts, for erecting an Almshouse, and to agree with workmen to erect one, 31 (i) 1662. It was burnt in 1682, on what is now called Park-st. One was built in 1800, at the head of Leverett-st., and called the New Almshouse. This stood 25 years. Deer Island is now its location.
- ALMSHOUSE WHARF. — Near the Almshouse at Craigie's Bridge.
- AMERICAN COFFEE HOUSE. — In King-st. 1774, where the Massachusetts Bank now is.
- AMORY'S WHARF. — At the East end of Castle-st., 1777, on which Amory had a still-house.
- ANCHOR TAVERN. — Committees of the General Court used to meet there, 1661.
- ANN STREET. — So named in honor of Queen Anne. In 1708, "from the Conduit in Union-st. over the bridge to Elliston's cor., lower end of Cross-st." Changed to North-st. in 1853.
- ANSTRAM'S CORNER. — Near the Conduit, at the end of the Fish Market, 1708.
- APPLE ISLAND. — Between Snake and Green Islands; 2½ miles from Long wharf.
- APTHEORP'S ISLAND. — A part of Calf Island.
- ARMORY. — Mentioned in the Town Records 30 (3) 1659, but not located.
- ASYLUM FOR INDIGENT BOYS. — Charter, cor. of Salem-st., where Gov. Phips once lived.
- ATHENEUM. — In Pearl near High-st. till 1848. It originated in 1806.
- ATKINSON STREET. — So named from the ancient Atkinson family. From Cow-lane to Milk-st. in 1732. Now disgraced by the name of Congress-st., 1855.
- AUCHMUTY STREET. — Part of what is now Essex-st. — See p. 693.
- AUCTION HALL. — "In King-st. close by the Town-house." John Gerrish occupied it in 1769.
- AUSTIN'S LONG ROOM. — In King-st. 1736. Auctions were held in it.
- AVERY STREET. — Hog-alley, Sheafe's la. — See HOG ALLEY.
- AVES' CORNER. — Corner of Lynn-st. and Henchman's lane.
- BACK STREET. — From Stanbury's, nigh the Mill Bridge, to Mr. Gee's cor. in Prince-st. 1708. Since Salem-st.
- BAKER'S SHIP-YARD. — At the North End, next N of Rucks, 1722. So 1777.
- BALLANTINE'S CORNER. — Hanover-st. cor. Marshall's lane, 1732.
- BALLARD'S WHARF. — Near the North Battery, 1769.
- BALL'S ALLEY. — Centre-st., p. 728.
- BARRETT STREET. — Wentworth's lane. In 1831, from 83 Ann to Fulton-st.
- BARRETT'S WHARF. — Near the foot of Cross-st. 1769. See p. 687.
- BARRILL'S CORNER. — In Newbury-st. cor. Sheafe's lane, 1732.
- BARTON'S POINT. — Termination of Leverett-st. Formely Blackstone's Point.
- BATH STREET. — See HORN LANE.
- BATTERY ALLEY. — From Charter-st. by Mr. William Parkman's into Ship-st., nigh the North Battery, 1708. — From Parkman's Corner in Ship-st. W to North-st., 1732. Battery-street.
- BATTERY MARCH. — From Hallaways [Hollowell's] Cor. by the end of Milk-st. by the Battery, to the lower end of Gibb's lane.
- BAXTER'S CORNER. — Summer-st. cor. South, 1708.
- BEACH STREET. — The way below Eliot's Barn in Orange-st., Eastward by the sea side, 1708.
- BEACON. — In the early period of the settlement of Boston, the highest of the hills was selected for a Beacon. This gave the name of Beacon Hill. See p. 327-8.
- BEACON HILL. — The State House stands upon the southern part of Beacon Hill. It was at first called Centry Hill. See page 685.
- BEACON STREET. — So named from its vicinity to Beacon Hill, over the southern spur of which it passes. The name was confirmed by the Town in 1732; at which time it extended only to the present State House grounds.
- BEARD'S CORNER. — High-st. cor. Long-lane, 1708.
- BEER LANE. — Bridge's lane, then Richmond-st. in 1708. Shaw says it was anciently called Bur-lane; if so, it was a corruption of Beer-lane, so named, doubtless, from Beer-lane in London.
- BELCHER'S LANE. — Southerly from Gibb's lane on Fort Hill, passing by Drinker's to the Rope-walk, 1708. High-st.
- BELCHER'S WHARF. — Second from Long whf. N side, 1722, 1769. This was Gov. Belcher's. There was another Belcher's whf. at the North End, 1727.
- BELKNAP STREET. — Belknap's lane 1797, Belknap-st. 1803, Irving-st. 1855. In 1800, betw. the late Gov. Hancock's and John Joy's to Cambridge-st.
- BELKNAP'S YARD. — Between Queen and Brattle streets. Cornhill-st. was cut through it.
- BELL ALLEY. — From Wadsworth's cor. in Middle-st. E to the North Ch. 1708; so in 1732. From Mrs. Barret's cor. E. to the Old North Square, 1800.
- BELMONT STREET. — Gibb's lane, which see.

- BENDALL'S DOCK.** — Where Quincy Market now is. So named from its principal owner, Edwd. Bendall. There was also a Bendall-st. See p. 504.
- BENNET STREET.** — The same now. Bennet's wharf was at the foot of Bennet-st. 1777.
- BERRY LANE.** — At Hudson's Point, from Leverett-st. to the water, 1769. Berry's Ship-yard near the same, 1769. So 1777.
- BERRY STREET.** — From the Meeting-house in Federal-st. to Atkinson-st. It bore this name till 1845. It is now Channing-st. Said to have been named *Bury-st.* by Theodore Atkinson, who came from Bury in Lancashire, England.
- BETHUNE'S CORNER.** — Northern termination of Newbury, cor. Summer-st. in 1732.
- BIBLE AND DOVE.** — Sign at N. Prector's Bookstore, 1741.
- BIBLE AND THREE CROWNS.** — Sign at T. Hinchman's Bookstore in Ann-st. 1728.
- BIBLE AND HEART.** — Heart and Crown before 1775. — See HEART AND CROWN.
- BILL'S CORNER.** — In Ship-st. cor. Whitebread alley, 1732.
- BIRD ISLAND.** — About a mile from Long wharf. A considerable island in 1630, but has disappeared. In 1794 it was dry at low tide. It was between Noddle's and Governor's Islands. See p. 183.
- BISHOP'S ALLEY.** — From Clark's cor. in Summer-st. NW to Brown's Cor. in Milk-st. 1732-1800. Now Hawley-st.
- BLACK BOY AND BULL.** — Jonathan Williams' sign, op. the Brazen Head in Cornhill, 1733. It existed in 1760. A noted wine-store.
- BLACK HORSE LANE.** — Mention is made of it in 1698. A part of what is now Prince-st. It bore the original name as late as 1765.
- BLACKSTONE'S POINT.** — Since Barton's Point, which see. It received its original name from Wm. Blackstone, the first settler of Boston. See p. 96.
- BLACKSTONE STREET.** — Formerly Royal's alley, which see. The great Street now called after Blackstone, was opened about 1834.
- BLIND LANE.** — From the New South Church at Church Green, westerly to Pond-st. 1708. So in 1732. Called Bedford-st. in 1899.
- BLUE ANCHOR.** — A noted tavern, for fifty years before the Revolution. Locality not ascertained. There are to this day Blue Anchor signs in London.
- BLUE BALL.** — The sign at Josiah Franklin's shop in Hanover, cor. Union st., where it is believed Dr. Franklin was born. The building was standing in 1824.
- BLUE BELL.** — The house of Nathaniel Bishop was so called in 1673. Perhaps in Bishop's alley.
- BLUE DOG AND RAINBOW.** — Sign of James Vincent, silk-dyer, in Cambridge-st., near the Bowling Green, 1729. Vincent was from London.
- BLUE GATE.** — See CROWN AND BLUE GATE.
- BLUE GLOVE.** — Sign of Philip Freeman's Bookstore in Union-st. 1762.
- BOARD ALLEY.** — Hawley-st., so called in 1792.
- BOLT'S LANE.** — Changed to Winter-st. 1708. Paved about 1743.
- BORLAND'S CORNER.** — Milk-st., cor. Long-lane, 1708.
- BOSTON AQUEDUCT COMPANY.** — Formed 1795, for bringing water from Jamaica Pond in Roxbury to the Town.
- BOSTON LIBRARY.** — Incorporated 1794. In Franklin-st., over the Arch.
- BOSTON MUSEUM.** — "Feb. 28th, 1804, just opened by Philip Woods, at the large five-story building over No. 6, north side of the Market." In 1807 Mr. Wood⁹ was at No. 8 Market Square with his Museum; in 1809, No. 5 Dock Square. This Museum was discontinued in 1822. — See COLUMBIAN MUSEUM.
- BOSTON PIER.** — Long wharf was formerly so called.
- BOSTON STONE.** — A well known point in Marshall-st. since 1737. The Stone was originally a paint-mill, and was imported from England, about 1700. It is hollow, and of a conical form, of the capacity of about two barrels. The grinder to it was for a time lost; but, being found in the neighborhood, was restored to its fellow. It is of cylindrical form, and about one and an half foot in diameter. Thus fixed it stood for about 100 years, at the end of which period its appearance was somewhat changed by the erection of the present buildings upon the site adjacent to it. It was sometimes used as a starting-point for surveyors.
- BOSTON THEATRE.** — Stood at the cor. of Federal and Franklin sts., fronting the former. Built 1794, burnt Feb. 2d. 1798, re-built same year. This was Boston's first Theatre. When it was built, and for some time after, there was no building very near it, so that when it was burnt no other structure was destroyed. After other Theatres were built in the Town, this was usually called the *Federal-street Theatre*, for the sake of distinction. Its walls were of brick. A distillery occupied the site on which it was built, and the ground was all open from the rear of the Theatre to Hawley-st., and used as a pasture. It was often called by play-goers, *Old Drury*. It stood till May, 1852, when it was sold, and the ground on which it stood was immediately covered with capacious warehouses. The last play acted in "Old Drury" was on the 8th of May, 1852, having the appropriate name of *Speed the Plough*. It had been on the decline for several years, owing to the rise of other houses. It came near



- being destroyed by a mob on the 19th Dec., 1825; occasioned by the imprudence of Edmund Kean. The Handel and Haydn Soc. hired and converted it into a music hall, and named it the Odeon, about 1837. See ODEON.
- BOARDMAN'S CORNER. — Corner of Southack's court and Tremont-st. 1722.
- BOWE'S CORNER. — Union-st. cor. Salt-lane. 1708.
- BOWLING GREEN. — The space between Cambridge-st., the Mill Pond, and Sudbury-st. 1722.
- BOYLSTON ALLEY. — In 1770 a passage leading from Cornhill to Brattle-st. See p. 777.
- BOYLSTON STREET. — Anciently Frog-lane, which see; also p. 726.
- BRATTLE STREET. — Is thus described in 1708: — "The way from the middle of Wing's lane to Mr. Colman's Church, thence the two ways, viz., southerly to Queen-st. and easterly to Dock Square." In 1732: — "From Dock Square between Hutchinson's and Colson's to Brattle-st. Church, thence S to Queen-st. and N to Wing's lane." In 1800: — "Between King's Tavern and Tuckerman's store to Dr. Thacher's Church, thence N to Wing's lane."
- BRAZEN HEAD, THE. — See p. 650. Long a noted sign in ancient Cornhill.
- BREEDON'S WHARF. — Capt. Thomas Breedon had a grant of a wharf, or a site on which to erect one, prior to 30 (4) 1662, for 21 years. At this date the Town granted him an additional ten years' occupancy.
- BREWSTERS THE. — Islands belonging to Hull, to which Town they were granted about 1644 by the Gen. Court. They were claimed by Boston people afterwards. Contain about 25 acres.
- BRICK ALLEY. — Crooked-lane formerly.
- BRIDGE'S LANE. — See BEER LANE.
- BRIDGWELL. — See ALMSHOUSE.
- BRISCOE'S CORNER. — Marlborough-st. cor. Rawson's lane, 1708. So in 1732.
- BRITISH COFFEE HOUSE. — In King-st. kept by a Mr. Ballard, 1762. P. 731.
- BROAD STREET. — See MARLBOROUGH-ST.
- BROAD STREET. — The way through the Town from the Neck was at first called the Broadway, Broad-street, and often simply the Way. What is now Washington-st.
- BROAD STREET. — The present Broad-street was built in 1806. It was anciently Flounder-lane, which see. Broad is one of the most spacious streets in the city, being 70 feet in width.
- BROMFIELD LANE. — Rawson's lane till 1796. Changed to Bromfield-st. in 1829. See p. 593.
- BROOKLINE. — A part of Boston till 1705. Anciently Muddy River. See p. 531.
- BROWN'S CORNER. — In Milk-st. cor. Bishop's alley, 1732.
- BUCK, SIGN OF THE. — Robert Pattishall's in Marlborough-st. 1733.
- BUCK AND BREECHES. — Joseph Belknap's sign in Ann-st. near the Draw Bridge, 1758.
- BULL'S CORNER. — Summer-st. cor. Sea, 1708.
- BULL'S WHARF. — Foot of Summer-st.
- BUNCH OF GRAPES TAVERN. — "In King-st. just below the Town House, 1724." — Kept by Wm. Coffin, 1731, by Col. Joseph Ingersoll in 1764-9. On the present site of the N. Eng. Bank.
- BURY STREET. — Miscalled Berry-st., which see. Also p. 576.
- BUTLER'S CORNER. — The cor. made by King-st. and Merchants' Row, 1724.
- BUTLER'S DOCK. — From Merchants' Row to Spear's wharf.
- BUTLER'S WHARF. — Was next N. of Long wharf in 1722.
- BYLES' WHARF. — On the E side of the Neck, near Castle-st. 1777.
- CABINET AND CHEST OF DRAWERS. — Mr. John Maverick's in Middle-st. 1733; where he sold "choice good silver and gold lace, silver buttons, thread, and cloths."
- CAMBRIDGE STREET. — So named in 1708, and then described as "leading from Emmons' Corner, passing by Justice Lynde's pasture, and thence westerly to the Sea."
- CARNES' COURT. — In Ann-st. 1767.
- CASTLE ISLAND. — About $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Long wharf. As early as 1634, a kind of fort was erected upon it, which consisted of earthen embankments. Shaw says its first commander was Capt. Simpkins. There was a Capt. Nicholas Simpkin at a later period. The Island contained about eight acres, as estimated in the time of Capt. Edward Johnson. On this Island has always been the chief fortification of Boston. On the accession of King William it was named, in honor of him, Castle William, or Fort William. After the Revolution it received its present name, Fort Independence.
- CASTLE STREET. — In 1732, crossed Orange-st. E and W, and extended each way "to the Sea." Now E and W. Castle-st.
- CASTLE TAVERN. — In Mackerel-lane, cor. Crab-lane. Mentioned in 1675, and in 1693, as of brick. Not a tavern in 1708.
- CASTLE WILLIAM. — The fort on Castle Island was so called from the accession of William and Mary to the war of the Revolution.
- CAUSEWAY. — One formerly connected the N and W portions of the Town.
- CENTRE STREET. — From Hanover to Ann, laid out in 1773, probably. See p. 728.



CENTRY HAVEN. — See p. 514.

CENTRY HILL. — Afterwards Beacon Hill.

CENTRY STREET. — "The way leading from Beacon-st. between Capt. Alford's land and Madam Shrimpton's pasture," 1708. — Other streets have been called Centry or Century-st., as a part of Sudbury, part of Queen, and the whole of Park.

CEWITBY'S CORNER. — In Prince-st. cor. Salem, 1708; so 1732.

CHAMBERS STREET. — In 1732, from Cambridge to Green-st.

CHARGE ALLEY. — Now Charge-avenue, formerly Pierce's alley.

CHARGE AVENUE. — From 54 State to Market Sq. Formerly Pierce's alley, then Flagg-a., then Charge-avenue.

CHANNING STREET. — Formerly Bury, then Berry-st.

CHARLON STREET. — So named from Peter Chardon, an eminent merchant, who lived at the cor. Cambridge and Chardon streets, on the spot where the Bowdoin Square Church now stands.

CHARLESTOWN BRIDGE. — Extends from the foot of Prince-st. to Charlestown, built in 1785-6; 1503 feet long, 42 broad, said to have cost £15,000 "lawful money." Its corporate name is Charles River Bridge. See p. 605.

CHARLESTOWN FERRY. — From the first settlement of the Town to the completion of the Charles River Bridge, a Ferry was maintained over Charles river to Charlestown, nearly upon the same line now occupied by the Bridge.

CHARTER STREET. — "Northwesterly from Mr. Rainsford's cor. in North-st. towards the Ferry-point at Charlestown," 1708. Same in 1732. So named, probably, on the grant of the new Charter of William and Mary.

CHAUNCEY PLACE. — The Place leading to the First Church, from Summer-st. now (1856) made a part of Chauncey-st.

CHECKLEY'S ENTRY. — Ann-st. cor. Swallow's alley, 1732.

CHEEVER'S WHARF. — "Capt. Cheever's wharf at the North End," 1746.

CHELSEA. — A part of Boston till 1738. See p. 604.

CHURCH SQUARE. — An open space around the Old or First Church, when it stood in Cornhill, afterwards Cornhill Square.

CLARKE'S CORNER. — Numerous corners have borne this name from an early period of the Town's history; and several at the same time.

CLARKE'S SQUARE. — The space afterwards called North Square.

CLARK STREET. — Formerly Foster-st., which see. From 337 Hanover to Commercial-st.

CLARKE'S WHARF. — A little to the south of the foot of Fleet-st., 1722. Afterwards Hancock's whf., noted in the early revolutionary troubles.

CLOUGH STREET. — That part of the present Tremont-st. betw. Boylston and Hollis sts., 1769 to 1775.

COFFIN'S FIELD. — All that oblong space betw. Essex, Short, Summer and South sts. in 1777.

COLD LANE. — Now Portland-st. In 1708, "from Hanover-st. NW'y to the Mill Pond." In 1732, "from Harris' cor. in Hanover-st. to the Mill Pond." So in 1800. Called *Cole* lane, 1709. Changed to Portland-st. before 1816.

COLE'S GARDEN. — Afterwards Boylston's. See p. 726.

COLSON'S LANE. — "Near the Great Trees at the South End," 1746.

COLSON'S STONE HOUSE. — In Dock Sq. bet. Cornhill and Brattle sts., 1732.

COLUMBIAN MUSEUM. — Near the head of the Mall, cor. Bromfield-lane. Established by Daniel Bowen in 1795. He commenced an exhibition of wax figures in 1791, opp. the Bunch of Grapes in Ann-st. It was burnt 15 Jan., 1803. Mr. Bowen then opened another at the cor. of Milk and Oliver sts., May following. In 1806, Mr. B., in connection with Wm. M. S. Doyle, erected an extensive building of five stories in Tremont-street, bet. the Chapel burying-ground and Court-st. This was burnt 16 Jan., 1807. Another small edifice was soon erected, and this Museum was kept up till 1 Jan., 1825, when it was sold to the New Eng. Museum. Daniel Bowen died in Philadelphia, Pa., 29 Feb. 1856, aged 96. He was uncle to the late Abel Bowen, publisher of the *Picture of Boston*, *Snow's History*, the *Boston News-Letter*, &c.

COMMON, THE. — Received its name from the fact of its being *common* land, land common to all the inhabitants. It is a reservation out of the original grant to the Massachusetts Company; and was held by the Government of said Company for the *common* benefit of the Company and their successors. It was originally much larger than it now appears, having been curtailed by grants of parts of it, until it was thought by those in office to be sufficiently reduced in size to be in just proportion to the settled parts of the Town. See page 530. There were several *common* fields which were granted to the people from time to time. The wooden fence around the Common was burnt for fuel when the British troops occupied the Town in the Revolution. It was a *common* cow-pasture within the present century.

COMMON BURYING-GROUND. — South-westerly part of the Common, set apart soon after the Revolution.

CONANT'S ISLAND. — So called in 1632, in which year, April 3d, it was granted to Gov. Win-

- throp for a garden, and after that it went by the name of the Governor's Garden, then Governor's Island.
- CONCERT HALL. — See p. 641.
- CONCERT ROOM. — In Wing's lane, 1733.
- CONDUIT. — In Dock Sq. See p. 350.
- CONGRESS STREET. — Formerly Leverett's lane, also Quaker-lane. It received the name of Congress-st. 1788.
- COOK'S COURT. — The way back of the South Grammar School, 1784.
- COOPER'S ALLEY. — From Milk-st. to Water-st, 1708. Afterwards Miller's lane, then Adams-st. now Kilby.
- COPPER STREET. — From the foot of Leverett by the water to Poplar, 1807; changed to Brighton-st. in 1820.
- COPP'S HILL. — See pages 141, 549-50.
- CORN COURT. — "The way leading from Justice Palmer's warehouse in Corn Market up to Moreock's buildings," 1708. "Opposite the S side of Fanueil Hall," 1803. Same now. In 1784, up by Dr. Noyes'.
- CORNFIELD. — "The sign of the Cornfield," near the Mill Bridge, 1733. In Union-st. 1763.
- CORNHILL. — Fort Hill was so called at one time; then the section of the Main-st. from School-st. to "Clark the pewterer's shop." This was in 1708. In 1732, the same space is described, "from Marlborough-st. to Colson's stone house." The name was transferred, in 1828, to what is now Cornhill. See MARKET-ST.
- CORNHILL SQUARE. — Church Square in Cornhill took this name about 1809.
- CORN MARKET. — "From the Sun Tavern in Dock Sq. E. to Merchant's Row," 1732. "Between King-st. and Dock Sq. on Pierce's alley." It was the same in 1708.
- COTTON HILL. — So named from the residence of the Rev. John Cotton. See INDEX.
- COURT SQUARE. — In King-st. 1763. See HALF SQUARE COURT. Since the completion of the New Court House (now the City Hall) in 1811, the square on its S front. has been so called.
- COVE. — The several *coves* about the Town are simply so called in the early records, but in time THE COVE was that where Quincy Market now stands.
- COWELL'S CORNER. — In Newbury, cor. West st. 1708. So in 1732.
- COW LANE. — "From Mory's cor. in Summer-st. NE to Fort Hill," 1708. Changed to High-st. about 1803.
- CRAB ALLEY. — "The way back of late Read's, pump and bl. maker, to Vose's Wood-wharf," 1800. From Liberty Square to Broad-st., 1817.
- CRAB LANE. — "From the house formerly the Castle Tavern, in Mackerel-lane, by Halloway's wharf to the sea," 1732. Part of what is now Kilby-st.
- CREEK LANE. — "From Brooks's cor. in Marshall's lane, by Mr. Bulfinch's to Scottow's alley," 1708. "From Scottow's alley to Boston Stone," 1800. Since Creek Square.
- CREEK SQUARE. — South side Mill Creek, back of Union and Ann sts., since 1803.
- CRESCENT. — Franklin-st. at first called The Crescent, then Franklin-place.
- CROMWELL'S HEAD. — Tavern in School-st., kept by Anthony Bracket in 1760, by his widow from 1764 to 1768, by Joshua Bracket, 1789. Building No. 19 and 21 are nearly upon the site.
- CROOKED ALLEY. — From Cow to Belcher's lane, or, "by Wharton's house in Cow-lane easterly into Harrison's Ropewalk." 1708—1732.
- CROOKED LANE. — In 1708, "the way from Mr. Powning's cor. by Dock Sq. southerly into King-st." So in 1769. Now Wilson's lane.
- CROSS STREET. — "From the Mill Pond south-easterly, by the late Dea. Phillips' stone house to the sea," 1708. From the N end of Ann-st. to the Mill Pond, 1732. Now, from Commercial-st. to Endicott-st.
- CROSS TAVERN. — On the cor. of Cross and Ann streets, 1732.
- CROWN AND BLUE GATE. — Mr. John Checkley's sign, 1732, "over against the W end of the Town House," where he sold books.
- CROWN AND COME. — Richard Billing's sign, in Cornhill near the Post Office, 1760.
- CROWN AND SCEPTRE. — A noted sign in Back-st., 1768.
- CROWN COFFEE HOUSE. — At the foot of King-st., 1724.
- CUSTOM HOUSE. — Before the Revolution it stood in State-st., on the E cor. of Royal Exchange lane, where the Union Bank now stands. Perez Morton afterwards lived there. See p. 780.
- DAFORN'S CORNER. — See MACKEREL LANE. Mrs. Dafforn's cor. in Milk-st., 1708.
- DAGGETT'S ALLEY. — Battery-al. so called as late as 1807.
- DALTON'S LANE. — That part of Leverett's lane bet. Water and Milk sts. So named for Peter Roe Dalton, the first Cashier of the Massachusetts Bank, 1784.
- DALTON'S ROW. — In Dalton's lane.
- DASSETT'S ALLEY. — From Brattle Sq. southerly to Court-st. Now Franklin Avenue. See p. 520. Miscalled Dorset's Alley from 1803 to about 1815, when it received its present name.



- DAVIES' LANE. — That part of what is now Beacon-st. from the State House yard to near Walnut-st., then Allen's orchard.
- D'ACOSTA'S PASTURE. — The space betw. Milk and Summer sts., and fr. Bishop's alley to Long-lane, 1777.
- DEERING'S CORNER. — In Cornhill, cor. Queen-st. 1708-1732.
- DEER ISLAND. — On 23 (12) 1662, "John Shaw having assigned his lease of Deer I. to Sir Thomas Temple, who desired to renew said lease, which is granted him for 21 years." It is $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Long whf. The New Almshouse has been located here since its removal from Barton's point, in 1825.
- DEVONSHIRE STREET. — First so called in 1784. Previously Pudding-lane, which see. Described in 1800, "from Abiel Smith's in State-st. S to Water-st."
- DISTILLHOUSE SQUARE. — From the foot of Hawkins-st., round by Ivers, to Sudbury-st. 1800.
- DOANE STREET. — First so called in 1807. Nearly corresponding to what was Lobster-alley.
- DODIE'S WHARF. — Afterwards Noble's whf.
- DOCK. — The Cove at Dock Sq. was *The Dock. The Cove, &c.*
- DOCK SQUARE. — The place around *The Dock*, thus laid down in 1708. "The Sq. from the house of Eliakim Hutchinson, Esq., to Mr. Pemberton's cor., on one side; and from Kenney's shop to Mr. Meer's cor. on the other side." In 1732, "From Colson's stone house to the Sun Tavern, thence to Jackson's & Brook's cors., and back to Hutchinson's."
- DOG AND POT. — An ancient sign in Fish-st. at the head of Barrett's whf.
- DORSET'S ALLEY. — See DASSET'S ALLEY.
- DRAKE'S WHARF. — Sea-st. 1826. Formerly Capen & Drake's.
- DRAW BRIDGE. — In Ann-st. Ordered to be re-built in 1686.
- DRAW BRIDGE STREET. — Afterwards Ann-st.
- DUMMER'S CORNER. — "Justice Dummer's cor. in King-st., cor. Mackrill-la.," 1708. "Dummer's cor. in School-st., cor. Governor's alley," 1732.
- DYER'S WHARF. — On "the back of the Town Dock." Wm. Stow kept a store there 1755.
- EAGLE. — The sign of Eleazer Phillips' Bookstore, in Newbury-st. 1712.
- EDES' SHIP-YARD. — Near the E end of Flounder-la. 1722; afterwards Tileston's wharf.
- EDWARDS' CORNER. — In Fish-st. cor. Wood-lane, 1732.
- ELBOW ALLEY. — In 1708, from Ann-st. bet. the late Capt. Lake's and Nanney's buildings, to Mr. Indicot's shop in Cross-st. It was a quarter of a circle, cutting off the S'y cor. of Ann and Cross sts. Does not appear in maps after 1769.
- ELEPHANT. — Benjamin Landon's sign at the lower end of King-st. 1733.
- ELIOT'S CORNER. — In Orange, cor. Essex st. 1732.
- ELLIS' CORNER. — In Newbury, cor. Winter st. 1732.
- ELLISTON'S CORNER. — Lower end of Cross, cor. Ann st. 1708.
- ELM STREET. — Wing's lane till 1799. From Dock Sq. to Hanover st.
- EMMONS' CORNER. — Cor. Sudbury and Cambridge sts. 1708. So in 1732.
- ENDICOTT STREET. — Opened about 1836. From Hanover and Salem sts. to Charlestown Bridge. A part of the ancient Old Way.
- ESSEX STREET. — Same now. Described in 1708, "easterly from Dea. Elliott's cor. in Orange-st., by the late Dea. Allen's, to Windmill point." So in 1732.
- EVERTON'S CORNER. — Near Scarlet's whf. in Ship-st. 1708.
- EXCHANGE. — The lower part of the Town House formerly, and then that of the Court or State House.
- EXCHANGE COFFEE HOUSE. — The most imposing building of its time, having cost about 500,000 dollars. It was burnt 3 Nov. 1818, and rebuilt not long after. It was taken down in 1854, and an immense free-stone structure erected on the spot, which was finished in May, 1855, and called *The City Exchange*.
- EXCHANGE LANE. — Shrimpton's la. till 1803.
- EXCHANGE STREET. — Exchange-lane till 1816.
- FAIREWEATHER'S CORNER. — Corner of School and Tremont sts. 1708.
- FANEUIL'S CORNER. — In King-st. cor. Merchants' Row, 1732.
- FANEUIL HALL. — See pages 610, 611.
- FANEUIL HALL SQUARE. — Same as Corn Market, which see.
- FAUST'S STATUE. — Long the sign of a printing-house in Newbury-st.
- FEDERAL STREET. — Long-lane till 1788. See p. 576.
- FERRY WAY. — Part of Lynn-st. In 1708, "along the shore from Hudson's point SW'y to the Mill stream by Mr. Gee's building yard." In 1732, "from the W end of Lynn-st. round the beach to Ferry wharf."
- FERRY WHARF. — At Hudson's point.
- FIELDS. — Ungranted spaces or lots belonging to the Town, during the early period of its settlement; as, the Fort-field, at or about Fort Hill; the Mill-field, about the Windmill on Copp's Hill; the New-field, between Cambridge-st. and Poplar-st. on the Cove; Centry Hill field, at Beacon Hill, &c.
- FISH MARKET. — In 1708, "from Antram's cor. nigh the Conduit, NE'y by the side of the



- Dock, to Mr. Winsor's warehouse." In 1732, "from Pitt's cor. in Ann-st. round the Dock to Pitt's whf."
- FISH STREET. — "From Mountjoy's cor. lower end of Cross-st., N'y to the sign of the Swan, by Scarlet's whf. 1708." North-st.
- FITCH'S ALLEY. — See PIERCE'S ALLEY.
- FITCH'S LANE. — The way op. Mrs. Carter's into Cambridge-st. 1800. See STODDARD STREET.
- FITCH'S CORNER. — In Union-st., end of Marshall's lane, 1708. So in 1732. Capt. Fitch's cor. in King-st. cor. Pierce's alley.
- FLAGG ALLEY. — So called from 1828 to 1840. From 60 State-st. to Market Sq. Change-avenue.
- FLAG-STAFF. — A noted one in Liberty Square, called *Liberty Pole*, and at Liberty Tree; one raised on the Common 28 June, 1837. 120 feet in height.
- FLEET STREET. — In 1708, "from Williams' cor. nigh Mr. Jonas Clark's, E'y to the Sea by Scarlet's whf." In 1732, "at the N end of Fish-st. from Scarlet's whf. W to the upper end of Middle-st." In 1800, "from Scarlet's whf. to Mr. Murray's meeting-house." Now (1856) from 349 Hanover-st. to Eastern Rail-r. whf. Its name is doubtless from old Fleet-st. in London.
- FLOUNDER LANE. — From the foot of Summer-st. NE'y by the water, "with the turn up to the Ropewalk," 1708. From Bull's to Adams' whfs. 1722. So 1732. Name not used after 1803. Now the S end of Broad-st.
- FORE STREET. — An early name for Ann-st., or a part of it; probably the part opposite Back-st. I do not find it so called upon any of the maps.
- FORTS. — See FORTIFICATION, FORT HILL, BATTERY, &c.
- FORT HILL. — See INDEX.
- FORT INDEPENDENCE. — See CASTLE ISLAND.
- FORT STRONG. — On Noddle's Island, built in 1814, and named in honor of Gov. Strong.
- FORT WARREN. — On Governor's Island.
- FORT WILLIAM. — Or Castle William. See CASTLE ISLAND.
- FOSTER STREET. — From Richard's cor. in Ship-st. W by the New North Ch. to North-st. 1732. Now Clark-st.
- FOSTER'S WHARF. — Next S of Rowe's whf.; formerly Wheelwright's.
- FOUR POINT CHANNEL. — Near the end of Long wharf.
- FOX HILL. — Several small knolls were known by this name in early times. The principal is on the shore of the Back Bay, laid down on the map of 1722, in a line with the Great Tree and West-st. — On a map of 1777 there is a Fox Hill to the N of Beacon-st. near the water.
- FRANKLIN AVENUE. — Formerly Dasset's alley. Ben. Franklin served his time in a printing-office standing at the head of this alley in Court-st.; hence the present name. The change of name was about 1815.
- FRANKLIN PLACE. — Laid out in 1792, through Greenleaf's, formerly D'Acasta's pasture, and was built as it now appears in 1793-4, and at first called *The Crescent*. Now Franklin-st.
- FRANKLIN STREET. — From 47 Marlboro' to Hawley-st., formerly Vincent's lane. Now from 184 Washington to Federal st. Name applied to the whole in 1846.
- FRARY'S CORNER. — The late Capt. Frary's cor. in Orange-st. and Frog-lane, 1708.
- FREEMAN'S WHARF. — Near the foot of Sliding-alley NE of the Ferryway, 1792. So 1769.
- FREEMASONS' ARMS. — Name given to the Green Dragon tavern in 1764, but it did not long obtain.
- FRIEND STREET. — Formerly Friends-st. Opened before 1769. "From Noble's cor. to the Mill Pond, 1800."
- FRIZZELL'S CORNER. — In Garden Court in 1708.
- FROG LANE. — "From the late Capt. Frary's cor. [in Orange-st.] W'd to the bottom of the Common, with a turn S'y down to the sea," 1708. "From Well's cor. in Orange-st. W to the Sea at the bottom of the Common," 1732. Called Boylston-st. 1809.
- FRONT STREET. — Built in 1806-7, near three fourths of a mile in length, perfectly straight, and 70 feet wide. From Rainsford's lane to South Boston bridge. Changed to Harrison-avenue in honor of Gen. Harrison, in 1841.
- GALLOP'S ALLEY. — "From Fish to Middle st. bet. land of John Clark, Esq., and the successor of Samuel Gallop, deceased," 1708. Changed to Mechanic-st. 1825.
- GALLOP'S ISLAND. — Between Lovell's and Rainsford's islands, six miles from the City. Contained about 16 acres in 1649, and then belonged to Capt. John Gallop, and valued at £12.
- GALLOWES. — Before the Revolution there was a permanent Gallows on the Neck near the present burying-ground, and on the E side of the highway.
- GARDEN. — See PUBLIC GARDEN.
- GARDEN COURT. — "Northerly from Madam Winsley's cor. betw. Col. Foster's and Mr. Frizzell's into Fleet-st." 1708. In 1732, from Bell-alley cor. North to Fleet-st. Name retained. See p. 700.
- GARDEN STREET. — Laid out about 1800. From Cambridge S to May st. 1803. Now from 114 Cambridge to Myrtle st.

- GARDNER'S CORNER. — In Fish-st. cor. Sun-court, 1732.
- GAY ALLEY. — Hiller's lane, sometimes so called.
- GEE'S CORNER. — Prince, cor. Back st., 1732.
- GEE'S SHIP-YARD. — At the foot of Prince-st. 1722. So 1732.
- GERRE'S ISLAND. — Six and an half miles from the City.
- GERRE STREET. — In 1732, from Beacon, nearly to Cambridge st. In 1784, from Capt. Mac-Kay's still-house, S'ly by Box's to Gov. Hancock's stables. Now Hancock-st.
- GEN. COURT TAVERN. — On the Neck, near Roxbury line. The Gen. Court sat there in 1721. Simon Rogers kept it from 1730 to 1734, in which last year (7 April) he died. In 1769 it was taken by Edwd. Bardin from N. York, and called the King's Arms. One Gideon Gardner preceded him.
- GIBBIN'S SHIP-YARD. — On the E side of the Neck, near the Fortification, 1722. So 1777.
- GIBBON'S COURT. — Out of Newbury-st. W, 1784. In 1816, bet. 7 and 8 Newbury-st.
- GIBBS' LANE. — From Belcher's to Cow-lane, 1708. Belmont-st. 1845.
- GIBBS' WHARF. — Near what is now Fort Hill whf.
- GLIDDEN'S SHIP-YARD. — Near Fish-st. before the Revolution.
- GOLDEN BALL. — Dock Sq., near the head of Green's whf., 1760.
- GOLDEN COCK. — In Ann-st. 1733. John Cutler's sign, who kept hard ware "over against Dr. Ashton's, in Marlborough-st." 1762.
- GOLDEN EAGLE. — In Dock Sq. 1758. Kept by Lewis Deblois in 1769.
- GOLDEN FLEECE. — In King-st. 1749, near Mr. Jotham Maverick's. Ebenezer Lowell's store in 1762.
- GOLDEN KEY. — Nathaniel Abrahams' sign in Ann-st. 1761. He kept English goods.
- GOVERNOR'S ALLEY. — "From Dummer's cor. in School-st. SW to Rawson's lane," 1732. Changed to Province-st. in 1833.
- GOVERNOR'S ISLAND. — See CONANT'S ISLAND.
- GRANARY. — In the Common where Park-st. now is, at or near the site of Park-st. Church. It was a long wooden building, calculated to contain 12,000 bushels of grain.
- GRAY'S LANE. — "From Belcher's to Cow-lane," 1732. Included in Atkinson-st. 1816.
- GRAY'S ROPEWALK. — In the vicinity of Atkinson-street.
- GRAY'S WHARF. — Near the foot of Gray's lane in 1722, then called Gray-alley. Russell's wharf. 1794.
- GREEN'S CORNER. — Queen-st. cor. Hiller's lane, 1732.
- GREEN LANE. — Salem-st. was so called at one period.
- GREEN'S LANE. — A part of what was afterwards Atkinson-st.
- GREEN DRAGON. — Sign of a noted tavern in Union-st. John Cary was licensed to keep it 5 Oct. 1697. Joseph Kilder kept it in 1734, who came from "The Three Cranes" in Charlestown. See FREEMASONS' ARMS. Its last vestiges disappeared about 1854.
- GREEN STREET. — "The way on that side of the livery-stable in Justice Lynde's pasture to Mr. Allen's farm-house," 1708. "From Wells' cor. in Cambridge-st. NW to Barton's Point," 1732.
- GREENOUGH'S ALLEY. — From Lynn-st. through Greenough's ship-yard, SW to Charter-st., 1732.
- GREENOUGH'S SHIP-YARD. — At the North End, foot of Greenough's alley, 1732. So 1777.
- GRIDLEY'S LANE. — From Belcher's to Cow-lane, 1732. So in 1708, but described, — "the way from John Roberts' house in Cow-lane, E'ly by Capt. John Bonner's into the ropewalk." Changed to Gridley-st. about 1824.
- GRIDLEY STREET. — Formerly Gridley's lane.
- GRIFFIN'S WHARF. — James Griffin kept on it 1760, and William Griffin, 1769. The wharf where the Indians destroyed the tea, 16 Dec. 1773. Called Liverpool whf. since about 1815.
- HALF SQUARE COURT. — "From King-st. by the house of Isaac Addington, Esq., with the return into Pudding-lane," 1708. In 1732, "from Maccarty's cor. turning into Pudding-lane." About what is now the City Exchange.
- HALLOWELL'S CORNER. — Milk, cor. Battery-march st., 1732—1769.
- HALLOWELL'S SHIP-YARD. — Between the foot of Milk and Battery-m. st., 1732—1769.
- HALLOWELL'S WHARF. — On Crab-alley.
- HAMILTON AVENUE. — Named in 1823. — See QUINCY LANE.
- HAMILTON PLACE. — So named about 1806. Here stood the old Manufactory-house.
- HAMILTON STREET. — So named about 1808. Formerly Sconce-lane.
- HANCOCK STREET. — Named for the Patriot John Hancock, before 1800. "From Joseph Ripley's house in Cambridge-st., S'ly by B. Austin's to the late Gov. Hancock's stables." 1800.
- HANCOCK'S WHARF. — Previously Clark's whf., which see.
- HANOVER STREET. — Between Houchin's cor. and the sign of the Orange-tree, N'ly to the Mill bridge, 1703. Extends now from Court-st. to Chelsea ferry.
- HANOVER SQUARE. — Corner of Essex and Newbury. See pp. 713, 716, 717.
- HARRIS' CORNER. — In Hanover-st. cor. Cold-lane, 1732.
- HARRISON AVENUE. — See FRONT-ST. Now from Essex to Northampton-st.
- HARRISON'S ROPEWALK. — See CROOKED ALLEY.



HARROD'S CORNER. — In Prince-st. cor. of Salem, 1782.

HART'S SHIP-YARD. — At the North End. Here the Continental frigate was built, about 1795.

HARVARD STREET. — Original name of Hollis-st. Harvard's wharf was at the foot of it.

HAT AND HELMET. — The sign of Daniel Jones, furrier, Newbury-st., 1758.

HATCH'S CORNER. — In Marlborough-st. cor. School, 1708.

HAWKINS STREET. — From Bill and Smith's cor. into Cambridge-st., 1732. In 1800, from about the middle of Salisbury-st. to Distill-house Sq. Familiarly known as Tattle-st.

HAWLEY STREET. — So named in 1800. From Trinity Church in Summer-st. to Milk-st.

HAYMARKET THEATRE. — A large wooden building, on what is now Tremont-st., just N of the Winthrop House, open 26 Dec. 1796; said then to be the most spacious and convenient Theatre in America. The late James A. Dickson, a well-known merchant in Cornhill, then made his first appearance upon the stage. He died April 1st, 1853, æ. 79. It continued but six years, being then sold and demolished at an expense of 700 dollars. Great danger was apprehended from its liability to take fire. It took its name, probably, from being built upon the site of a hay-market.

HEART AND CROWN. — Sign of T. Fleet's printing-office, cor. Cornhill and Water-st., 1748. In 1763, Thomas and John Fleet kept there. They published the Boston Evening Post, with an engraving of the Heart and Crown in the centre of the heading. After the Revolution it was changed to the Bible and Crown. Now 124 Washington-st.

HENCHMAN'S LANE. — From Aves' cor. in Lynn-st. S to Charter-st., 1732. Changed to Henchman-st., 1850. From 35 Charter to Commercial st.

HIGH STREET. — Cow-lane. Took the name of High-st. 1803. "The High-st." is mentioned as early as 1645. See INDEX.

HIGH WAY. — Several of the principal ways were so denominated during the early settlement of the Town.

HILLER'S LANE. — From Pollard's cor. in Brattle-st. through Mr. Belknap's yard into Queen-st., 1708; sometimes Gay-alley. In 1800, from Prentice's cor. by Gore's painting-yard to Court-st. Took the name of Brattle-st. 1821.

HILL'S WHARF. — Next Scarlet's in 1671; another at the foot of South-st., 1732.

HOG ALLEY. — In 1708, the new al. bet. Mr. Blyn's and Durant's, in Newbury-st., W'y to the Common. An attempt to shut it up was made in 1763, being complained of as a nuisance; but the attempt did not succeed. It soon after took the name of Sheaf's lane, which it bore till 1827. Now Avery-st.

HOG ISLAND. — Bet. Noddle's isl. and Chelsea, 2½ miles from Long whf. June 4th, 1687. "The lightning awfully shattered a tree there." Thomas Cornell sold it (or 3 a. of it) in 1639 to Edwd. Tyng.

HOLLAND'S COFFEE HOUSE. — Near cor. Howard and Court sts., 1723. Ephraim Holland kept it till ab. 1830. See PEMBERTON HOUSE.

HOLLIS STREET. — Formerly Harvard-st. Changed to its present name in 1731. Page 589.

HOLYOKE STREET. — From Dr. Byles' house to Wm. Foster's, late Powell's, 1784. Tremont-st.

HORN LANE. — From Milk, N to Water st., 1708, between Maj. Walley's and Mr. Bridgman's land. Bath-st. 1807, on account of the baths in it. See TANNER'S LANE, which was its proper name. Called Horn-la. from its crookedness.

HOUCIN'S CORNER. — N cor. Queen and Hanover sts., 1708.

HOUSE OF INDUSTRY. — At South Boston. It succeeded the old Almshouse, which was at Barton's Point, ab. 1821.

HOWARD STREET. — Formerly Southack's court, which see.

HUDSON'S LANE. — So called from William Hudson. Between Elder Pen's and Mr. Wilson's Garden, 1658. Wing's la. 1708. Elm-st. 1799.

HUDSON'S POINT. — The extreme NW point of the Town. See INDEX.

HULL STREET. — Southw'y from Snow Hill to Salem-st., 1708.

HUTCHINSON STREET. — From Cow-la. to Milk, 1732. So 1796. Pearl-st. 1800. See p. 699.

HUTCHINSON'S WHARF. — Between Clarke and Scarlet's whfs., 1722. So 1777.

INDIAN QUEEN TAVERN. — In Bromfield-la. Had a sign of an *Indian Queen* for a long period. The present Bromfield House occupies the spot. It was a noted stage-tavern in days of stages. Isaac Trask kept it, and after him his widow, Nabby, till 1816. Then the late well-known Simeon Boyden. Preston Shepard in 1823.

INDIA STREET. — Built about 1807.

INNER TEMPLE. — In Prison-lane, 1727. The name was probably given by Caleb Spurrier, and continued but a short time.

ISLAND OF BOSTON. — All N of Mill Creek was formerly so designated.

IRELAND'S WHARF. — "A good wood warffe, near the North Battery, commonly called Ireland's warffe," 1729.

JACKSON'S CORNER. — In Dock Sq. at the head of Town Dock, 1732. There was at the same time a cor. at the Mill creek in Ann-st. of the same name.

JEPHSON'S CORNER. — In Marshal's, cor. Creek lane, 1732.

- JOYLIEFF'S LANE.** — From Water to Milk st. 1708, "the name by which it hath been formerly known." Written *Jolly's*, 1732. Devoushire-st. 1796.
- KENNY'S CORNER.** — In Dock Square, 1708.
- KENNY'S WHARF.** — On the E side of Town Dock, 1652.
- KILBY STREET.** — Mackerel-lane till ab. 1769.
- KING'S ARMS.** — The George Tavern took this name, 1769. See **GEORGE TAVERN**. In 1650 Hugh Gunnison, vintner, owned a house "known by the name of the *sign of the King's Arms*," which with lands, brew-house, &c., he mortgaged to John Sampson, Henry Shrimpton, and Wm. Brenton, for £600. In 1746, John Kneeland, "near the Town Dock," had a store with a sign of the King's Arms.
- KING'S HEAD.** — Tavern "by Scarlet's whf.," burnt in 1691. Rebuilt. James Davenport kept it 1755, or another of the same sign, and his widow 1758.
- KING ROAD.** — A roadstead for ships near Castle Island. Now President's road.
- KING STREET.** — "From Cornhill, including the ways on each side of the Town-house, easterly to the Sea," 1708. "From the W. end of the Town-house to Long whf.," 1732. Called State-st. in 1784.
- KNEELAND STREET.** — From Orange-st. to the water, next S of Beech-st., 1777. Kneeland's whf. at the foot.
- LAMB TAVERN.** — The sign of the Lamb is mentioned as early as 1746. In 1760 Col. Doty's was the sign of the Lamb. In 1826, Edward Kingman, Jr., kept the Lamb Tavern, 396 Washington-st. It was discontinued as a tavern soon after.
- LEVERETT'S LANE.** — From Maccarty's cor. in King-st. to Elder Bridgman's warehouse in Water-st. 1708. After 1788, Congress-st. Called at one time Quaker-lane.
- LEVERETT STREET.** — So named before 1769. From Tucker's cor. to the New Almshouse, 1800.
- LEVERETT'S WHARF.** — At the foot of what is now State-st., on the S side.
- LIBERTY HALL.** — About Liberty Tree. P. 738.
- LIBERTY POLE.** — A lofty flag-staff several years standing in Liberty Sq. Removed about the close of the last war with England.
- LIBERTY SQUARE.** — The space at the termination of Kilby, Water, and Adams sts. 1803.
- LIBERTY TREE.** — Cor. Essex and Newbury st. See p. 693, 703. It was cut down about the last week in August, 1775, by a party of British, led by one Job Williams. One of the party lost his life by accident on the occasion. It made 14 cords of wood.
- LIGHTHOUSE.** — Built at Beacon Island, 1715. See p. 553. One on Minot's Ledge was destroyed in a terrible storm on the night of the 16th of April, 1851, and two men in it. Arrangements to rebuild it made in 1855.
- LIGHTHOUSE TAVERN.** — In King-st., 1718, on the S side opposite the Town-house. There was one at the North End in 1763. See p. 664.
- LIME ALLEY.** — From the burying-place in Charter-st. to Aikin's lime-kiln in Lynn-st., 1708. From Aikin's lime-kiln in Lynn-st. SW to the new burying-place, 1732. Now from Charter to Commercial.
- LINK ALLEY.** — From the Sign of the Star in Hanover, N'd behind Capt. Everton's, 1708. From the Star Tavern N to the mill, 1722. From Frobusher's cor. in Hanover, the back way to the Mills, 1784.
- LIVERPOOL WHARF.** — Formerly Griffin's, which see.
- LOBSTER ALLEY.** — From Kilby-st. to the water, on or near the present Doane-st.
- LOGWOOD TREE.** — A tavern sign in Lynn-st., 1732, kept by Joshua Pierce.
- LONDON BOOKSTORE.** — Head of King-st. N side, 1762, kept by James Rivington. Kept by Mien & Fleming, in 1768.
- LONDON COFFEE HOUSE.** — Benj. Harris sold books there in 1689.
- LONGACRE STREET.** — Bet. Winter and School, next the Mall, 1777, now Tremont.
- LONG ISLAND.** — Between Nix's Mate and Spectacle Isl., $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the City. Long Island Light is on its NE head, "over against Nix's Mate." William Joy owned land there in 1613, and sold 2 a. of it to Leonard Buttelis. John Gallop owned 4 a. of it, 1649. The Long Island House, an elegant hotel, was erected there previous to 1853.
- LONG LANE.** — From Cow-lane to Milk-st., afterwards Federal, which see.
- LONG WHARF.** — See p. 536.
- LOVE LANE.** — In 1708, NW'ly from Capt. Stephens' cor. in North-st. into Bennet-st. So named from a family. Mrs. Susanna L. owned an estate at the cor. of Bennet and Tileston sts., which she sold in 1712, on which now stands the Eliot school. Changed to Tileston-st. ab. 1820.
- LOVEL'S ISLAND.** — Betw. Long Isl. and Great Brewster, $6\frac{1}{2}$ ms. from the city; perhaps recd. its name from William Lovel, who was here as early as 1635. Hull had it by grant in 1652, but did not possess it in 1663. One George Worthylake lived on it in 1734.
- LYNDE STREET.** — From Cambridge to Green st., so named from the Lynde family. In 1708, "Justice Lynde's pasture" extended across from one of those streets to the other. Laid out and named ab. 1732. "The late Simon Lynde's mansion-house" was at the northerly termination of Tremont-st., 1708. At the same time "Justice Lynde's corner" was in Hanover-st, cor. Wing's lane.



- LYNN STREET. — From the North Battery, NW'ly to the Ferry-way at Hudson's point, 1708. In 1784, from the North Battery to the Old Ferry-way at Hudson's point where the new 74 is on the stocks.
- MCCARTY'S CORNER. — Cor. of King-st. and Leverett's lane, 1708. See HALF SQUARE COURT.
- MERRILL LANE. — In 1708, "the way leading from Justice Dummer's cor. in King-st., passing over the bridge as far as Mr. Daform's cor. in Milk-st." In 1732, from King to Water st. Very narrow till the great fire of 1760.
- MACNEIL'S ROPEWALK. — Along Hutchinson-st., between it and Atkinson, before and during the Revolution.
- MALL. — About 1730, the Mall is thus described: "It is on the eastern side of the Common; in length 1410 feet; divided into two walks parallel to each other, separated by a row of trees. On the outside of each walk is also a row of trees which agreeably shade them." In 1807, "a public walk, 600 yds. in length," &c.
- MANLEY'S BUILDINGS. — In Elbow-alley in 1708.
- MANUFACTORY HOUSE. — See GENERAL INDEX.
- MARGARET LANE. — The way about the middle of Sheaffe-st. down to Prince-st., 1784.
- MARKET PLACE. — About the Dock. Same as Market Square.
- MARKET STREET. — Afterwards Cornhill, which see.
- MARLBOROUGH STREET. — In 1708, the Broad-st., from Penneman's cor. head of Summer-st., to Haugh's cor. School-st. Now Washington-st.
- MARSHALL'S LANE. — In 1708, from Capt. Ballentine's cor. near the Mill bridge, to the cor. of Capt. Fitch's tenement in Union-st. So in 1732. Also from Webb's cor. E to Creek-lane. Marshall-st.
- MARSH LANE. — From Bradford's in Dock Sq. E to Creek-lane.
- MARKET STREET. — What is now Cornhill was named Market-st. in 1817; being then newly laid out. See CORNHILL.
- MAY STREET. — Reverse-st. It had borne its original name about 100 years, and now (1855) changed for no good reason.
- MECHANIC STREET. — See GALLOP'S ALLEY.
- MEER'S CORNER. — On the S'ly side of Dock Sq., cor. of Corn Market, 1708.
- MELYNE'S CORNER. — In 1708, the N'ly termination of Common-st.
- MERCHANTS' ROW. — In 1732, from Faceuil's cor. in King-st. "round to Woodmansie's wharf." Capt. George Mead's warehouse was in M. R. in 1724, also Mr. Wm. Clarke; Tidmarsh & Appleton, in 1727.
- MERRY'S POINT. — The point on which was built the North Battery; "highly finished" in 1666. Now Battery wharf. Here was also Merry's wharf. There was a Merry's wharf at the foot of Fleet-st. in 1796.
- MIDDLE STREET. — In 1708, from the Mill bridge N'ly to Jonas Clarke's cor., at the end of Bennet-st. In 1815, from Mill creek to North-st. Called Hanover-st. 1825.
- MIDDLECOTT STREET. — From Joseph Coolidge's in Cambridge-st. up to Joseph Callender's, 1800. Bowdoin-st. 1825.
- MILK STREET. — So named probably from Milk-st. in London. Described in 1708, "from the South Meeting-house, passing by Mr. Borland's and Madam Oliver's down to the Sea by Halloway's" [Hallowell's.]
- MILLER'S LANE. — In 1807, from Liberty Sq. to Milk-st. — See COOPER'S ALLEY.
- MILL BRIDGE. — In Hanover-st., over the Mill creek. It was of wood till 1793, when one of stone was substituted.
- MILL CREEK. — Extended from the Harbor to the Bay or Mill pond, nearly upon a line with the present Blackstone-st.
- MILL FIELD. — On Copp's Hill, about the Windmill. See INDEX.
- MINOT'S COURT. — From Union-st. SW'ly, bet. the buildings of the late Capt. Clarke, 1708. From Royal's house in Dock Sq. W, 1732. From Grant's cor. in Union-st. up to Faxon's, 1800. Scott-st.
- MINOT'S LEDGE. — Rendered memorable by the destruction of a Light-house erected on it in 1843 by the U. S. government. It stood upon iron posts, and in a storm of almost unparalleled rage, April 16th, 1851, it disappeared. Two men were lost in it, Joseph Wilson and Joseph Antonio, a Portuguese. It is about 20 miles from the city.
- MINOT'S T. — A wharf on the N'ly side of Long w. and connected with it. It took its name from its form, and an early proprietor. George Minot occupied a warehouse on it in 1754.
- MOON ISLAND. — Between Thompson's and Hangman's isls., 4½ miles from the city. The property of Dorchester.
- MOON STREET. — From the North Meeting-house N'ly by Capt. Barnard's to Fleet-st. 1708. From Mountfort's cor. in Fish-st. by the E side of the North Ch. to Fleet-st. 1732. So 1784.
- MOORECOCK'S BUILDINGS. — In Corn Court, 1708.
- MOREY'S CORNER. — In Summer-st. cor. Cow-lane, 1732.
- MORRILL'S CORNER. — In Middle-st. cor. Prince, 1708, 1732.
- MOUNTFORT'S CORNER. — Fish, cor. Moon, 1732. Another, cor. Pierce's alley and Dock Sq. 1708.

MOUNTJOY'S CORNER. — Fish and Anne, 1708.

MOUNT WHORLUM. — Between Beacon Hill and the Bay; near what is now Louisbourg Sq.

MUDDY RIVER. — Part of Boston till 1703. Now Brookline.

MUSEUM. — See BOSTON, COLUMBIAN, AND NEW ENGLAND MUSEUMS.

NANNEY'S BUILDINGS. — In Elbow-alley, 1708; "the late Capt. Lake" lived opposite, in the same alley.

NASSAU STREET. — So named in 1788. In 1796, from Gooch's cor. in Orange-st. to Mr. West's house, thence to Wm. Foster's, at the foot of the Mall. So called till 1824, when it took the name of Common-st. A new st. from Front to Ash, made abt. 1826, took the name of Nassau, which it retains.

NATIONAL THEATRE. — Established about 1832, on the Mill Pond land, by W. and T. L. Stowarts. It passed the same year into the hands of Wm. Pelby, who made great additions to it, and gave it its present name. It was burnt 21 April, 1852, and soon after rebuilt. At first it was called the American Amphitheatre.

NEW BOSTON. — The section of the Town W'ly of Beacon Hill.

NEWBURY STREET. — In 1708, from the cor. of the house near Dea. Eliot's cor. in Orange-st., into Town by the house of Saml. Sewall, Esq., to Dr. Oakes' cor. In 1732, from Eliot's cor. NNE to Bethune's cor. at Summer-st. Washington-st.

NEW CORNHILL. — Now Cornhill, which see. It was laid out in 1817. In 1828 the name was changed to Cornhill.

NEW ENGLAND MUSEUM. — Formed in 1825, from the old Columbian, E. A. Greenwood, proprietor. It was in Court-st. betw. Brattle and Cornhill. Moses Kimball purchased it in 1839, which was the foundation of his present splendid establishment, opened in 1846.

NIX'S MATE. — Nix's Island, mentioned 1636. In that year John Gallop had 12 acres of it granted him forever, "if the island be so much." There is a tradition that it took its present name from the execution thereon of the murderer of one Capt. Nix; which murderer was Mate to the Captain. It is 6 miles from the City.

NOAH'S ARK. — Samuel Dashwood's sign, in Marlboro'-st., near Seven-Star-lane, in 1769. He kept English and India goods.

NOBLE'S WHARF. — On the site of Seares' Ship-Yard, which see.

NODDIE'S ISLAND. — East Boston. On it was living Samuel Maverick when Boston was settled. See INDEX. Thomas Clarke was living on it, 1661; John Burch claimed it in 1652. It was at one period called Williams Island. In 1814 it was fortified by strong works, called Fort Strong. It is about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile from Battery wharf.

NOOK'S HILL. — Noted in revolutionary annals. It is the NW'ly extremity of South Boston, and commanded the Town. Washington sent men to take possession of it on March 9th, 1776, two days before Boston was evacuated.

NORTH BATTERY. — See MERRY'S POINT and INDEX.

NORTH CENTRE STREET. — At first called Centre-st., which see.

NORTH STREET. — N'ly from the E'ly end of Bennet near Mr. Jonas Clark's, to the Sea, 1708. From Clark's cor. across Lynn-st. to the Sea, 1732. It now embraces Ann-st.; the latter name no longer existing there, which had been in use about 150 years.

NORTH SQUARE. — Formerly Clarke's Square.

NET ISLAND. — Between Pettock's and Germantown, $\frac{7}{8}$ miles from the city.

OAKES' CORNER. — Corner Summer and Newbury sts. Residence of Dr. Oakes.

OBELLS. — A noted place, in 1708, in Cooper's Alley.

ODEON. — In 1835 the Federal-st. Theatre was hired for religious services and music; opened May 18th. Here, in Oct. following, a silver vase was presented to Daniel Webster.

OLD WAY. — From the NW'ly end of Cross-st., N'ly by Vering's house near the Mill Pond, 1708. It was a foot-way from "the centre of the Town to the foot of Snowhill-st." Long since closed up.

OLIVER'S BRIDGE. — That at Oliver's Dock, perhaps; at the foot of Water-st.

OLIVER'S DOCK. — "Peter Oliver's Dock formerly ran up as high as where Merchants' Hall now [1817] stands; the lower part of State-st. running along the edge of the Dock." Isaac Dupee kept there in 1724.

OLIVE STREET. — From Belknap to Charles, 1803; Summer-st. in 1825. Changed to Mount Vernon-st. in 1833.

OLIVER STREET. — From Milk-st. up to Fort Hill, "where Mr. Daniel Oliver now (1708) dwells." Name retained.

ORANGE STREET. — "The Broad-st. or Highway from the Old Fortifications on the Neck leading into the Town, as far as the cor. of the late Dea. Eliot's house," 1708. An order for paving 42 rods of it was made in 1715.

ORANGE TREE. — A noted sign at the head of Hanover-st., 1708. N'ly termination of Tremont-st. in 1732. A Mrs. Wardwell kept it in 1724.

PADDY'S ALLEY. — So named from Capt. William Paddy, whose residence was there. He died in 1658. From Ann to Middle-st. North Centre-st.

PANTHEON HALL. — In Washington-st. cor. Boylston Sq. Called Adams' Hall, 1856.

PAKMAN'S CORNER. — In Ship-st. cor. Battery-alley. 1708-1732.

- PEMBERTON'S CORNER. — Cor. Wing's la. and Dock Sq., 1708. Mrs. Pemberton's in Ann-st., cor. Swing-bridge-lane, 1708.
- PEMBERTON'S HILL. — Where Pemberton Sq. now is. The hill was digged down in 1835; sold for house-lots at auction, 7 Oct., same year.
- PEMBERTON HOUSE. — In Howard, near Court st., many years a noted tavern. It was before called Holland's Coffee House; ceased to be a tavern in 1853; burnt 16 Feb., 1854.
- PENNEMAN'S CORNER. — Head of Summer, making the S'y cor. of Marlboro' st., 1708.
- PERBENTON ISLAND. — Brewster's and Lovett's islands, with Perbenton's, gr. to Hull, 1652, but taken from it in 1663.
- PERRAWAY'S ALLEY. — Called also Ball's al. Centre-st.
- PEST HOUSE. — There was one on the Point where West Boston Bridge was afterwards built. At the foot of Cambridge-st., 1784.
- PHILLIPS' CORNER. — Cor. Cornhill and Water-st. 1732. The late Dea. Phillips' stone house in Cross-st., 1708.
- PHIPP'S CORNER. — Charter and Salem sts., 1708. Here Gov. Sir William Phips resided.
- PIERCE'S ALLEY. — From King-st. into Corn Market, 1732. Fitch's alley in 1800. Flag-alley from 1828 to 1840, then Change-alley.
- PINE APPLE. — The sign of the Pine Apple was in Ann-st., 1724.
- PITTS LANE. — Opp. Ladd & Saunder's in Green-st., down to Todd's & Coolidge's, 1784. Pitts st. 1820.
- PITTS WHARF. — At the E'y end of the Fish Market.
- PLATT'S CORNER. — Southerly end of Union-st. in 1708.
- POINT ALBERTON. — Supposed to have been so named from Isaac Allerton. A part of Hull, $9\frac{1}{4}$ miles from Boston.
- POINT SHIRLEY. — Part of Chelsea. Anciently Pullin Point, which see. Changed to Shirley in honor of Gov. Shirley.
- POLLARD'S CORNER. — Brattle-st., cor. Gay-alley, 1708. So 1732.
- POOL'S WHARF. — Foot of Central-st. Here Sir Edmd. Andross landed when he came to assume the Government of the Colony.
- POND LANE. — Pond-st., which see.
- POND STREET. — E'y from Wheeler's Cor. in Newbury-st., by the Town's watering-place, as far as Capt. Dyer's barn, 1708. Bedford-st.
- POOR HOUSE. — One on Fort Hill, 1732.
- PORTLAND STREET. — See COLD LANE.
- POST OFFICE. — At the corner of Queen-st. and Cornhill in 1784.
- POUND. — One formerly stood on what is now Park-st., where the Hon. Josiah Quincy, Jr.'s, house is.
- POWDER-HORN HILL. — In Chelsea, about 4 miles from the City, 220 feet in height. It is early mentioned on the Town Records. Sometimes called Powder-house Hill.
- POWDER HOUSE. — See INDEX.
- POWDER HILL. — See INDEX.
- POWNING'S CORNER. — See CROOKED LANE.
- PRESIDENT'S ROAD. — The Ship-road near the Castle; called King Road before the Revolution.
- PRINCE STREET. — From Morrell's cor. in Middle-st., by David Norton's, to the salt water, 1708. Probably so named to honor the Royal family. There are many places so named in London and other cities.
- PRISON LANE. — See pp. 480, 512. Queen-st.
- PROCTOR'S LANE. — In 1800 from Clap's cor. in Fish to Middle st.
- PROVINCE HOSPITAL. — At New Boston before the Revolution.
- PROVINCE HOUSE. — See INDEX.
- PUBLIC GARDEN. — Principally made land on the W'y side of the Common. It was granted by the City for a Public Garden, 26 Oct., 1837.
- PUDDING LANE. — From the Exchange in King-st., passing by Mrs. Phillips', into Water-st., 1708. Doubtless so called from a street of the same name in London. After the Revolution it was changed to Devonshire-st.
- PULLIN POINT. — See p. 147. Point Shirley, Chelsea. Taken from Boston in 1738.
- PULLING'S WHARF. — Next N of the foot of Cross-st., 1769.
- PURCHASE STREET. — In 1769, from Summer-st. to Tilley's lane. In 1784, up by Col. Dawes' to Hubbard's wharf.
- QUAKER LANE. — So called from the Quaker Meeting-house. See p. 504-5. Now Congress-st.
- QUEEN STREET. — From Mr. Dering's cor. in Cornhill to Houchen's at the upper end of Hancock-st., 1708. Changed to Court-st. in 1784.
- QUEEN'S HEAD. — In 1732, Joshua Pierce, innholder, allowed to remove his license from the sign of the Logwood-tree in Lynn-st. to the Queen's Head, near Scarlet's whf., where Anthony Young last dwelt.
- QUINCY LANE. — From 95 Broad to Hamilton st. Changed to Hamilton-av. 1823. The first name having stood not above two years.

- RAINSFORD'S CORNER.** — North, cor. Charter, 1708. So 1732.
- RAINSFORD'S ISLAND.** — See p. 412. Sometimes called Hospital Island, as the City Hospital is thereon situated. First used for a hospital about 1737.
- RAINSFORD'S LANE.** — From the late Eller Rainsford's cor. in Essex-st. to Beach-st., thence to the sea, 1708. Included in Front-st. in 1825.
- RAWSON'S LANE.** — So named from the Province Secretary, Edwd. Rawson, who died 27 Aug., 1693. See BROMFIELD STREET.
- Razor and Crown.** — Samuel Franklin's sign in 1706. He dealt in hardware.
- RED CROSS.** — Probably a Tavern, kept by John Osborn, 1746.
- RED LION TAVERN.** — Noticed as early as 1676, and as late as 1766. It was at the North End. Perhaps by Red Lion Wharf. See index.
- RED LION WHARF.** — Next north of Richmond-st., at an early period.
- RICHARDS' CORNER.** — Corner of Ship and Foster sts., 1708. So 1732. Cor. Whitebread-alley.
- RICHMOND STREET.** — W from Middle to Back st., late (1807) Bridge lane.
- ROBINSON'S ALLEY.** — The passage-way in North-st. from Hunt's corner, 1784.
- ROEBUCK PASSAGE.** — From the Town Dock to Ann-st. In use from abt. 1815 to 1825. So named from the Roebuck Tavern.
- ROPEWALKS.** — See INDEX.
- ROUND LANE.** — From Long-la. E'ly to Atkinson-st., 1732. Changed to Williams-st. in 1821; probably in memory of Capt. John Foster Williams.
- ROWE'S FIELD.** — Between Pond and Essex sts., 1777.
- ROYAL EXCHANGE LANE.** — So called from the Royal Exchange Tavern, to which it led from Dock Sq., called Exchange-st. after the Revolution.
- ROYAL EXCHANGE TAVERN.** — In King-st. Noticed 1727. The Columbian Bank now occupies the spot.
- ROYAL'S ALLEY.** — From Simpkins' cor. in Ann-st. E to the wharf, 1732. Does not appear in 1803, but the name was in use in 1800.
- RUCK'S CORNER.** — In Charter, cor. Salem st., 1732. Ruck's wharf, at the North End, 1722-1777.
- RUMNEY-MARSH.** — In Chelsea. So named from Rumney-Marsh in Kent, England. Called by the Indians Wignisimmet.
- RUSSELL'S WHARF.** — Formerly Gray's, now Russia wharf. It took the name of Russell from Mr. Thomas Russell, who owned it.
- SALEM STREET.** — In 1708, "from Cerwithy's cor. in Prince, to Mr. Phipp's cor. in Charter st." In 1732, from Ruck's cor. in Charter, to Harrod's cor. in Prince st. Called Green-lane at one period.
- SALT LANE.** — From Bowes' cor. in Union-st. E to Creek-lane, 1708. So 1732.
- SALUTATION ALLEY.** — "Down by the Salutation [tavern] into Ship-st," 1708. From Ship-st., at the Salutation Tavern, W to North-st., 1732.
- SALUTATION TAVERN.** — In Ship-st. cor. Salutation-alley. So named from a sign of much elegance at that day, which represented the meeting of two gentlemen dressed in the height of fashion, small clothes, and cocked hats, and in the act of shaking hands. In 1731, Samuel Green, innholder at Pool's wharf, had liberty to remove to the Salutation. In 1773, Wm. Campbell kept it, who died suddenly in a fit the same year.
- SAVAGE'S COURT.** — From Webster's Arch in Cornhill, W'd. 1732. Afterwards Williams' Court. Capt. Savage's cor. was in Dock Sq., cor. Shrimpton's lane. In 1708, Capt. Habijah Savage's was in Ann-st., cor. Scottow's alley.
- SCARLET'S WHARF.** — On "25.10. 1671, John Skarlet had libertie to wharfe before the ground he bought of Nathl. Fryer, and is to be 20 fte. easterlie from the lowermost cor. of Mr. Hill's wharf." At the foot of Fleet-st., 1673.
- SCHOOL ALLEY.** — Opposite the North Gram. School into Prince-st., 1784.
- SCHOOL-HOUSE LANE.** — School-st. So named from the school-house in it.
- SCHOOL STREET.** — From Haugh's cor. in Marlboro'-st., by the Latin Free School to Whetcomb's cor. [in Tremont], 1708. So 1732.
- SCONCE LANE.** — From the N'ly side of Fort Hill, E'ly by the old Brewhouse to Battery-march, 1708. Took its name from the Sconce or South Battery. Sconce-st., 1784. The name ceased after 1800. Hamilton-st.
- SCOTT COURT.** — Formerly Minot's court. Changed to Scott or Scott's court ab. 1803.
- SCOTTOW'S ALLEY.** — By Capt. Habijah Savage's in Ann-st. NW to Creek-lane, 1708. From Checkley's Entry in Ann-st. NW to Creek-la., 1732. So named from Capt. Joshua Scottow.
- SEA STREET.** — From the bottom of Summer-st. S to Windmill-point, 1732.
- SEARS' SHIP-YARD.** — Between Clark's and Halsey's wharves, 1722.
- SELBY'S COFFEE HOUSE.** — On Long wharf, 1724.
- SEVEN STAR LANE.** — Summer-st. was often so called from ab. 1758 to the Revolution. Probably from the tavern, sign of the Seven Stars. There was the Sign of the Seven Stars near the Drawbridge, in 1763, William Whitwell, grocer, ironmonger, &c.

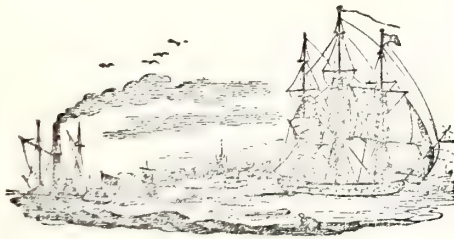
- SHEAFE'S LANE.** — From Barrill's cor. in Newbury-st. to the Common, 1732. Avery-st. See **HOG ALLEY.**
- SHEAFE STREET.** — From Salem, NW to Snow st. 1732. Same now.
- SHEEP LANE.** — Hog-alley was so called in 1789.
- SHEEP MARKET.** — At the W end of Faneuil Hall.
- SHIP-IN-DISTRESS.** — An ancient tavern "nearly opposite Moon-st."
- SHIP STREET.** — From Everton's cor., near Scarlet's wharf, to the North Battery, 1708.
- SHIP TAVERN.** — Cor. of Clark and Ann sts., kept in 1666-7 by John Vials. See p. 373.
- SHIRLEY BATTERY.** — In 1775 was on the E side of Castle Island.
- SHORT STREET.** — The next S of Rainsford's lane, running to Pond-st., 1732.
- SHRIMPTON'S LANE.** — From Capt. Savage's cor. in Dock Sq. to Madam Shrimpton's cor. in King-st., 1708. Took the name of Exchange-lane ab. 1803. Now Exchange-st.
- SISTER STREET.** — From Round-la. N into Bury-st., 1732.
- SIX SUGAR-LOAVES.** — John Quane's sign in Union-st., 1733.
- SLATE ISLAND.** — Near Hull, $9\frac{3}{4}$ miles from the city. Granted to Hull in 1652.
- SLIDING ALLEY.** — From Charter, down by Benj. Williams, in Lynn st., 1708. Foster-st., 1803.
- SNAKE ISLAND.** — Between Apple Isl. and Point Shirley, $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles from the city.
- SNOWHILL STREET.** — From Frairie's cor. in Prince-st. to the Old Ferry-way, by Hudson's point, 1708.
- SOUTHACK'S COURT.** — From Bowdoin's cor. W, 1732. From Kirk Boot's W, by Mrs. Carter's boarding-house, 1800. Howard-st., 1821.
- SOUTH BENNET STREET.** — Formerly Bennet-st., then S. Bennet, and now again Bennet.
- SOUTH ROW.** — See INDEX.
- SOUTH STREET.** — From Baxter's cor. in Summer-st. S'y by Dea. Allen's to the Sea, 1708.
- SPEAR'S WHARF.** — The third N of Long wharf. Called Nathaniel Spear's wharf, 1769.
- SPECTACLE ISLAND.** — Called Saml. Bill's Isl. in 1693; was then well wooded with "large timber trees." Between Castle and Long Island, $3\frac{3}{4}$ miles from the City. — See p. 796.
- SPRING GARDEN.** — "Over against the Powderhouse" in 1724. On the Common, about half way from the Frog Pond to the intersection of Beacon and Charles sts.
- SPRING LANE.** — From a tenement of Capt. Clarke, near the lower end of School-st., to Winslow's cor. in Joyliff's lane, 1708. Spring-st.
- STANFORD STREET.** — From Cambridge, N'y to Green, 1732.
- STAR TAVERN.** — In Hanover-st. cor. Link-alley, 1708. So 1732.
- STATE ARMS.** — A noted tavern in King-st. cor. Shrimpton's lane. "The Ordinary where the Magistrates used to diet," 1653. Owned by Henry Shrimpton, 1666.
- STATE STREET.** — Formerly King-st., which see.
- STATIONERS' ARMS.** — Thomas Hancock's Bookstore in Ann-st. was known by that name in 1729.
- STEPHENS' CORNER.** — In North-st. cor. Love-lane, 1708, 1732.
- STILLMAN STREET.** — So named for the Rev. Dr. S. Stillman, ab. 1821. From Back-st. to Mill pond.
- ST. LUKE'S HEAD.** — A Druggist's sign in Marshall's lane before the Revolution.
- STODDARD'S LANE.** — From Cambridge-st. SW into Southack's court, 1732. Stoddard-st., 1833. Fitch's lane previously.
- SUDBURY STREET.** — From the sign of the Orange-tree, by Mr. Stephen Minot's, to the Mill pond, 1708; to Cold-lane, 1732.
- SUFFOLK HOTEL.** — In Elm-st. in 1821, on the S. side, and kept by Edwd. Kingman. It ceased to be a hotel ab. 1825.
- SUMMER STREET.** — From Dr. Oake's cor. in Newbury-st., passing by the house of Capt. Thomas Clarke, to the Sea, 1708; from Bethune's cor. in 1732.
- SUMNER STREET.** — Named in honor of the popular Gov. Increase Sumner, but was soon exchanged for a foreign name, in violence of good taste. "From Rogers' cor. round the new State House, SW by Beacon Hill," 1800. In 1833 it was erased.
- SUN COURT.** — SE'y from the North meeting-house into Fish-st., 1708.
- SUNKEN ISLAND.** — Between Long and Pettick's Isls. $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the city.
- SUN TAVERN.** — In Cornhill, 1755, kept by Capt. James Day. One in Corn-court, Dock Sq., 1724. Kept by Samuel Mears, who was "lately deceased" in 1727. One in Battery-march-st. for many years previous to the late improvements.
- SWAN TAVERN.** — By Scarlet's wharf, 1708. In Fish-st., near Scarlet's wharf, 1732. One at the South End in 1784.
- SWING BRIDGE.** — Between Merchants' Row and the lower end of Woodmansie's wharf, 1708. Over the Town Dock. Removed and the Dock filled up about 1790.
- SWING BRIDGE LANE.** — Between Capt. Winsor's and Mrs. Pemberton's, in Ann-st., to the wharves by the Swing Bridge, 1708. From the Golden Key, in Ann-st., to the Swing Bridge, 1784.
- TANNER'S LANE.** — In 1708, from Water-st., betw. Maj. Walley's and Mr. Brigham's land, into Milk-st. Received its name from the tanneries in that locality. Afterwards called Horn-lane, then Bath-st.



- TATTLE STREET.** — A nick-name of Sudbury-st. about 100 years ago.
- THISTLE AND CROWN.** — Sign at the lower end of Wing's lane, 1728.
- THOMPSON'S ISLAND.** — Between Moon Isl. and Dorchester, $\frac{3}{4}$ miles from Boston. — See INDEX.
In 1650 John Thompson, of London, sold it to Joseph Jackson and Hugh Browne, of Bristol, Eng. At one period it belonged to Dorchester. In 1834 it was annexed to Boston.
- THOMPSON'S SHIP-YARD.** — On the N side of the North Battery, 1722. See 1777.
- THREE CROWNS.** — A noted sign in Fish-st., 1733.
- THREE Doves.** — William Blair Townsend's sign, 1758, &c., in Marlboro'-st., W side, next the cor. of Broomfield-st. John Boyle the bookseller kept next door to it in 1773.
- THREE HORSESHOES.** — A noted inn, "near the Common," kept by a Mrs. Glover, who died abt. 1744. Wm. Cleas kept it in 1775.
- THREE KINGS.** — Thomas Knights' sign in Cornhill, 1762-70; English and W. I. goods.
- THREE NUNS AND COME.** — "Opposite the Town-pump in Cornhill." Samuel Hardecastle kept there in 1755; a tobacconist. John and Thomas Stevenson moved there in 1762.
- THREE SUGAR-LOAVES AND CANISTER.** — John Meritt's sign, grocer, in King-st., near the Town-house, 1733. Near Thomas Broomfield, glover, in King-st., 1746.
- TILESTON STREET.** — So named for Master John Tileston, whose school-house was at the cor. of Tileston and N. Bennet sts., where now stands the Eliot school. — See LOVE LANE.
- TILESTON'S WHARF.** — Next north of Adams' wharf in 1769.
- TILLEY'S LANE.** — From Belcher's to Cow-lane, 1732. From Cow-lane to Purchase-st. 1769.
- TONTINE BUILDINGS.** — In Franklin-st., begun in 1793. The arch leading to Summer-st. is the centre of them.
- TOWN PUMP.** — One stood near the cor. of Queen-st. and Cornhill, before and after the Revolution.
- TOWNSEND'S CORNER.** — The southern termination of Tremont-st. in 1708.
- TRASK'S WHARF.** — Between Harvard and Bennet sts., 1796.
- TREAT'S WHARF.** — Robert Ritchie had a warehouse on it, 1757, next Messrs. Melvils.
- TREMONT STREET.** — From the mansion of the late Simon Lynde, Esq., by Capt. Southack's, to Col. Townsend's cor., 1708. In 1732, from Common-st., by Jeckyl's, to the Orange-tree. In 1824 it was named Common-st., changed back again in 1829, and included Nassau. Extended to Roxbury line in 1831, and opened Oct., 1832.
- TUDOR'S WHARF.** — "Dea. Tudor's" whf., next S of Lewis', 1762.
- TUN AND BACCHUS.** — James Townsend's sign, 1733, N side of King-st.
- TURNER'S HEAD.** — A sign on Scarlet's whf., 1724.
- TURN-AGAIN ALLEY.** — In 1708, from Common-st., on the N side of Madam Usher's house, E by Hamilton-place, 1807. There is a Turn-again lane in London at this day.
- TWO SUGAR-LOAVES.** — William Patten's sign, grocer, in Cornhill, 1760. Also John Dobel's in King-st., 1760-2.
- TYLER'S CORNER.** — In Ann-st., at Swing Bridge lane, 1732.
- TYNG'S WHARF.** — On the Ely side of the Town Dock. Owned by John Kenrick, and sold by him in 1652.
- UNICORN.** — There were several Unicorn signs formerly. William Rand, apothecary, near the Town Dock, 1733. One in Cornhill, 1744.
- UNION STREET.** — From Platt's cor. NW'y, by the Green Dragon, to the Mill pond, 1708. From the Conduit at Dock-head, NW, as above, 1732.
- URSCLINE CONVENT.** — Mount Benedict, Somerville. Burnt 11 Aug., 1834.
- USHER'S LANE.** — Noticed 1677. Capt. Usher's, at the head of Short-st., 1768.
- VALLEY ACRE.** — On a spur of Beacon Hill. See INDEX.
- VINCENT'S LANE.** — From Marlboro'-st. to Bishop's alley, opened abt. 1792. Ambros Vincent lived there. Franklin-st.
- WADSWORTH'S CORNER.** — In Middle-st., cor. Bell-alley, 1732.
- WALK'S CORNER.** — In Middle-st., cor. Prince, 1708, 1732.
- WALNUT TREE.** — Sarah Decoster's sign, in Milk-st., near Dr. Sewall's meeting-house, 1755.
- WASHINGTON BUILDINGS.** — The stone-front buildings on the E side of Washington-st., erected in 1825.
- WASHINGTON GARDENS.** — In Common-st., near West; on a part of which now stands the Masonic Temple.
- WASHINGTON STREET.** — So named in 1789, in honor of a visit of Washington. It extended at first only from Roxbury line to Orange-st.
- WATER STREET.** — From Cox the butcher's shop in Cornhill, by Maj. Walley's, to Oliver's Corner, 1708. From Phillip's cor. in Cornhill to Mackerel-lane, 1732.
- WEBSTER'S ARCH.** — In Cornhill. See SAVAGE'S COURT.
- WELL'S CORNER.** — In Orange-st., cor. Frog-lane, 1732; another, at the same time, in Cambridge, cor. Green st.
- WELL'S WHARF.** — Arnold Wells' at the South End, 1762.
- WENTWORTH'S LANE.** — From Allen's cor., in Anne-st., E to the Wood wharf, 1732. Name not in use in 1800. Barrett-st. 1831.

- WENTWORTH'S WHARF. — Next N of Mill creek, 1722, &c.
 WEST STREET. — From Cowell's cor. in Newbury-st. to the Common, 1708. So 1752. So now.
 WEST HILL. — At the foot of Beacon Hill, next the water, a little north of Beacon-st.
 WHEELER'S CORNER. — In Newbury-st., cor. Blind-lane, 1732.
 WHEELER'S POINT. — Windmill point. Foot of Sea-st. See INDEX.
 WHEELWRIGHT'S WHARF. — "By the South Battery," 1762. Afterwards Foster's wharf.
 WHIPPING-POST. — One stood in King-st., near the cor. Pudding-lane. Removed about 1750, and culprits were whipped near the same spot upon the top of a cage, in which they were conveyed from the jail. Public whippings discontinued about 1800.
 WHITEHEAD ALLEY. — From Bill's cor. in Ship-st. W to North-st., 1732. Bartlett-st., 1826.
 WHITEHORN'S WHARF. — Afterwards Griffin's, now Liverpool. George Whitehorn, mariner, owned the whf. before 1722, who was dead in 1724.
 WHITE-HORSE TAVERN. — "At the South End," 1724, where Hayward Place now is. Kept by Joseph Morton, 1760-4.
 WILSON'S LANE. — From King-st. to Dock Sq., 1732. Named for the Rev. John Wilson of the First Church.
 WILLIAMS' COURT. — Formerly Savage's court, which see.
 WILLIAMS STREET. — Named for Capt. John Foster Williams, who lived in it in 1789. See ROUND LANE.
 WILTSHIRE STREET. — From Allen's house, up by Phillips & Winthrop's new Ropewalk, 1784. Chambers-st., 1812.
 WINNISIMMET FERRY. — "One and $\frac{1}{2}$ miles and 803 yards across from Mill-creek." Winnisimmet, now Chelsea.
 WINDMILLS. — See INDEX.
 WING'S LANE. — From Mr. Pemberton's cor., at the head of Dock Sq., to Justice Lyde's [Lynde's?] cor. in Hanover-st., 1708. See HUDSON'S LANE.
 WINSLOW'S CORNER. — Foot of Spring-lane, cor. Joyliff's, 1708.
 WINTER STREET. — From Elis' cor. in Newbury-st. to the Common, 1708. Provision for paving, 1743.
 WOOD LANE. — By the house of the late Capt. Timothy Prout, deceased, from Middle-st. to the sea, 1708. See PROCTER'S LANE.
 WOODMANSY'S WHARF. — At Dock Sq., 1708. The name continued on maps in 1769. On Page's map of 1777 it is miscalled Woodman's wharf.
 WORK HOUSE. — See INDEX. In 1686, John Search gave £10 "towards a stock to be laid out in the Work-house." See ALMS HOUSE.

ERRATA. — P. 3, n. 1, r. Martyr's Decades. P. 35, 2d ¶, l. 11, r. December. P. 37 *dele* l. 10, 2d ¶. P. 51, 2d ¶, l. 2, r. Peter Pulfrey. P. 63, l. 12 of n., r. 1553. P. 85, *dele* n. §. P. 90, l. 6, r. George Alcock. P. 164, l. 6, 2d ¶ r. Elias (?) Mav-
 erick. P. 171, l. 7, for first, r. second. P. 175, l. 15 of foot, r. Symmes. P. 182, r. 1635 at top; l. 2 of foot, for Henry
 Wane r. Henry Wane, and *dele* [Vane], same l. and n. P. 206, l. 7, 3d ¶, r. Van Twiller. P. 208, l. 2, 2d ¶, for twenty
 r. two. P. 239, l. 18, r. Thursday. P. 253, n. 1, l. 4 and 5, change places of Hopkins and Eaton. P. 292, 1st l. of *Con-
 tents*, for Dudley r. Endicott. P. 310, l. 15, r. James Astwood. P. 315, l. 10, r. easterly. P. 320, l. 5 of foot, for Dud-
 ley r. Endicott, l. 6, for Endicott r. Dudley. P. 371, last l. n. 1, 1673. P. 378, 2d l. 2d col. r. 1673. P. 384, l. 1, n., for
 installed r. deceased. P. 387, n., l. 7, r. 79 years old. P. 400, l. 6 of n. for grandson r. nephew. P. 433, n. *, after and
 stood, in l. 15, r. on what is now Stillman-street, and *dele* the rest of the sentence. P. 462, n. *, l. 2, for Thomas, r. John;
 l. 4, for John r. Thomas; same l. for He r. John. P. 472, l. 6, r. Thomas Shepcott. P. 497, l. 1, r. Philip English. P. 549,
 after l. 19 of n. insert John Norton, 10 Oct., 1633, d. 15 Dec., 1652, a. 67; l. 20, r. Davenport; l. 30, r. 16 Mar. P. 559
 and 7, r. Christ Church. 613, n. r, l. 2d col. after Leonard was the, insert uncle of the. P. 659, n. *, l. 4, r. 449. P.
 672, l. 11 of foot, r. 1774. 683, l. 4 of foot, r. 1664. P. 698, l. 9 of foot, for decease r. discourse. P. 726, l. 16 of 2d
 col. of n., r. E. H. Leffingwell. P. 751, l. 3, n. *, for Peter Kemble, r. Robert Tuite Kemble.





MAP OF BOSTON, 1733.

BY WILLIAM PRICE.

WHEN the History and Antiquities of Boston was all printed but the Index, a Map of the Town, of the above date, was put into the Author's hands by his friend, DAVID PULSIFER, Esq., who, at the same time, expressed much regret that circumstances had prevented his doing so, as was his intention, at a much earlier period; said Map having been loaned by him to another individual.

On a comparison of this Map with that of 1722, and also with that of 1769, there appears conclusive evidence that the three are from the same plate; that of 1733, and that of 1769, showing that the plate was altered to suit their respective dates. See note to page 772 of this History; which note was printed before the Author was in possession of the Map of 1733. The difference between this and that of 1769 is less than between that of 1722 and 1733; that is to say, judging from the contents of each, the Town progressed more between 1722 and 1733, than it did between 1733 and 1769. Hence, during eleven years, according to the Maps of 1722 and 1733, the Town advanced in importance more than in thirty-six years of a later period.

On Captain Bonner's Map (of 1722) but three trees appear on the Common; two in front of and near Bridewell (which stood a little above the centre of the present Park-street); the other, considerably to the south of the hill, by the Frog-pond; so much so that it could hardly have been meant for the Great Tree which now stands and for a long time has stood near that Pond. On Price's, of 1733, the three trees occupy the same localities as on Bonner's, and there appears a row of sixteen trees along the Mall. This row had then been lately planted, probably. See page 592. Another row, which appears on the Map of 1769, was no doubt planted in 1733. See *ibid*.

Among the statistics recorded in this Map (1733), the number of houses in the Town is stated to be "about 4000; inhabitants about 18,000; two Churches of England, eight Congregational Meeting-houses, one French, one Anabaptist, one Irish, one Quaker, and a very handsome Town House, where the Courts are held. The Town and Country daily increasing. In the year 1723 were built in New England above seven hundred sail of ships and other vessels, most of which are fitted out at Boston. There are in one year cleared out of this port at the Custom House, about 1200 sail of vessels, which may, in some measure, shew the great trade of this flourishing Town and Country."

Although this Map bears date 1733, it may have been issued one or two years earlier, for the two last figures of its date, namely, the 33, is the work of the pen, and not of the engraver, and the latest date among its statistics is 1731. Hence there may be many *editions* of it, to suit the time and demand. Such tricks of venders of similar articles are not yet out of fashion. Therefore if maps from Bonner's plate come to light with dates between 1731 and 1769, there may be nothing new on them, or nothing much affecting their importance.



INDEX.

EXPLANATION. — An Index of the Engravings is placed at the beginning of the History. A Dictionary of Places, or of Objects and Localities, is comprised in Appendix No. II., at page 802, &c.

Names of persons spelled differently are not entered under the various spellings, unless the difference is thought sufficient to mislead the reader. Such names are usually entered under the most common spelling; as Brown and Browne, Green and Greene, &c. But if the spelling differs, as in Phelps and Felps, Philbrook and Filbrook, &c., then such names are entered separately, although they refer to the same individual.

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